

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

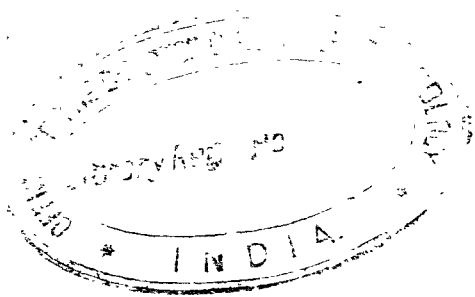
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SEGREGATION OF INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

AN IMMINENT DANGER.

By MR. C. F. ANDREWS.

INDIA

052

H. P.

General Smuts' speech before the South African Party Provincial Congress in Natal has given to us in India the full warning, that the policy of segregating the Indians in Natal by a similar method to that which has been employed in a few areas in the Transvaal has now been fully determined on and will receive the various Governments' full support. The matter is so important and so little understood in India that I will quote General Smuts' speech about it as follows:—

"There remains", he says, "the much more thorny subject of segregation. The Union Government have given the question a great deal of consideration. It is a very difficult one and very contentious, but still we have come to the conclusion that the situation in Natal is developing in such a way that a substantial measure of segregation has become necessary. I see no reason, if this question is fairly and justly dealt with, why the Indian population should object to it. Why should they wish to mix up with the whites? Why should an Indian prefer the society of whites to that of his own fellows?

"Now there exists a good cause for a substantial measure of segregation. It has been represented to the Union Government that in Durban and elsewhere you have a white part of the town and an Indian with sufficient wealth buys a house right in the middle of that area and thereby depreciates the value of the pro-

perty of that neighbourhood. He ruins those around him; he does them a far greater disadvantage than any possible advantage they can derive by his going there. It is for us to see that justice is done to all including that white community which cannot protect itself."

General Smuts goes on to refer to "locations" in the Transvaal and to state that the Union Government are prepared to allow municipalities to mark off certain portions of the towns as white areas and to apportion other parts as "Indian quarters". He states that "of course" it will be carefully seen that justice is done to the Indians and that they are not put in 'impossible places'; at the same time General Smuts promises that he is perfectly prepared to carry through such a large scheme of "segregation".

It must be understood that in the same speech General Smuts declared that he was ready to help the whites in Natal to take away the Indian municipal vote by fresh Government legislation if it was not possible to take it away under the old Natal Law. The Indians are to be completely at the mercy of the whites. They will have no municipal rights and no voice in municipal affairs. Yet General Smuts at the very same moment affirms, that 'of course' justice could be done to Indians in the apportionment of municipal areas among white people and to coloured people. The Indians could not be put in 'impossible out of the way places'.—It is the fable

of the wolf and the lamb over again, I am afraid, in a new form!

I have seen, in three different countries or provinces of Africa, such apportionment of areas between Indians and whites carried out 'of course' with strict justice. In each case, the Indians were in the same helpless position that they will be soon in Natal.

(1) The first was at Pretoria in the Transvaal. General Smuts refers to this by hearsay:—I have not only a hearsay knowledge, but I have actually lived there. I stayed with Mahatma Gandhi in the Indian creation outside Pretoria in January, 1914. I will give a picture of it later on in this article. It lies far away from the town of Pretoria itself and Indians have to go a long weary march backwards and forwards on foot. It is in an "impossible out of the way place". It is a regular slum. No drainage or road repairs or sanitation ever seemed to be carried out. The whole location was a "ghetto".

(2) At Nairobi in Kenya colony the Indians have been located and 'of course' justice has been done. I have published in the *Modern Review* a picture of the actual "justice" that Indians have received. The Europeans are placed on all the rising ground called the 'Hill', 'Parklands' etc. The Indians are placed in the lowest area of all, which is marked in the sanitary map by the word, "Swamp".

(3) At Kampala in Uganda, 'of course' justice has been done! Here again there is a swamp with a terrible marsh for malarial mosquitoes. The Indian location runs down into the swamp and the Indian quarters are infested with malaria. The Europeans, again, have the whole hill side above. So little of it is occupied that there are golf links quite close to the congested and unhealthy Indian quarters. The edge of a malarial swamp is not regarded by the Europeans as 'an impossible out of the way place',—for Indians!

I have gone everywhere in Africa, and I have not yet seen a single instance of what I shall call fair treatment in dealing with Indians in the allocation of township sites. I would go further and state that I have never seen anything like fair treatment, where the European has had the controlling hand. I have given up hope altogether that 'justice will be done'. Thus I now know for certain what "segregation" will mean. It will mean nothing less than the congesting of the Indian population in modern ghettos,

with all the evil and unwholesome effects which these confined areas produced in Europe, centuries ago.

When Sir Benjamin Robertson and Mr. Corbett came to South Africa in 1920, I asked them specially to see with their own eyes the Indian locations in the Transvaal and to form their own opinions. It was interesting to me to find that they have used the very word 'ghetto', which had come to my own mind when I myself saw them. If my memory is right, they have used the word in the sober pages of a Government Report.

When I was in Natal, I wrote to the "Natal Advertiser" an article on this subject. It may be well to give the exact words, which I used about the scene in Pretoria. General Smuts lives in Pretoria many months in the year and it could be quite easy for him in a motor car to verify what I said for himself in any spare hour of his time and to see if 'justice had been done' in his own Capital under his own eyes. I wrote as follows to the leading Natal paper:—

"I stayed, a short time ago, in the segregated area, set apart, side by side with the African coloured people, as a 'location' for the Indians in Pretoria. The picture that continually came before my mind was that of a London slum in the East End of London, in which I had worked as a clergyman many years ago. The parallel was exactly the same. There, in the Indian location was the same prolific human life, pullulating all around me. The streets and houses and vacant places swarmed with children. The squalor and the depression were the same also.—I went back from thence into European part of Pretoria and the whole scene was different,—as different as the West End of London differs from the East End. There was no over-crowding of child life there. The words spoken by Mr. G. Heaton Nicholls, of Natal, are bold words. "Our rule in Africa", he says, "is an Aristocracy, the aristocratic rule of the White Race. Anything which tends to destroy this aristocratic rule is suicide of the White Race."

It may easily be seen from the extract, from the *Natal Advertiser*, which I wrote in March, 1920, what chance the Indian community have of justice. The preservation of the 'aristocratic rule of the white race' is regarded as all important and anything that tends to diminish it, or even as the semblance of diminishing it even by a hair breadth is regarded as needing immediate and special class legislation in order to remove the

burden. For, to note General Smuts' phrase about the white race, which must have raised a smile from his white audience they 'cannot protect themselves against the Indians'.

Let me give a detailed instance of the kind General Smuts referred to. An Indian Muhammadan in Durban had bought out-right a house in one of the streets where Europeans resided. I stayed in that house. Nothing could possibly be cleaner or neater. He paid his rates quite regularly, kept his front garden perfectly; he was a kindly and generous neighbour ready to give to local charities and to any private relief of distress. No citizen could have been more quiet, orderly, respectable and neighbourly. Yet, over and over again, I heard instance of his house being brought forward by Europeans as something unendurable. No white man, it was said, would go and live near him and so all the property round would be depreciated in value.

These were the very phrases, which General Smuts employed in his speech at Maritzburg. I used to argue with Europeans and tell them, that I had stayed in the house they referred to, and found it perfectly clean, etc., etc. But nothing would change their opinion. Because an *Indian* lived there, the whole neighbourhood must be tainted,—as if stricken by plague. It was quite useless to argue and try to persuade by reason. The whole thing was the hysteria of race prejudice.

But General Smuts in London spoke so differently from what he said in Natal! In London, he declared again and again that no sensible man objected to an Indian on the ground of his race and colour. It was purely an economic question. And the Prime Minister, Mr. Baldwin, along with Viscount Peel and others, appears to have been taken in by such absurd talk as that. In Natal, General Smuts brings forward the 'colour line':—

"There is", he says, "the colour line which is in existence today. Right or wrong, I do not argue about that but it is a clearly marked line which you can follow".

But in London, General Smuts declared that no sensible man objects to the Indian on the ground of his race and colour. The Prime Minister takes his words at their face value and states that all can be very good friends, because there is no colour line, but only an economic question at stake.

It is vitally necessary for Indians, at the present time, to be on their guard and to refuse to be taken in by such specious phrases as those which General Smuts has used in London. Under the cover of such phrases the most deadly blow to Indian self-respect is likely to be dealt by carrying out drastically the policy of racial segregation. Here are some of General Smuts' own phrases in South Africa,—I repeat them at the conclusion of this article so that they may not be forgotten:—

"A substantial measure of segregation of Indians has become absolutely necessary. I see no reason, if the question is fairly and justly dealt with, why the Indian population should object to it. *Why should they wish to mix up with the whites?*"

The racial arrogance of that last sentence, uttered in the most bigoted racial centre in Natal, is difficult fully to explain in India. But I think the tone of it can be caught, even at 5,000 miles distance.

What I wish to make clear is, that while the franchise issue was vital in Kenya, and Mr. Sastri was right in saying 'If Kenya is lost, all is lost,' because of the principle at stake, there is the same *principle* at stake, in an even acuter form, in this threat to place the whole Indian people in South Africa under a ban of Racial Segregation. If the Kenya struggle was a life and death struggle in which India was cruelly defeated, this South African struggle is equally fatal to Indian dignity and self-respect, if it goes against us. We must not, merely because we have been defeated once, put up no fight at all. Rather, we must fight on to the bitter end. Mr. Gokhale was right, when he said before he died, that the pathway to moral victory in India was by facing bravely defeat after defeat, but never relinquishing our aim and our goal.

MAGADHA : A HISTORICAL SURVEY.*

By PROF. J. N. SAMADDAR, M.A.

(A lecture delivered under the auspices of the Patna University, and presided by the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Syed Md. Fakhruddin, Minister of Education, Bihar and Orissa).

The Land we live in, with its two ancient capitals of Girivraja and Pataliputra has a history which is undoubtedly unique, at any rate, unrivalled, not only in India, but perhaps in the World. From whatever point of view we study it, it has something to boast of. In the domain of spirituality, this was the centre of activities of religious leaders like Vardhamana Mahavira(1) and Gautama Buddha. The former, related to the royal family of Magadha(2) spent a considerable portion of his life here, while the all-important moment in the career of the Tathagata, when that supreme knowledge of enlightenment came to that Great Being by virtue of which he attained that actual Buddhahood which made him one of the saviours of the world, occurred in Magadha(3). This alone would invest the Land we are living in with unprecedented sanctity not only in the eyes of those vast millions who follow his teachings even now but also of others. The Jains held a great council at Pataliputra(4), the two first Buddhist Councils were held in Magadha(5) and the two great teachers amongst the Buddhists, next to Buddha himself, Tissa Moggaliputta and Upagupta flourished here. The canons of Buddhism were fixed and laid down here, while Buddhaghosh, the inspirer of Northern Buddhism, known as *Mahayanism*, hailed from Magadha(6).

Although this land had been banned by Brahmanas, it was here that the first historical horse-sacrifice was revived and celebrated with appropriate magnitude testifying to the revival of Brahmanical supremacy(7). The first economist of India, if not of the world, Kautilya or Chanakya, named also Visnugupta, was perhaps born in this land and certainly had his school and disciples here, while Kamandaka who followed in the footsteps of the father of economics can also be claimed by us. That the Science of Economics with which is associated the Science of Politics was systematically studied here is on record, while the Mahabharata testifies to the fact that the ministers of Magadha were learned in the Science of Statecraft(8). Here Upavarsa and Varsa, Panini and Pingala, Vararuchi and Patanjali(9) rose to eminence. And, if tradition is to be relied on, Kalidasa was also a native of Magadha(10). It was in this land that Aryabhatta, the father of scientific astronomy was born, while it was the home of Rishis like Chyavana and Dadhichi. Long before the historical days of Chandragupta Maurya, Magadha could boast of powerful monarchs like Vrihadratha(11), described as handsome, mighty, wealthy, matchlessly powerful having an army of three *Akshauhinis* and Jarasandha(12) whom no contemporary king was able to equal in prowess, "blazing forth above the heads of all those that wore crowns", admitted by even the panegyrists of his enemies as robbing all other kings of their splendour(13), and whom

* A lecture delivered under the auspices of the Patna University.

(1) Two of the Tirthankars can be claimed by this land the twentieth, Subrata, being born at Rajgir, while Mahavira the greatest of the Tirthankaras though born at Vaisali, died in Magadha.

(2) Mahavira was a near relative of Bimbisara's queen, the mother of Ajatsatru.

(3) It may be worth mentioning here that Gurugovinda, the Sikh leader was born at Pataliputra and his cradle can still be seen in the Sikh Temple in the city.

(4) *The Cambridge History of India*, p. 165.

(5) *Ibid*, p. 1. 482.

(6) Kanishka took away from Pataliputra Buddhaghosa who presided at the third Buddhist Council held under the auspices of that great king. *Early History of India*, p. 260.

(7) *Early History of India*, p. 200.

(8) *Mahabharata*, Sabha XIX.

(9) There are so many references in Patanjali to Pataliputra that one cannot but conclude that a portion, if not the whole of his *Mahabhasya* was written at the capital. (Cf. Chap. I. 15; III. 2.123).

(10) *Indian Antiquary* 1908, p. 236.

(11) *Mahabharata*, Sabha XVII cf. also *Harivamsa*, 117, 659S. The eldest Vrihadratha founded a famous dynasty at Magadha. 22 kings of the line are said to have ruled one after another.

(12) *Mahabharata*, Sabha XIX "All the kings remained obedient to him, as all embodied beings remain obedient to the wind." Cf. Also Sabha XIV, XX and XXII.

(13) *Harivamsa*, Chap. xcvi.

a host of kings followed(14). At the time of the invasion of the Macedonian King, here was a king whose very name and fame, frightened the unconquerable soldiers of Alexander the Great (15), while the people of the country were considered as the most distinguished in all India(16). The nucleus of the first empire in Northern India, was first laid by the Saisunakas here(17) and it was Magadha and Magadha only which could claim authority from Afganisthan across the continent eastward to Bengal and from the Himalyas to the Central Provinces, while the two great emperors of Northern India, Asoka and Samudragupta sent their victorious banners from Magadha—one to preach to the then civilised world his evangelic mission of Love and Dharma, the other to lands and capitals. And long after, when people were forgetting the glories of Magadha, a king of Magadha, Dharmapala, again sent his proud arms to conquer Northern India(18).

From Magadha went out missionaries as evangelists of the highest form: medical men for the treatment of human being as well as lower animals and to establish hospitals, while it was at the Capital of Magadha that Vivisection was first experimented upon for finding a cure for incurable diseases(19). The two oldest and the greatest residential universities of India, nay of the world, had their seats in Magadha—Nalanda belonging to the age of artistic cultivation, and skill, "of a gorgeous and luxurious style of architecture, of deep philosophical knowledge", of profound and learned discussions and of rapid progress in the path of civilisation(20)," both showing a standard of education which can be emulated by many universities(21). From both teachers went forth to the North and to the East to inculcate knowledge and to both flocked students from all parts of Asia to learn the high-

est teachings of Religion and Philosophy. It was here that the skill of the stone-cutter attained perfection and accomplished tasks, which, as admitted by the learned author of the *Early History of India*(22) would be found beyond the powers of the twentieth century. The engineers and architects of the royal house of Magadha could design and execute spacious and lofty edifices, construct massive embankments equipped with convenient sluices and other appliances, of extraordinary chiselling and handling enormous monoliths and polished in a way which even now cannot be done, excavate commodious chambers with burnished interiors which, even now, would dazzle the eyes of all and prepare palaces which could be believed to have been built only by spirits(23). Not only in and around Magadha, but even in distant lands, skilled artisans from Magadha were engaged by kings(24) showing the acme of perfection attained by the artists of this old land. The Magadhan measure was ordered to be used by the great lawgiver, Manu(25). It was Magadha which possessed a Government better organised than the Government of Akbar or Shah Jahan(26). Magadha had a civilization and culture in its palmy days, equal to, if not superior to that which India attained, eighteen or nineteen hundred years later. This fact has been admitted by historians.

Such was Magadha which was the most famous kingdom in ancient India and three-fourth's of ancient India's history is the history of Magadha. But this great land of which we are speaking in strains of unbounded enthusiasm and praise, was regarded with deadly aversion by the Vedic Aryans. The thirteen Book of the Vajasaneyi Samhita(27) enumerating the victims of the Purusamedha, makes the God Savita bound to the sacrificial stake a Magadha to be dedicated to the diety of excessive noise(28).

(14) I believe here was the first attempt to establish a paramount sovereignty in Northern India. It failed however to succeed.

(15) McCrindle: *Alexander's Invasion*. The Magadhan King had the reputation of having an army of 200,000 feet, 20,000 cavalry, 2,000 war chariots and 400 elephants.

(16) McCrindle, *Mezasthenes* p. 66.

(17) Cf. Dr. R. K. Mookerjee's, *The Fundamental Unity of India*.

(18) *Epigraphia Indica* IV. 243.

(19) J. B. & O. R. S. Vol I.

(20) Broadley. *The Buddhistic Remains of Bihar*, (J. A. S. B. 1872).

(21) Beal: *Buddhist Records of the Western World II*. 170. Both in points of endowments and efficiency, Nalanda could be emulated by many a modern university. *Vide* Lecture V.

(22) *Asoka*, p. 136.

(23) *Fo-Kuo-Ki* (Beal's Edition) p. Iv.

(24) Cf. *Ramayana*, XI. 23. Also *The Tamils—1800 years ago*. As late as the 8th or 9th century A. D. a temple builder had to be taken from Magadha or the Central Provinces E. I. xi. 188. The Silimpur inscription was inscribed by a Magadhan artist E. I. vol. xiii.

(25) *Manu* "the weights and measures to be used by the physician are expressly enjoined to be those of Magadha."

(26) *Asoka* p. 238.

(27) XXX. 5.22.

(28) If we take *atikrushta* in the sense of "great noise", the most obvious interpretation of Magadha is to understand it with Medatithi in its epic sense as signifying minstrel, son of a vaisya by a Kshattriya.

In the Panchavimsa Brahmana (29), we are told that they were distinct in culture from the Aryans, while in Sranta Sutra there is also a condemnation (30). In the Aitareya Aranyaka the people of Magadha are treated as bards (31) and again in the Sankhyana Aranyaka it was unusual for a Brahmana to dwell in the territory of Magadha (32). With none of the one hundred and thirty three Asvamedhas instituted by Bharata, son of Dusyanta, is associated Magadha.

Indeed all the earlier and later Vedic Texts displayed towards the people of Magadha a marked antipathy to whom malarial fever was assigned, evidently as a curse, for the land was evidently considered (33) as not worth living in as not within the pale of Vedic civilization. Apparently the country was not in good repute with the Vedic people and a Brahmana living then in the Magadha country was called Brahmbandhu—a so called Brahmana (34). In the Smṛiti literature, Magadha was included in the list of countries migration to which was strictly forbidden and a penance was necessary for going there (35). This dislike continued to the days of Manu, where Magadha is not mentioned as one of the Brahmarshi lands by the

Mr. Pargiter also in his latest book, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* p. 16 refers to the Magadha as a bard and speaking of the fable which says that the first Suta and Magadha came into existence at the sacrifice of king Prthu, son of Vena and comes to the conclusion that the Magadhas were really inhabitants of Magadha.

(29) XVII. 16 cf. J. R. A. S. 1913 p. 159.

(30) VII. 6, 28. cf. Katyana S. S. XXII. 4, 22.

(31) II. 1.1. This passage, however, has been differently interpreted, one class of scholars suggesting an amendment—Vanga Magadha (i.e., Vangas and Magadhas, two neighbouring peoples) H. P. Sastri observes, "for between Banga and Chera or the Dravidian people in Chotanagpore, the whole country has a tribe called Bagdis."

(32) The equipment is to be given to a bad Brahmana in Magadha.

(33) *Atharva*. V 22, 14. Commenting on this Roth in his *Literature and History of the Vedas* observes. "The Angas and Magadhas are tribes in South Bihar and the country bordering it on the west. We have thus in this verse two nations situated on the North West and two to the South East, whom we may suppose from the maledictions pronounced on them to have been hostile or alien tribes who lived on the borders of Brahmanic idea and to have been beyond its boundaries at the time when this incantation was composed." We will refer to it later on.

(34) In one passage only, however, the Brahmana *Madhyamaprabodhiputra* who lived in Magadha was considered as very respectable Brahmana. (k. Aranyaka viii. 13), though Oldenburg in his *Buddha* regarded this as unusual—a view accepted by Macdonell and Keith in *Vedic Index* II. 116.

(35) Bandhyana, *Dharmasutra* 1.1.2.

lawgiver. Even as late as in the Bhabisya Brahmakhanda, it is mentioned that the people of Magadha will be deprived of good manners. And, you will be surprised to hear that the land of Magadha even now is banned, for Brahmanas living in Mithila will avoid bathing on this side of the Ganges on ceremonial occasions.

It may be mentioned that the name Magadha (36) is not actually referred to in the Rigveda. The word Kikata occurs only in one passage in the Rig where it appears as hostile to the singer. The only thing which the Rigveda mentions about the Kikatas is their kine which the hymnist regretfully mention as are of no use in sacrifice though he covets them to use their milk for sacrificial purposes. The term Kikata has been used as a synonym for Magadha and hence it has been concluded that the Kikatas were a non-aryan people living in the country now known as Magadha. It may be observed in passing that various European scholars have come to different conclusions regarding the interpretation of this word. E. G. Zimmer asserted that the Kikatas were a non-aryan people living in the land latterly known

(36) "Magadha corresponds, at the least, in the time of the Buddha to the modern district of Gaya. The inhabitants of this region still call it Maga, a name doubtless derived from Magadha." (Sir George Grierson in E. R. E. v. 181) "The boundaries were probably the Ganges to the North, the Sone to the west, a dense forest reaching to the plateau of Chota Nagpore to the South and Anga to the East." (*The Cambridge History of India* cf. also p. 12). In the Map of India, which illustrates Mr. Talbot Wheeler's History of these remote times, the territories of Magadha are shown to the South of the river Ganges, bounded on one side by Mithila and on the other by Banga, or Bengal. At the time of Buddha it contained 80,000 villages (*Vinaya* 1.179) and was 300 leagues in circumference. 1.148. The *Mahavagga* speaks of Magadha as possessing 80,000 townships, while the king had an assembly of 10,000 overseers over these townships. S. B. E. XVII. 1. In the Bhabra Edict of Asoka he is styled as the King of Magadha.

The word Bihar has in turn served to designate several artificial divisions. The name originally belonged to the ancient city, which from its far famed seat of Buddhist learning was distinguished by the name of Vihar. The Muhammadan conquerors of the city extended its name to the surrounding country, of which it became the capital; and at the time of Akbar it came to signify that important portion of Eastern India comprised in the seven *Sirkars* of Munger, Champaran, Hajipur, Saran, Tirhut, Rohtas and Bihar. This was Subah Bihar. Under British rule, Subah Bihar and Subah Bengal were united under a joint government, while the Zilah, surrounding the capital and which bore its name, was devided into Zilah Patna and Zilah Gaya. *Vide The Buddhistic Remains of Bihar* by A. M. Broadley. But *vide* also the *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I. p. 57, where in Bihar has been included both Videha and Magadha.

as Magadha. Weber held that this people were Aryans, though at variance with the other Aryan tribes⁽³⁷⁾. Indian commentators have also different views. Yaska in his *Nirukta*⁽³⁸⁾ refers to the Kikatas as living in non-aryan land. The author of the *Vayu Purana*⁽³⁹⁾ identified Kikata with Magadha, while the commentator Sridhara identified it with Gaya Pradesa. The name Magadha occurs in the list of Victims at the Purushamedham or human sacrifice in the *Yajurveda*, where the Magadha or man of Magadha is included amongst those dedicated to atikrushta⁽⁴⁰⁾.

Closely connected with this question and the early history of Magadha, is the meaning of the term Vratya⁽⁴¹⁾ and his occupation and position, for in many ways, he was connected with Magadha. The name Magadha is brought into a significant connexion with the Vratya in a mystic hymn, which has even now, after centuries, not been clearly explained. In the fifteenth book of the *Atharvaveda*, in the so called Vratya book⁽⁴²⁾, the Vratya is brought into special relation to the punschali and the Magadhi faith is called his harlot, the mitra (friend) his Magadha; and similarly, the dawn, the earth, the lightning his harlots, hasa (scorn), the thunder, his magadham. "A more connected account of the Vratyas is found in the Pancha-

vimsa Brahmana of the Samveda and the Sutas of that Veda. It is clear, as their name suggests, that they were persons regarded as outcastes, and ceremonies are described intended to secure them admission into the Brahmanical fold. The description of the Vratyas well suits nomad tribes; they are declared not to practise agriculture, to go about in rough wagons, to wear turbans, to carry goads and a peculiar kind of bow, while their garments are of a special kind. Their sense of justice was not that of the Brahmanas, and their speech, though seems Aryan, was apparently Prakritic in form, as is suggested by the significant remark that they called, what was easy of utterance but hard to speak"⁽⁴³⁾. Owing to the obscurity of the Vratya book, the meaning of these passages, as I have already stated is not altogether clear. But it is evident that that book of the *Atharvaveda* dealing with the Vratyas—the inexplicable book—glorifies the Vratya, as a type of the supreme power in the universe⁽⁴⁴⁾. That Magadha was recognised as the chief centre of Vratya culture is evident from the fact that in the *Srauta sutras* of Katyana⁽⁴⁵⁾ and Latyana⁽⁴⁶⁾, it is enjoined that after the Vratyastoma a rite that procured the admission of the Vratya to the Brahmanic fold, his belonging or outfit had to be bestowed either upon an inferior Brahmana or a Brahmana in name only⁽⁴⁷⁾, of Magadha or one who had given up the Vratya practices. This evidently proves that the Arvan Brahmanas who had advanced further and had settled in Magadha were looked down upon as priests, should we say of the Vratyas or of the Magadhas and consequently the mass of the population of Magadha was also looked down upon. It seems the people and their priests were both disfavored.

But why was Magadha looked down upon? Why were her people disfavored? What was her fault and what was their fault? How and why did the Vedic Aryans condemn this land

(37) Griffith explaining the passage observes "the cows bestowed by Indra are unprofitable when in the possession who do not worship the Aryan Gods." *Indian Literature*. Weber's reasoning that because Magadha was later a seat of Buddhism and hence was held in bad repute cannot hold good, as long before the introduction of Buddhism it was in that state.

(38) VI. 32.

(39) Raigriha Mahatmyam where we have the sloka "Kikateson".

(40) "The Magadhas who inhabited the Patna and Gaya districts of S. Bihar, are well-known by their name to the *Rigveda*; but together with their neighbours, the Aryans in the Districts of Monghyr, and Bhagalpur, they are mentioned in the *Atharvaveda*". *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I. p. 309.

(41) With reference to this Weber remarks, "what is to be understood by Magadha? If we take atikrushta in the sense of great noise, the most obvious interpretation of Magadha is to understand it, with Mahidhara, in its epic sense, as signifying a minstrel, son of a vaisya by a Ksatriya." p. III. Quoting Savana, Weber says, "Sayana, commenting on the corresponding passage of the *Taitt. Brahmana* iii. 4.1 explains the word atikrushtaya by atinindita devaya, dedicated to the very Blameworthy as his deity."

(42) Charpentier saw in the Vratyas, the precursors of the Sivaites of to-day. But this view has not been accepted, cf. J. R. A. S., 1923, Keith's article pp. 155.

(43) *The Cambridge History of India*, p. 124.

The difficulty of the Vratyas to pronounce the vedic speech was evidently due to its conjunct consonants which the Prakrits avoid. See *Ibid* p. 136.

(44) This is considered as one of the evidences that the *Atharvaveda* which glorifies the Vratyas was composed by the Aryans who had settled in Magadha—the land of the Vratyas. This was also, perhaps, one of the reasons, why the *Atharvaveda* was not accepted as the fourth Veda.

(45) viii. 6, 28.

(46) xxii. 4, 28.

(47) *Brahmandhu*.

and her people? Fick(48) has suggested that the low opinion formed of Magadha and Magadhadesiya Brahmana might have been due to the low estimate in which the Western Brahmanas held Magadha which was at a great distance from them and which was not Brahmanised, partly also that the people of Magadha, at any rate, their priests or Brahmanas may have acquired this bad reputation. The learned authors of the Vedic Index follow Oldenburg (49) and attribute the fact to the reason that the Magadhas were not really brahmanized. "This", they say, "is entirely in accord with the evidence of the Satapatha Brahmana that neither Kosala, nor Videha were fully Brahmanized at an early date, much less Magadha." (50) Referring to Weber's suggestion which might have influenced the question, viz. the persistence of aboriginal blood and the growth of Buddhism, it may be rightly pointed out that the latter consideration was hardly applicable to the Yajurveda or the Atharvaveda. Oldenburg also thought that Magadha along with some other countries, such as Anga, Kasi, Kosala and Videha were the abodes of earlier Aryan immigrants(51), i.e., they were pioneers in advance of the general body of the Aryans and as such were looked down upon by their brethren. As Aryans of the first migration, their actions were not favourably considered, were rather condemned.

Magadha was indeed on the extreme confines of the Aryan civilization and culture. Indo-Aryan influence had not penetrated fully and dwelling in the Magadha country was considered as something unusual—at any rate was not approved of. Magadha in the early Vedic times was only a settlement of the Aryans, the main horde was lagging behind, at any rate had not advanced so far. And, even at a late time, when the Kuru-Panchala civilization had established itself, we hear of Magadha being spoken of as a settlement. The significance of a passage in the Mahabharata cannot be over-estimated(52). "O son of Pritha, thus shines the great, beautiful Magadha settlement possessed of cattle, ever full of water, free from diseases and rich in good houses." Magadha, indeed, was a settlement of the Aryans, it does not matter in which ethnological

wave(53) the Aryans reached this country but those who came and with them, the land, its inhabitants and settlers were all condemned.

This is not the first time that such a thing had happened in the history of Aryan India. The example of Panis, who have been characterised as the demons of darkness for their greediness and hoarded wealth, but who were also Aryans having made themselves prominent by their trading and mercantile habits were condemned. In the case of the Aryans advancing, leaving their brethren behind, and settling in Magadha, we find also a repetition of the same story.

The people, who had come in advance and had settled in Magadha, were not Non-Aryans, but were real Aryans, whose liberal views, or forwardness in advancing beyond their brethren made them being looked down upon by their brethren whom they had left behind in the west. The growth of a new spirit was inevitable with some of the Aryans immediately after their settlement in the Punjab and even afterwards. Either like the Panis some of them had advanced for purposes of trade or like what Mahavira or Buddha did afterwards, with the spirit of a teacher(54) some left hearth and home and became the first pioneers in farther East. The Vratya is described as going away to the people, becoming the guest of the king as well as of the ordinary people, to be honored with humble reverence everywhere by his host, going to all points of the compass. He had to teach his message and explain it. Herein was the origin of the Vratyas. Herein was the spread of Aryan culture among other communities situated on the

(53) In this connection it is interesting to note the views of a scholar like Mr. Pargiter who in the I. R. A. S. 1908 p. 832 refers to his article in the A. S. B. Vol. Lxvi, part I (p. 82) and says that certain tribes belonging to a closely connected ethnic group, probably invaded India from the sea, setting first along the West and North West of the Bay of Bengal and gradually pushed inwards up the Ganges valley. They occupied a wedge-shaped area, with its base along the sea-coast and Anga as its apex touching Magadha and Videha—Their vanguard and the Aryan vanguard met in Magadha and Videha and each was arrested there. Aryan influence, political, social and religious, spread gradually over those five nations but did so by virtue of its superiority and not by further aggressive migration."

(54) Weber spoke of the Magadha of the Vratya book as a heretical teacher, (*Sanskrit Literature* p. 111) but as we have already pointed out before, he had suggested that "heretical (Pudhistic) opinions must have existed in Magadha at the time of the composition of the thirteenth *adhyaya*"—a view which has not and cannot be accepted.

(48) Calcutta University Edition 215-216.

(49) *Buddha* 400 n.

(50) *Vedic Index*, II. 116.

(51) *Buddha* p. 10.

(52) *Vide Mahabharata*, Sabha Ch. XXI v. 1.

borderland of Aryan culture and civilisation. The Vratya was an Aryan but the fact that he had left his home and hearth, brethren and relations, made him and the country of his adoption a contemptuous one. And when we read in the Panchavimsa Brahmana that the converted Vratyas had, in order to cut off all connection with their past, had to hand over their wealth to those of their companions who still preferred to live by the old mode of life, we have no other conclusion left but to say that their brethren in the west were at once satisfied as they—shall we call them the “liberals”?—handed over to them their gains which they had acquired by their “go aheadness”. Every thing was then forgotten after the performance of some ceremonies, readmitting the lost ones into their own folds—the old Brahmanic fold. The Tandya Brahmana says, when the Devas ascended to Svarga some of their fellow-brethren wandered on earth as Vratyas. These latter being afterwards desirous of joining their fortunate brethren came to the spot whence they had ascended to the Svarga, but owing to their ignorance of the (Vedic) hymn, they could not accomplish their object. The Devas, sympathising with their less fortunate brethren, asked the Maruts to teach them the necessary hymn. The Vratya Devas having thus learnt the hymn called Sodaca with the metre called Anustubh, ascended subsequently to Svarga. This Svarga was the old Brahmanic fold. It significantly shows that the Vratyas were taken back. They were Aryans, they had no fault but what we would call now their “go aheadness”. The Aryan Society was even then too exclusive and no one but the Aryans could have been re-allowed into it. But such was the way in which their forwardness was estimated that long, long afterwards the land bordering on the verge of Aryan civilisation was held in bad repute, in spite of the great spiritual and intellectual lead of Magadha and of her people in subsequent times.

The legend in the Satapatha Brahmana (55) relating to the national hero, Videgha Mathava has preserved well the memory of the spread of Brahmanism from the west toward the east. The story is not only interesting but useful as it speaks of the progress of sacrificial fire which represented the advance of Vedic culture, advancing from the west, the banks of the Saras-

vati till they reached the river Sadanira (56) which they did not cross over. And the reason ascribed was that Agni Vaisavanara who came from the Sarasvati did not cross the river and therefore in earlier ages, no Brahmanas went across the Sadanira to the east, for it was bad land where Agni Vaisranara had not tasted. Now, however, eastward of that dwell many Brahmanas.....now is it indeed good land, for now we have Brahmanas who have made it enjoyable through offerings. As Oldenburg has significantly observed, “The difference between the ancient Vedic land of culture in the West and in the East, where there was Aryan land, but not yet for a long time a home of Vaisvanara can scarcely be significantly expressed” (57). Thus was Mithila aryanised and thence went forward Vedic culture to Magadha and still further east, till the whole land fell under Aryan culture and civilisation. Mithila was aryanised earlier than Magadha, and that is the reason, referred to by me before, why even now the Brahmanas of Mithila are averse to take their baths on this side of the Ganges on sacrificial occasions—a reminiscence of the old story and usage. (58)

In the list of the sixteen celebrated monarchs given in the Mahabharata, one of the Sodasrajikas was Brhadratha vira, whom Pargiter has rightly considered as “probably Brihadratha of Magadha” (59) and whose name we have already

(56) The identification of this river is doubtful. Oldenburg says “what river that Sodanira, named as a boundary is, cannot as far as I see be determined with certainty.” Weber identified it with the Gandaki which in later times formed the boundary between the territories of Videha and Kosala. Against this the fact seems to speak, that the Mahabharata on one occasion makes its heroes cross Gandakina *Ca Mahasonam Sodaniram*. This passage, is, of course, not decisive for the knowledge of the true Sadanira which has been lost to later *lexicographers* in every instance may have been already wanting to the poets who composed these passages of the Mahabharata.”

(57) Cf. Oldenburg, *Buddha* p. 400. Mr. Pargiter in J. A. S. B. 1891 referring to this explains that owing to unhealthiness of Videha, “no Arya would have ventured within it and the only way in which the Aryans could have colonised it was by filling and burning the forest down wholesale and opening out the soil to the purifying rays of the sun.” Mr. Pargiter by *Agni Vaisvanara* means not the sacrificial fire, but fire in its ordinary everyday sense and therefore suggests that Mathava with his comrades burnt the forest down and began cultivating the land and now the Brahmanas finding the new tract developing into a good tract followed afterwards and soon appropriated the merit to themselves and their sacrifices.

(58) “The traces of Indo-Aryan descent which have been observed in the higher social grades of Bengal and Orissa, must be due to colonisation at later date.” *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I., 48.

(59) *Ancient Historical Tradition*, p. 39.

mentioned. We know also from the Buddhist Anguttara Nikaya(60) that there were sixteen states of considerable extent and power known as Solasa Mahayanapada of which Magadha was one. What the territory actually was, is very difficult to ascertain, though as noted before, in the time of the Buddha, it corresponded to the modern districts of Patna and Gaya. From the Puranas of which the historical interest centres in Magadha, composed though later on, we get lists of the kings of Magadha, which long before the writing of the Puranas, had become the recognized centre, both religious and political. The long line of kings attributed to Magadha by the Puranas consists of a series of no fewer than eight dynastic lists furnished with a statement of the number of years in each reign and the duration of the dynasty. If all these dynasties could be regarded as successive and if the length of reigns could be determined with certainty, the chronology of Magadha would be a simple matter of calculation. But this is not the case, neither is it possible to deal with all the kings in the course of one survey(61).

From these Puranic lists, we find the name of the Saisunaga dynasty called by the Puranas, as Ksatriyas to which some historical reality can be given and of which Sisunaga was the founder(62), of course the first important king was Bimbisara or Srenika(63) with whom began the greatness and supremacy by the conquest of the kingdom of Magadha. After the murder of Bimbisara by his son Ajatasatru or Kunika(64) the parricide ascended the throne, an event which happened after the death of Mahavira and a few years before the death of Buddha and he annexed the country to the north of the Ganges now known as Tirhut which the Lichchavis occupied. It has been presumed that the invader carried his victorious arms to their

natural limit the foot of Himalayas and that from this the whole region between the Ganges and the Himalaya became subject more or less directly to the suzerainty of Magadha(65).

This was the beginning of the greatness of Magadha but as this subject is of more than a passing interest a few detailed observations may be made.

Ajatasatru was not on friendly terms with the Lichchavis, with whom he was maternally connected. He must have felt that the Lichchavi formed the greatest bar to the realisation of his ideas of an empire and he vowed, "I will root out these Vajjians, mighty and powerful though they be, I will destroy these Vajjians; I will bring these Vajjians utter ruin"(66). He was also under the impression that his foster brother, Abhaya who had also Lichchavi blood in him and who liked them very much might be held by them in which case his throne may be threatened.

This is how the Sumangala-vilasini, a very little known book, speaks of the incident(67).

There was a port near the Ganges extending over a yojana, half of which belonged to Ajatasatru and half to the Lichchavis and their orders were obeyed in their respective yojanas. There was a mountain not far from it and at the foot of the mountain, there was a mine of precious gems. Ajatasatru was late in going there and the avaricious Lichchavis took away all the precious gems. When Ajatasatru came and learnt that all the precious gems had been taken away by the Lichchavis, he grew angry and left the place. This happened also in the succeeding year, he having sustained a heavy loss thought that there must be a fight between him and the Lichchavis. He realised, however, that the Lichchavis being numerically stronger, he would fail to carry out his purpose. So he conceived the design of destroying the independence of the Lichchavis by showing seeds of dissension. Formerly, the Lichchavis were not luxurious, but very strenuous and exerting. So Ajatasatru could not get an opportunity of subduing them. He sent Vassakara, one of his ministers to the Buddha who predicted that in future the Lichchavis would be delicate, having soft hands and feet, would use very luxurious and soft beds with soft pillows made of cotton, would sleep till sunrise and further declared:—"By no other

(60) I. 213; IV, 252, 256, 260. The *Mahavastu* also refers to it in II. 2.

(61) *The Cambridge History of India*, p. 310.

(62) *Vide Journal of the Bihar & Orissa Research Society*, Vol. I, p. 67 ff for an article by Mr. Jayaswal on "*The Saisunaka & Mourya Chronology & the Date of the Buddha's Nirvana*."

(63) "It is very doubtful whether the Sanskrit *Srenika* is really the correct representation of the *Seniya* of the Pitakas. If we take it in its simple meaning 'One of the Sreni army, *Seniya* Bimbisara,' Bimbisara the military king, we shall probably be near the original meaning, for *Sreni* signifies some army division." J. B. & O. R. S. I.84.

(64) Kunika in Sanskrit means "one with a crooked arm." This epithet which was employed by contemporaries signifies that Ajatasatru had a crippled arm.

(65) *Early History of India*, p. 36.

(66) *The Sacred Books of the East*, xi. 12.

Cf. Also *Buddhist India*, 12.

(67) Cf. *Suttanta Pitaka*.

means will the Vajjians be overcome but by propitiating them with tributes or dissolving the subsisting union". Vassakara returned from the Buddha and repeated the declaration to the king, Ajatsatru. He of course, did not agree to propitiate the Vajjians with tributes as that would diminish his number of elephants and horses. So he decided to break up their union and Vassakara advised him to convene a meeting of the councillors to bring up some discussions regarding the Vajjians when in the midst of the sitting, he (Vassakara) would quit the council after offering a remonstrance saying "Maharaja what do you want with them? Let them occupy themselves with agriculture and commercial affairs of their own realms". Then he said to Ajatasatru, "Maharaja! completely cut off all my hair, by bringing a charge against me for interdicting your discussion without either binding or flogging me. As I am the person by whom the ramparts and ditches of your capital were formed and as I know the strong and the weak, high and low parts (of your fortification), I will tell the Vajjians that I am able to remove any obstacle you can raise."

The Raja acted upto the advice of his minister, Vassakara. The Vajjians heard of the departure of Vassakara and some of them decided not to allow him to cross the river, while others observed. "He (Ajatsatru) has so treated him because he advocated our cause". That being the case they said (to the guards who wanted to stop him) "Fellows, let him come." Accordingly, the guards permitted him to go in.

Now Vassakara being questioned by the Vajjians, told them why he was so severely punished, for so slight an offence, and that he was there a judicial Prime Minister. Then the Vajjians offered him the same post which he accepted and very soon he acquired reputation for his able administration of justice and the youths of the (Jajji) rulers went to him to have their training at his hands.

Vassakara, on a certain day taking aside one of the Lichchavi rulers (mysteriously) asked, "Do people plough a field?" "Yes, they do; by coupling a pair of bullocks together". On another occasion, taking another Lichchavi aside he significantly asked, "with what curry did you eat (your rice)" and said no more. But hearing the answer, he communicated it to another person. Then upon a subsequent occasion, taking another Lichchavi aside, he asked him in a whisper. "Art thou a mere begger?" He

enquired "Who said so?" and Vaśsakara replied "That Lichchavi". Again upon another occasion, taking another aside, he enquired "Art thou a cowherd?" and on being asked who said so, mentioned the name of some other Lichchavi. Thus by speaking something to one person which has not been said by another person, he succeeded in bringing about a dissension among the rulers in course of these years so completely that none of them would take the same road together. When matters stood thus, he caused the tocsin to be sounded as usual. The Lichchavi rulers disregarded their call saying, "Let the rich and the valiant assemble. We are beggars and cowherds." The Brahmin sent a mission to the Raja saying, "This is the proper time. Let him come quickly". The Raja on hearing the announcement assembled his forces by beat of drum and started. The Vajjians on receiving intimation thereon sounded the tocsin declaring "Let no one allow the Raja to cross the river," On hearing this, they refused to meet together, saying "Let the valiant rulers go". Again the tocsin was sounded and it was then declared: "Let no one allow the Raja to enter the city. Let us defend ourselves with closed gates." No one responded to the call. Ajatasatru entered by the wide open gates and put the people to great calamities (68). Thus Magadha became master of the Lichchavis and Ajatasatru erected a fortress on the northern bank of the Sone near its confluence with the Ganges to watch his Lichchavi opponents—the beginning of Pataliputra.

Mahapadma Nanda, the son of the last Sisunaga King Mahanandin and a Sudra woman, established the next dynasty in or about 372 B.C. Not only on the authority of the Puranas but as we find in two Greek accounts, he was the son of a woman of a very low status (69) who was probably one of the domestic attendants of the palace. One of the Greek accounts is by Diodorus Siculus who says, "Alexander had learned from Phigaeus that beyond the Indus was a vast desert of 12 days' journey and the furthest borders thereof, ran the Ganges. Beyond this river dwell the Tabenians and the Gandaritae whose king's name was Chandramas, who had an army of 20,000 horse, 2,00,000 foot, 2,000

(68) The late Dr. Rhys Davids did not believe in this. He said, "we can only hope this ghastly story of dishonour, treachery and slaughter is a fairy tale" *The Cambridge History of India*, p. 185. It cannot, however, be denied that Ajatsatru captured the stronghold of the Lichchavis.

(69) *Vide J. B. & O. R. S.* 1.88 & iv. 91.

chariots and 4,000 elephants. The king could not believe this to be true and sent for Porus and enquired of him whether it was so or not. He told him all was certainly true but that the present king of the Gangaridas was but of mean and obscure extraction, accounted to be a barber's son, for his father being a very handsome man, the queen fell in love with him and murdered her husband, and so the kingdom devolved upon the present king."

The other account is given by Quintus Cuntius who notes: "Poros added however that the king was not only of low, but of extremely base origin, for his father was a barber whose personal merits recommended him to the queen. Being introduced by her to the king then reigning, he contrived his death and under pretence of acting as guardian to his sons, got them into his power and put them to death. After their extermination he begot the son who was now king, and who more worthy of his father's condition than his own was odious and contemptible to his subjects".

Being a son of the king, Maha-Padama must have had, in accordance with the familiar custom of Hindu royalty, access to the royal household and was naturally entrusted with the guardianship of the princes. During the regency of Maha-Padma which lasted for eight years, the princes died whereupon he ascended the throne(70). The Nava Nandas(71) or the Neo-Nandas were followed by the Mauryas—Chandragupta, the founder, Sandrocottus of the Greek writers (72) and Asoka, the Raja Chakvavaition of whose Edicts we will speak later. Then a few others came under whom Magadha not only ceased to be the premier state of India, but the tables were turned for Kalinga which had owed suzerainty to Asoka, became prominent under Kharavela, the aggressive Jain king(73) who in the twelfth year of his reign caused "Consternation amongst the people of Magadha and made their king do homage to him". The Sungas with Pushyamitra as Commander who revived Asvamedha, the Kanva and the Andhras(74) followed but so far

as rank and fame were concerned, Magadha ceased to enjoy any.

Not only that. During the Kushan dynasty the very centre of Magadha, Pataliputra, was attacked and it may be that during the times of Huvishka and Vasudeva, Magadha was a part and parcel of the Kushan empire(75). After the Kushans we have nothing on record to say who ruled over Magadha. There was indeed a blank till the Imperial Guptas came. Magadha again rose in splendour and extended its power. So far as the conquests of Samendra Gupta are concerned we are now familiar with the details. Volume III of Fleet's important and interesting work gives a satiety of details. I will not go into them, but I am sure you will permit me to refer here to the very curious piece of sculpture—an inscribed stone horse of Samudragupta, now adorning the Lucknow Museum(76) and representing the Asvamedha sacrifice of the Indian Napoleon. The fact that Samudragupta actually performed this solemn rite is vouched for by his inscriptions as well as by the Asvamedha coins or rather medals which are very rare and of which only three have been discovered in Magadha. The Sculpture is the life-size figure in stone of a small horse which was dug up some years ago near the ancient fort of Khairigarh in the Kheri District on the border between Oudh and Nepal(77). In his old age, he had the story of the conquest written by his Court poet Harisena and had it engraved on the Asoka pillar at Allahabad.

Then followed the later Gupta Dynasty who

been founded on a conquest which transferred to them the suzerainty previously held by Magadha". *The Cambridge History of India*, p. 318.

(75) This view of Mr. R. D. Banerjee is open to doubt. The evidences which he has put forward in his memorable *History of Bengal*, Vol. I. p. 36, viz. (1) that a cast of a coin of Huvishka was discovered at the foot of a Bodhi tree when the temple was being repaired (Cunningham, *Mahabodhi*, p. 20, plate vii). The finding of a mere cast is hardly evidence enough to come to a definite conclusion like the above and (2) that Mr. J. O. Beglar while engaged in the reconstruction of the Mahabodhi discovered a *Bodhisatwa* figure of the Mathura red stone. (Cunningham, *Mahabodhi* pp. 17 & 21, plate xxv). Mr. Banerjee surmises that the sculpture was built at Mathura and then brought to Bodhgaya for installation. It seems hardly probable, however, that the decadent Kishan power, after the death of Kaniska, could have advanced so far. Doubts are expressed even to Kanishka's attacking the Magadhan King at Pataliputra and it can hardly be accepted as true that his successors who were certainly less powerful could have ventured to come so far.

(76) *J. R. A. S.*, 1893, p. 148.

(77) *Ibid.*, p. 97.

(70) *J. B. & O. R. S.*, 188.

(71) *Cf. Ibid.*, p. 87. Mr. Jayaswal would call them Neo-Nandas.

(72) This identification first established the "sheet anchor" of ancient Indian Chronology.

(73) *Epigraphia Indica*, x.

J. B. & O. R. S. Vol. III, p. 432.

(74) It is a debatable point whether the Andhras had really any connexion with Magadha. "Their only possible claim to a place in its records must have

appear to have been for the most part merely local rulers of Magadha. Along with the Later Guptas, the Maukhar dynasty (78) whose existence near or at Bodhgaya can be traced back from the 3rd or the 2nd century B.C. and whose rule over the country around Bodhgaya during the 6th and 7th centuries is well-known to us from inscriptions and literary works, very likely shared Magadha with the Later Guptas. It is also interesting that although during this period Magadha ceased to be the headquarters of any Imperial Power and sank into insignificance, its reputation as the centre and headquarters of Buddhist learning did not cease and it even then attracted learners. In 539, Wu-ti or Hsiao Yen the first Liang emperor of China and an ardent Buddhist sent a mission to Magadha for the purpose of collecting original Mahayana texts and obtaining the services of a scholar competent to translate them.

Early in the eighth century a chieftain named Gopala was elected king of Bengal. The state of the country since 730 was a deplorable one. The King of Assam had conquered the greater part of eastern India and Gaud is mentioned by name as one of the countries held by the king in subjection (79). Vatsaraj the Gurjara King acquired the sovereignty of another portion sometime by 760 A.D. (80). It was at this juncture that Gopala "the son of Vapyata, the crest jewel of the heads of kings, the glorious one, whom the people made take the hand of fortune, to put an end to the practice of fishes (81), whose everlasting great fame the glorious mass of moonlight on a full moon light seeks to rival by its whiteness in the sky" became the king of Bengal (82). There was established the Pala dynasty (83) which conquered Magadha. His son was Dharmapala, the *Paramasungata Paramesvara Paramabhattacharaka Maharajadhiraj* (84) "whose achievements are praised by the

good, a master of kings, who alone is ruling the entire of the earth;" whose progress when he is about to conquer the quarters all round, the four oceans, marked by the foot-prints of the arrays of his elephants that bathe on their shores, patiently permit being no longer bosses of the earth"; who installed the illustrious king of Kanya Kubja, who was readily accepted by the Bhoja. Matsya, Madra, Kuru, Yadu, Yavanas, Avanti, Gandharva and Kira Kings bowing down respectfully with their diadems trembling and for whom his own golden coronation jar was lifted up by the delighted elders of Panchala. All these we learn from the Khalimpur grant attested to by the Bhagalpur plate (85). King Dharmapala was a man of exceptional capacity and a devout Buddhist bestowing liberal patronage on learned teachers and numerous monastic communities and was the founder of the famous Vikramsila University. The popularity of this prince who issued his Grant from Pataliputra "where the manifold fleets of boats proceeding on the path of the *Bhagirathi* made it seem as if a series of mountain tops had been sunk to build another cause way" can be estimated when we read that his praises were sung by the cowherds on the borders, by the foresters in the forests, by the villagers on the outskirts of villages, by the playing groups of children in every courtyard, in every market by the parrots in the cages (86)". Dharmapala restored Buddhism but he was tolerant of Hinduism (87). His Mahasammata established a big Vishnu-mandir at a place called Subbathali and in the twenty sixth year of his reign, on the fifth day of the dark fortnight of Bhadrapada on a Saturday a Singam with four faces was set up in the pleasant abode of the Lord of Dharma by Kesava, the Stone cutter, for the descendants of Snatakas who lived at Mahabodhi (88). The Khalimpur grant is also a proof of his toleration. Another king of the same dynasty with whom Magadha was intimately connected was Devapala, the second son of Dharmapala. I say intimately for an inscription of Devapala is on record as having been issued from Monghyr (89) while there is a reference to a place named Srinagara which has been identified with Patali-

(78) Vide *Indian Antiquary* ix p. 178. Also J. R. A. S. (New Series) VI. 141.

(79) *Indian Antiquary* IX p. 78.

(80) *Ramcharita*, p. 23.

(81) *Matsya Nyay*. Chanakya has clearly explained this term, which also occurs in the *Mahabharata*, *Santiparvan*.

(82) Taranath says that Gopala began to rule in Bengal but afterwards reduced Magadha.

(83) Khalimpura Plate, *Epigraphia Indica*, iv. 251. Taranath, the Tibetan historian also refers to this election of Gopala, by the people. He tells us how the wife of one of the kings by night assassinated everyone of those who had been chosen as kings, but after a certain number of years, delivered himself from her and was made king for life.

(84) Cf. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXI.

(85) *Indian Antiquary*, XV. 304.

(86) *Epigraphia Indica*, IV. 252.

(87) Cf. Devapala's Inscription, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXI.

(88) *A. S. R.*, 1908-9, p. 150.

(89) *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. I. *Indian Antiquary*, XXI

putra. Devapala was also a king and during his reign Magadha maintained its eminence.

Where was however the capital of the Pala Kings? Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprosad Sastri is of opinion that they had no capital(90) and that they lived in camps only, moving from one place to another. The Khalimpur Inscription was issued from Pataliputra and Devapala issued his grant from Monghyr and in none is mentioned the capital of these kings who were very powerful ones. Can this be possible? Mr. Akshaya Kumar Maitreya the well-known Scholar and Director of the Varendra Research Society took great offence at the above suggestion of the learned Shastriji and questioned whether it was possible for such powerful kings to have no capital, no fixed place of habitation and to be like a wandering gipsy. But Mr. Maitreya has not himself suggested the name of any place and contented himself only by mentioning that proofs of the Pala kings having their capitals will be given in a subsequent volume of the publication of the Varendra Research Society. Up to time inscriptions of the second, third, fifth, ninth, eleventh and seventeenth kings of the dynasty have been discovered and it is indeed curious that in none of these there has been any mention of their capital. Strange indeed!

In the absence of any other proof, it would be unjustifiable to hazard any definite conclusion, but considering that the Khalimpur *Prasasti* refers to Pataliputra as a Victory Camp and that both the Devapala inscription refer to Srinagar which has been identified with Pataliputra, can it be that the Victory Camp at Pataliputra was made the capital by his successor?

Two other Pala kings deserve more than a passing notice. Mahipala(91) whose dates can be assigned to 978-1030 and who is very well-known and with whose names songs are associated. It was in his time that Pandit Dharmapala and other holy men from Magadha accepted the invitation from Tibet to restore Buddhism, followed by the mission of Atisa of whom we shall speak later on. The other king was Ramapala whose history has been given in the *Ramacharita*(92) discovered by M. M. Hara-

prosad Sastri. The importance of this history of Bengal in the second half of the 11th and the first half of the 12th century cannot be narrated. As the learned Sastriji observes, "It is a contemporary record though obscured by double *entendre* and such records are so rare for India and specially for the eastern portion of it that it may be pronounced as unique(93).

Very likely in 116 there was reigning in Magadha one Govindapala Deva in the fourth year of whose reign was copied an *Astasahasrika Pragnaparanita*(94). Who this Govindapala was and to which Pala dynasty he belonged, it is difficult to ascertain. He had also as titles, *Paramesvara*, *Paramabhattarak*, *Maharajadhiraj* while the title of *Paramasavga* implies that he was also a Buddhist. His reign is mentioned in the inscription in the temple of *Gadadhara*(95) at Gaya. There are references to his reign in other manuscripts also e.g., in the copy of the *Paragnaparamita*(96) in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal as well as in a copy of *Guhya-vari* in the Cambridge University. In the thirty-eighth year of his reign which falls in 1199, there is a reference to his having lost his kingdom(97). This was the year when Magadha was captured by the Muhammadens. Govindapala was then weak. With the aid of the monks he tried to defend the fort on the hill where was situated the Vihar of Odandapura. Govindapala was defeated and killed. From that time the existence of Magadha as a separate kingdom ceased altogether. A year after Bengal was also attacked.

As has been proved now the Muslim invasions were incursions. The Janibigha inscription(98) shows that the rule of the Sena kings continued in some parts of Magadha after the Mohammadan invasion. This stone inscription which is now in the Patna Museum(99) is of very great importance in the history of the Sena epoch. It is dated in the era of Laksmansena(100) the year being 83 i.e., the third year, 1202, after the Muhammadan expedition. This

(93) Introduction to *Ramacharita*, p. 2.

(94) J. R. A. S., VIII. (1876) p. 3.

(95) A. S. R. Vol. III. 125 & E. I. O.

(96) J. A. S. B. 1893, p. 1.

(97) R. D. Banerjee, *The Palas of Bengal*, 109 ff.

(98) J. B. & O. R. S. Vol. V.

(99) I can claim some credit for having brought it to the Museum.

(100) During the reigns of Laksmansena, the Western part of Magadha seems to have passed into the hands of the Gahadavala Kings of Kanauj. *The Palas of Bengal*, p. 107.

(90) *Ramcharita*, p. 6.

(91) Portion of Magadha, if not the whole, was under the occupation of the Pratihars till Mahipala I annexed Magadha to his territories. *The Palas of Bengal*, p. 59.

(92) Published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal as one of its memoirs.

inscription now proves that though Bihar was conquered, the neighbouring district of Gaya remained under a scion of the Sena family in the time of Muhammad Ibn Bakhtyar (101). This fact along with that of Raja Indradumyna ruling

over some parts of Magadha would go to prove that the attack of Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khiliji was of the nature of inroads (102). But so far as Buddhism was concerned it received its death blow. Its vitality was sapped.

(101) J. B. & O. R. S. Vol. IV, 266.

(102) J. B. & O. R. S. Vol.

THE PROBLEM OF RACE-PSYCHOLOGY.

In its bearing on a better understanding between the East and West: With special reference to England and India.

By MR. FREDOON KABRAJI.

Right is a bigger word than wrong although they both contain the same number of letters. It includes wrong. Wrong is only a potential form of right. I don't think the English mind quite "gets" that, although it comes pretty near it when a chance Editor with "ideas" is (despite the demon)* driven to a most "frightful give-away" in which he so far forgets himself as to say "A moment comes in a man's life when suddenly all the hard things are made plain..." Now that is certainly promising since it amounts to saying that the hard or bad things find a new meaning and a justification for him when his moment comes round; in other words, bad becomes good, and wrong becomes right. So that wrong becomes relative—to the past. But right remains right—it is absolute. It has not become relative to the present because your moment happens to have just come along. The hard thing has been sweet, the bad thing has been good, the wrong thing has been right—potentially—all the time if only you had known it!

That is where there is, I think, an essential difference between the English mind and the Indian mind. No, it is not just temperament nor is it the climate, that spells the difference. It is a positive attitude of the conscious Indian mind, as opposed to the positive attitude of the conscious British mind. The true Britisher

grumbles at the hard things till his moment comes round; meanwhile it is so splendid of him to wait and—er—to grumble! But the true Indian knows from the hour of his birth if not from his past life, that there are no hard things or bad things or wrong things—*really*—and that the moment they strike him as such they are to be dismissed as *Maya* or illusions: not that he doesn't recognise lying or murder or adultery as wrong; not that he is incapable of them; but that he is less prone to them simply because he has not made a special study of them, simply because he regards them as aberrations—a waste of good time. He knows that willy nilly he has to come out *right* in the very end since that is the great plan of the Universe which admits of no alteration for the sake of individuals desiring to finish wrong. Therefore, if he is wise, he begins to get ready in this life, for the higher stage which is to follow in the next, by putting himself in tune with the only right and natural order of Life, by acquiring its positive values, straightaway instead of investing first in its negative values (usually called the bad things) to be later converted into positive values (usually called the good things). It is purely a case of common sense: the wise pupil will not fritter away too much time—more than what is necessary for creature comforts—in bad conduct lest he may have to repeat his 'form'. And the wise Hindu will not fritter away too much time

*See the *Adelphi* (June) "The Cause of it all" by John Middleton Murry.

—more than what is strictly necessary for creature comforts—in bad conduct or *negative* conduct lest he has to repeat this life after death—do all the old lessons over again!

General Dyer may be unable to agree with the wise Hindu and may put him out of his way with a friendly bullet; Mr. Lowell Thomas may poke fun at the wise Hindu before English audiences and dismiss his Juggernaut in genial banter. But that is simply because General Dyer in all his panoply of self-righteousness and Mr. Lowell Thomas in his gay green suit of raillery are no more than so much drift upon the Cosmic Tide to be cast among the weeds upon the shore. While our Hindu offering his body to his Juggernaut becomes one with the Tides—becomes the power behind them. And why? Simply because he is on the side of the Elements; because he knows that right is a bigger word than wrong since it swallows all wrong; because he knows that Right is absolute and wrong is relative; that Eternal Justice is the most terrible Reality—the dynamic Energy that drives the million worlds and takes no stock of empires, even the British Empire! General Dyer and Mr. Lowell Thomas however, prefer to stake their souls upon the prestige of the Empire, believing that the Absolute Right or Eternal Justice or whatever one may call it, is after all only an integral part of the British Empire, and not that the British Empire is perhaps an integral part of the Cosmic Empire!

We are our own thought; a nation is its thought clarified and crystalised in its history. On the one hand, we have, let us say, a thoroughbred English spinster-aunt who epitomises in herself the finest spiritual achievement of her old revered sisterhood; her 'belief in life' seems to vary between a religion of keeping up appearances (with all the spiritual grace which that high privilege confers upon her), and a religion of reading her Bible, whispering confidences to Fido (her little Peke) and dreaming of the day when her winning-horse comes home to crown her martyrdom with the bliss of receiving a whole queue of Press Representatives, and silk-hatted suitors for her hand. On the other hand, we have, let us say, a Hindu housewife true to her traditions, and as nearly as possible, comparable in her worldly circumstances to the class the English spinster-aunt is supposed to represent. As maiden aunts do not exist in India, the nearest approach to one that can be imagined for the purposes of a fair comparison, would be a

young widow destined to remain unmarried for life. And what is her 'belief in life'? Oh nothing really! Just to serve her elders and youngsters with love and devotion in all the meaner household duties, to keep the home clean, and to consecrate herself daily before her gods by rites and prayer. No appearances to keep up? No; only a modest and natural appearance. And what is her great cherished dream? To see her children—her nephews and nieces and grandchildren included—well married *for life*! After that she has little interest in earthly life; her soul has served its probation on the physical plane; in the barren and widowed existence of her little domestic world, she may have been a chrysalis suspended from the Family Tree, but the guiding impulse of that hidden life has already quickened into a larger and freer measure; already she has had 'intimations of immortality'; within the sanctuaries of Nature she will pass her remaining days. Nature brought her to this life; Nature inspired her and sustained her; Nature will receive her to her arms again: and in the course of the ages, Nature will rock her in the cradle of birth and of death, of joy and of pain, of yearning and fulfilment and when all the mysteries of Life have been told, then and only then, shall her own mystery be known. With that intuition she is content to face Life*; all she prays for is the joy of serving this Life, this God. She has no time to hide behind illusions of her home-coming ship or horse as the case may be.

Comparisons are invidious. Granted. But in trying to draw a comparison I have only come up against a contrast. That ought to puzzle the benevolent souls who in their zeal for World Brotherhood refuse to recognise racial differences and so make their mission an increasing failure. But let them be cheered with the knowledge that nothing unites so well as two opposed halves, to form a perfect whole. The most successful marriages are between two parties of opposed temperaments. If the right leg and the left leg were to insist on keeping rigidly together it is obvious that they would not cover much ground between them. They could only hop a little distance in life and would never be the fine brothers they are by virtue of their splendid mutual faith of crossing each other at every step in life to achieve the common end of progress.

*The larger Life which includes many changes by Death.

It would seem captious to construct a theory on two such summary sketches of two different and inconsequential types, for it may rightly be objected, the soul of their nation is not in the keeping of either of these two classes. But then, in whose keeping is the soul of a nation? Is it with politicians, lawyers, bankers, journalists, bookmakers, sportsmen, tinker, tailor, soldier, sailor, parson, poet, socialist, artist? Is it exclusively with any one of these? Are we not all shareholders in the National Banking Account of Heredity? And would not our Miss Thoroughbred English Spinster-Aunt by virtue of her privileged position in history, be expected to have considerable shares on the spiritual side of the National Banking-Account?

It is not my object to talk irreverently of the soul of any nation, nor to glorify the one at the expense of the other; but it is my object to point out what seem to me to be the essential and structural differences in the genius of the two races. It is a law of heredity that every individual inherits all the possibilities of the race, and therefore naturally, too, all the limitations of the race. This is simply a formal statement of the well-known scientific fact that although nothing can be got out of something, something cannot be got out of nothing. And it is the latter nothing that represents the limitations of the race. Theoretically speaking the individual inherits all the something—the full sum-total—of racial qualities and mathematically speaking he can develop all the latent qualities of the race, but the greatest genius on earth cannot inherit, much less develop possibilities absent in the race. Now, it is my considered opinion that the sense of Absolute Justice both as metaphysical principle and as a close and living faith is not a hereditary possibility of the English-speaking races. At the same time, it is my considered opinion, that there is a very definite English sense of Absolute Justice. It was first patented by one of the earliest British Monarchs of barbaric times before James the First trademarked it as the "Divine Right of Kings." Since then it has been one of the most persistent, recurrent and successful of the great hereditary possibilities of the race. It has inspired some of the noblest deeds of individual heroism and national prowess in the annals of English Patriotism; reacting on the stimulus of goodly meat and drink it has fired some of the sublimest of banquet-orations on the subject of the Divine Protectorship of Great Britain over the

half-civilised countries under her Maternal Wing. And above all it has produced that national epic where we learn that:—

" . . . Guardian angels sang the strain:
Rule Britannia, Britannia rule the waves"

And how often our English benefactors have told us Indians so! The ancestors of General Dyer and Mr. Lowell Thomas have for generations practised their gentle arts of persuasion and insinuation on us Indians; in their very different ways the officers of the C. I. D.* and the S. P. C. K.† have tried to tell us the same great truth; the guardian angels of Absolute Justice through the Mother of Parliaments and the Government of India, have filled the skies with the strain "Rule Britannia, Britannia rule the waves. . ." And yet we Indians have not caught the right tune; perversely or block-headedly we are still singing out of tune ".....GOD RULE THE WAVES."

When I speak of a nation's soul I mean not that eternal abstraction unlimited by Time and Space, but that almost mathematical quantity measurable and definable by Science—the sum total of racial possibilities. The soul of every individual expressing itself at every moment of time and every cubic inch of space in every unit or fraction of a unit of conscious or unconscious self-expression in thought, word, or deed—is making its specific contribution to the National or Racial Banking Account of Heredity. These innumerable entries are automatically "ticked off" one against the other by Time, Space and Circumstance and the final products ranged on the debit or credit sides of the account as the case might be. Then these products are added up and their totals balanced in their respective columns when it is found that a certain sum is invariably left to be "carried over" from the end of the page of one generation and "brought forward" to the fresh page of the next generation. And so the account continues and the race or nation lives: through Life, Literature, Science and Art the account continues and always a certain product is carried over from one page and brought forward to another. That product I have called a nation's soul. As such, it forms a basis of comparative measurement between two nations or two races. As such, any individual of one race may be measured by any individual

*Criminal Investigation Dept.

†Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge.

of another race since, mathematically speaking, each of them possesses all the possibilities of his or her race. And I have taken the English spinster-aunt and the Hindu widow.

Through Literature, Science, Art and Religion the account continues and always something is carried over from the bottom of one page and brought forward to the top of the next page. That something is the germ of the race: it contains protoplasm, the principle of life and growth; it holds the possibilities of the race. *Therefore the question of real progress becomes a question of stimulating the germ, enlarging its scope of possibilities; it becomes a question of introducing new possibilities into the race; a question of revising old values and re-stating them in all spheres of thought and action; in the sphere of politics for instance, we Indians would like to recommend to our English friends a very thorough revision of the old barbaric values of prestige and the Divine Right of Empires; in the sphere of religion, perhaps, a re-statement of the Victorian conception of a Jesus Christendom; in literature perhaps we would recommend a certain widening of vision which would partly follow from the first two reforms and partly from an acquired habit of looking upon Nature not as a beautiful back-ground to some human drama or fantasy merely, not as a lovely change-ful Mistress laughing in sunshine, weeping in rain, sulking in clouds and blighting the land in winter,—for that is the time-honoured symbolism—but as a Divine Presence in whom life is daily renewed in birth and in death, as a Mother in whose Divine Love lies our salvation, whether that Love chooses to express Itself in summer sunshine or wintry snows, in cloudless skies or gathering clouds, in bounty or famine, in balmy breezes or howling hurricanes. A cloud of Love is a paradox in English literature; but it is both real and beautiful nevertheless. The exquisite lace of leafless twigs against a wintry sky arouses no warmth in the English heart and stands in some of the finest passages of English literature only for barrenness and all uncharitableness; why does it never stir the English poet's heart with its eloquent virginals, clothed (as the tree is) only in chastity?*

It is unnecessary to push the analysis further. We have seen the interactions of two different visions of life in the psychological differences of two races of peoples. From this emerges the problem of racial psychology as it clearly exists for both England and India. The solution of this

problem for an ultimate mutual understanding of the East and the West must be left to future generations; but the beginning must be now, and already there are some happy signs of it. One thing however is perfectly certain: the happy coronation of the East and the West will never be achieved through politics or diplomacy or Royal embassies; for these are inevitably mixed up with Commercialism thinly disguised, and Commercialism in any form rests intrinsically upon perversions of Absolute Justice or Universal Truth or any other term that may be used to mean the same thing. Money is such a mighty Olympian in the West that it is difficult for the Western mind blinded by the golden beams of this God, to see the God in whom he draws his breath; the lesser God is so much more real to him than the greater One—much as some glittering toy is so much more real to a baby than its own mother, when it is not hungry. The English baby is above sucking his own mother—he has such refined substitutes for mother's milk—that the mother recedes more and more from his consciousness. When he is tired of his toy and cries for nourishment, a feeding-bottle of the Church of England is promptly thrust into his mouth and the baby goes contentedly to sleep over it. But the Indian baby is not so refined in its tastes: his toys are of more sombre hue and when he is tired of them and is hungry he insists on sucking his mother and nothing else seems to him to be so real as his mother whom he never leaves alone. Hence, of course, his very different outlook on life from that of his English brother; hence, of course, his faith in his mother whom we have called by various names such as Absolute Justice, Universal Truth, etc., which mean so little to his English brother. Life is a mystery; no one could be dogmatic about Life. Science is making it increasingly difficult for one to accept the literal teaching of Christianity; but Science is not destroying Religion; it is rather purifying and enlarging Religion; it is amply substantiating the intuition of the Indian baby as above. Astronomy is teaching us to think in terms of the Universe;—in terms of absolute values; the physical sciences through their interpretation of the principle of evolution are supporting the ancient Hindu theory of Reincarnation; the psychic sciences are explaining the old Hindu belief in *Maya* or the illusion of external realities at the same time as they are corroborating the deep and living faith in spiritual realities.

Synthetically from this, we come to see something even of the vast Design of Life; we see that only in so far as we can fulfil our microscopic part in that Design can we live at all. On every hand we see a mighty warring of the elements; we see colossal ruin, destruction, chaos, and waste everywhere in the Universe and yet we know that the balance is overwhelmingly on the side of Growth, of Movement, of Fulfilment; we know that with every second that passes with its incalculable burden of human injustice and waste, the Universe is still gathering volume in the direction of Growth, of Movement, of Fulfilment, and we can almost say with a certain Indian poet—

...“Where the tyrannies of the world

Have thriven in the glory of the Universe...”
With confidence we can range ourselves in life on the side of all that makes for Growth, for Movement, for Fulfilment and know that we are in tune with the Universe, that, in other words, we have found Absolute Justice, the Right which is bigger than wrong.

But if the happy coronation of East and West may not be attained through politics or diplomacy or embassies or trade-tactics or State propaganda of any kind because these grand enterprises of mere man (which we may group together under the heading *The Hypocrisies*) are founded not on the absolute values as discovered above (which we may group together under the heading *The Eternal Verities*) but on the vanity of human wishes—it may still be accomplished in the pure domain of the arts of East and West. The imperishable element of Art is simply the imperishable element of Life. To have more life we must have more art. We have a most striking vindication of this truth in the magnificent rally round their Art which the stricken and dying countries of Central Europe are even now making before the eyes of a world still dominated by what we have called above, *The Hypocrisies*,—Politics, Diplomacies, Trade-Tactics, State-Propaganda, and the other fat capitalist-owners of the Four Horsemen of Apocalypse. The stricken and dying countries—we have said; but are they indeed dying or rather are they just beginning to live? Are we not rather witnessing in the crumbling of the once mighty empires of Russia, Austria, and Germany, the empyrian spectacle of countries coming into their own? Let us for a moment try to imagine the penury of the stricken countries and then let us study the art they

have produced and are still producing through the bitter anguish of their lot and then let us ask ourselves, “What is the secret of it all?” Is it not that when all its false gods have been swept away a people comes to find the true God? Is it not simply that the Russians and Austrians and Germans are giving us to-day in their art, a glimpse of the absolute values of life which have become so real to them through their suffering?

Therefore in Art born of suffering we have a basis of union between different countries; but we must have patience yet awhile. By a strange irony of Fate just when some countries have “arrived” as they say in the best slang of the day, other countries are so dismally behind time. For instance France; her soul is almost dead to art to-day; soot and coal-dust from the mines of the Ruhr is settling thick upon her soul and blurring her vision. It will be ages before she will be able to meet her sister countries in God’s Ante-Chamber of Art. And what of her other proud and imperious sisters—England and America and even Belgium?

A millenium strictly speaking is a period of a thousand years; it is as far as a man’s vision ordinarily goes; it is about the most magnanimous time-limit which he is able to give to God for His work of perfecting the world. But that is because man forgets that “the mills of God grind slowly, but they grind exceeding small” is not so much true of God’s retribution as it is true of God’s grace of healing and of Health! The mills of God’s seas were at work long before Eve quite inadvertently brought upon Adam, the *blessing* of work; they have since been unceasingly pounding with mortar and pestle a medicine for Adam—yea, even in a few grains of sand a health unto Adam—but Adam has heeded not, and therefore is he sick. Sick—and in his fever he gives to God a thousand years to make him whole, not knowing how many milleniums God has taken to make for the son of man, a few perfect grains of—sand.

This is a wicked blow to our lovely dreams of an Arcadia of Nations in the next few milleniums to come. If it took God all those ages to make a few perfect grains of sand how many ages must He need to make a few perfect countries? But we need never despair of a World Brotherhood of differences such as we already have here and now in this world—if we cannot have a World Brotherhood of similarities and sickly perfection. Wherever

strong men are searching for and living for the truth—we have a world brotherhood. Truth is one but the approaches to truth are as many as the wonders of life. It is not given to everyone to fathom the mysteries of life, but it is given to us all to wonder at them ; wonder is dedication, dedication is worship. If we would live aright, if we would fill our little part in Life we must keep alive our sense of wonder. Wonder by its very nature seeks expression. It makes the poet, the artist, the philosopher, the mystic, the scientist, the craftsman, the peasant, the saint and the martyr ; but it does not make their opposites, our Robots, called the professor, the person, the business-man, the trade-unionist, the lawyer, the town-councillor, the parliamentary patriot ; it makes the statesman but not the politician. To the former class every fact is an open-sesame to some new aspect of the age-old truth and life is a crowded romance ; to the latter class every fact is only a fresh proof of an old dogma or another platitude ; they could always have told you so ! To them life is a dictionary which they know by heart, and they too have their freemasonry all over the world. In point of numbers they are infinitely more prosperous than is the former class, but why need that worry us ?

If Art is a grand archway to an understanding between the East and the West, Mysticism and Pure Science are the golden staircases. Mysticism is the spiritual apprehension of truth as Science is the rational apprehension of truth. Each is a habit of mind, a method of approach. Therefore, in the broadest sense any individual may be either a mystic or a scientist in life, although it is the very rare individual who actually is either a perfect mystic or a perfect scientist or a perfect combination of mystic and scientist, while the great majority of us are neither good mystics nor good scientists, but only untrained and undisciplined bunglers in our attitude to life. Such are the facts but they do not alter the real issue, *viz.*, that a closer understanding between East and West in some measure depends upon a mutual recognition and consequent development of Mysticism and Science as complementary methods of approaching truth, in both hemispheres.

And again we must answer the age-old question, What is truth ? Truth is neither spiritual nor physical, neither moral, intellectual nor practical. Truth is merely abstract. That is why it is truth. It is of the quality of

thought, of spirit, of love, of dreams, of music. The Treaty of Versailles is not a truth ; it is a fact. It is a sad fact of the truth that Right is a bigger word than wrong ; it is a sad fact of the truth that the apprehension of that Right which is bigger than wrong is inevitably through the wrong of the fact of the Treaty of Versailles.

It is important to know this. It gives eyes to the blind, groping soul of man. It puts him into right relations with life. It purifies his vision. All his Olympian gods now melt into thin air. The cackle of many tongues ceases. The dust of strife is laid low by the rain of peace. Fresh air flows in. The dream of a Jesus Christendom is absorbed into the dream of a living Kingdom of God. The glittering gold structure of the British Empire is reduced to a pinch of dust. The great Caesars of the Press and the Pulpit look like breathless midges. Man ceases to worship man. He worships God. Nature becomes a Presence to him in Whom he finds his atomic relationship instead of feeling bigger than her, instead of flirting with her and slandering her in life and literature as if she were a pretty Gipsy wench.

The distorted view of life gives way to the true view of life. The optical illusion only discovers the underlying scientific fact ; as surely as we know by practical experience that there is an infinity of sky-lines beyond the sky-line fixed for us by our sight, so surely do we know by spiritual experience that there is an infinity of sky-lines beyond the sky-line of life and death on this earth defined by our very human educational system. As surely as we can in measuring the secrets of heavenly bodies, calculate the refraction of stellar light through ether, so surely can we in measuring the secrets of physically smaller heavenly bodies—to wit ourselves—calculate the refraction of the light of human generations through the ether of Eternity. To change the metaphor, we can now find our true bearings in Life and determine our relative position in Creation. And we see that the far-off divine event of Tennyson's is simply the Right we have been speaking of in introducing the subject of this paper ; we see that this Right looms larger and larger the nearer our whole Creation moves to it ; we see that from that perspective we suddenly dwindle from "lords of creation" to atoms of creation ; moreover we find that it is infinitely more blissful to be atoms of creation instead of lords of creation as hitherto. Because then we are not

so much obsessed by our sense of our own divine responsibilities to entire continents as for instance those diseased atoms like Lord Sydenham and Lord Curzon who feel called upon to act and speak in their double capacities as lords of Creation (on the animal side) and Lords of Combe and Kedlestone respectively (on the spiritual side) on the subject of the destiny of countries not their own.*

The Treaty of Versailles is an historical fact. If Europe were to annul that Treaty from altruistic motives it would become an historical miracle. Evolution would then be defeated; Science would then be confronted with a new revolutionary principle of thought to explain such a miracle. It would be a miracle of universal Christianity. But individual Christianity is not a miracle. Why should it be a miracle for an individual Christian to be Christian even in his official capacity as Editor of a leading English weekly paper?

Mr. Keynes, Editor of the *Nation and Athænium*, knows that the French are entitled to ask for their pound of flesh from Germany according to the bond of Versailles. But he pleads in effect for mercy the quality of which is not strained. . . Whereupon the new Editor of the *English Review* (and Brutus was an honourable man) jumps at Mr. Keynes's throat waving the Treaty-Paper in his eyes, and is bewildered to understand how "an English paper with an English Editor could take up such a line" viz. of sympathy for down-trodden Germany.

*The Wrecking of India by Lord Sydenham. in the July no. of the *English Review* is just one example.

Now Mr. E. Remnant, Editor of the *English Review*, we like to think, is a good Christian, also, a very considerable force in literary journalism. Moreover he represents, as we understand, a very large section of the cultured classes of England. Therefore it is a miracle to note in him, a propensity to champion that Shylock, France—in one who combines in himself in so high a degree, the Christianity and the best culture of the great Conservative classes of England.

But we can close our discussion on a note of hope. We have spoken of the protoplasm of a race; we have seen that the question of real progress becomes a question of introducing the germ of new possibilities into this protoplasm of the race. And if we would look around us we would find, I think, that the germ of a new possibility—and there are happy signs that it may be even a hereditary possibility—has definitely found its way into the protoplasm of the English-speaking races, at any rate, since the War. Let us hope it will develop with vigour, for it is the germ of a possibility we found absent in the race before—the possibility of a sense of Absolute Justice, distinct from a sense of English Absolute Justice of immemorial tradition. Let us hope, that thus, what is even to-day a most obstinate barrier between a true mutual understanding of East and West may be removed in the fulness of time, and that what is to-day a truth dimly grasped by the individual may become in the centuries to come a gospel for peoples and parliaments. §

§The writer informs us that this article also appears in the *New York Orient* for January—Ed. H.R.

INDIA'S INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION.

AN AMERICAN SURVEY.**

By DR. G. SHERWOOD EDDY.

After visiting the principal manufacturing cities of India we become convinced that industrial conditions are on the whole much better than in China, where the struggle of life is more fierce and relentless. The life of the average Indian worker is conditioned by the basic fact of India's greater poverty, for it is the poorest country in the world. The per capita income of the people was estimated by Lord Cromer in 1882 as 27 rupees a year; in 1900, in Lord Curzon's time, it was estimated at 30 rupees,* The Director of Statistics for India now reckons the per capita income as 53 rupees. Thus the average income of this entire fifth of the human race is less than $2\frac{1}{2}$ annas a day.

Such a statement is easily written or read, but what does it mean in terms of human life? It means for tens of millions in India perpetual poverty and often actual hunger. It means one or at most two scanty meals a day of millet or the cheapest grains; it means an earthen floor and four mud walls of a little one-room hovel for a large family in a smoke-filled room with no chimney, and often no bed, table, chair or stove. It means that without adequate industries in the frequent periods of drought millions face the hunger of famine. It is this bitter poverty that drives the worker from the land in times of scarcity to the dreaded factories of Bombay or Calcutta, and from them he seeks to escape whenever his poverty permits.

The terrible prevalence of debt tends to increase this poverty. In one place which we visited nine-tenths of the workers were reported to be in debt. Much of this is preventable, incurred in unproductive expenditures such as on marriage ceremonies. Sir Daniel Hamilton well says that the country is in the grip of the money-lender. "It is usury—the rankest, most extortionate, most merciless usury which eats

the marrow out of the raiyat and condemns him to a life of penury and slavery." The interest rate varies from 20 to 150 per cent. The writer found occasionally even higher rates among the drink-cursed miners of Bengal on short term loans without security.

India has an industrial population of some eight millions. There are approximately fourteen million people engaged in primitive or cottage industries and some two hundred millions in agriculture. In 5,312 modern factories British India has 13,67,136 workers, a number larger than in China and a little less than in Russia or Japan.†

After considering India's poverty, we may now examine wages, hours and conditions of labor. According to the report of the Government Bureau of Statistics, the wages of the majority of common laborers were from 2 to $3\frac{1}{2}$ annas a day, of carpenters and iron workers 8 As. to Re. $1\frac{1}{2}$, of cotton weavers 4 As. to Re. $1\frac{1}{2}$ and of rural workers 2 as. to 10 as. a day.§

†The Director of Statistics reports 13,67,136 workers in 5,312 large industrial establishments in 1922. According to the Census there are 2,106,000 in industrial plants and mines employing 20 persons or more 2,400,000 transport workers, and 823,000 workers in subsidiary occupations. Professor Gini estimates 2,000,000 laborers in establishments employing less than 20 persons, or a total industrial population of approximately 8,000,000. There are approximately 222,000,000 gainfully employed, compared with 41,609,192 in the United States, and 295,000,000 in China according to the estimate of the Government Bureau of Economic Information, Peking.

§A careful investigation conducted by the Labor Office of the Bombay Government among 194,000 workers in the cotton industry, revealed the following facts: The majority of the men when we saw them, when wages were still at the peak following the war, earned from 12 As. to Re. $1\frac{1}{2}$ a day; women earned from 12 to 15 As., the majority of the children in Ahmedabad earned from 4 to 8 annas, and in Sholapur less than 4 annas a day. Bombay Labor Gazette, January, 1923, p. 15.

The Government Report of the Central Provinces for June 30, 1922, shows rupee wages ranged from 4 as. a day for unskilled to Re. 1 for skilled workers; urban wages from 6 As. to Re. $1\frac{1}{2}$ with an average of less than Rs. 9 a month. The Report for the Madras Presidency shows practically the same wage scale. An

**A Chapter from a forthcoming American publication.

**Economic History of India, Victorian Age*, by Romesh Dutt, p. 603.

In North and South India we found skilled artisans, carpenters, masons, bricklayers, blacksmiths, weavers and engine drivers receiving Rs. 24 to Rs. 36 a month. In the coal mines of Bengal we found unskilled labor paid 5 As. a day for women, 6 As. for men. The average earned by miners in one mine was Rs. 4½ a week; but they only cared to work three days a week. In Cawnpore we found men working for 9 As. a day, women for 4 to 6½ As. and children for 4 As. a day.

We cannot forget the sight of some of these children who were under age toiling in the heat, half suffocated by the stifling dust of the tan bark, in a shoe factory which has made large profits and has done nothing for its labor. A neighbouring mill has declared 120 per cent. profit, paying many of its women 5 As. a day, and unskilled men 8 As. a day. Last year 57 per cent. of the children of these workers in Cawnpore died during the first year of their impoverishing lives, that is 570 per thousand of these poor children died during the first year compared to 83 per thousand during the same year in favoured England.† In the model village furnished by one company the lives of 232 children per thousand are saved a year, but the majority of the employers seem to view with suspicion any suggestion of such welfare work or housing for their workers.

Let us examine for a moment this wage scale in India in the light of profits and the ability of employers to pay a living wage. During the hard times over most of the world in 1922, the mills of Bombay on an investment of some £9 million made a profit of over £10 million or an average of 125 per cent. These were certainly exceptional years, but in the meantime their wage scale for all workers averaged only Rs. 150 a month or Re. 1 a day. Many of the mills of Western India are now demanding a reduction of this wage scale. Is the profit of the single manufacturer or the welfare of the

inquiry by Dr. Gilbert Slater in Madras states that the cost of living at the close of the war was Rs. 17½ a month for a family of four. Other inquiries after the prices had risen estimated a minimum budget for a family of four at Rs. 24 or considerably above the average wage received in that Presidency.

†Many women leave the city for their country home for their confinement. If the child dies after its return to the city, it is registered among the deaths but not among the births, thus increasing the apparent death rate. The actual death rate is disgracefully high, but not as bad as these figures would seem to indicate.

thousands of these stunted personalities of greater moment?

The scale of wages given above which prevailed when we were in India were still at the peak after the war boom. They were much less in 1914 and there is at the moment of writing a concerted movement on the part of manufacturers in several sections of India to reduce this wage scale.

A foreign cotton mill in a city in the South of India visited by the writer, after having made far more than 200 per cent. profit last year, paid from 9 As. to 15 As. a day for unskilled labor, and from Rs. 33 to Rs. 63 a month for skilled workers. A thousand boys and a thousand girls are working here at from 8 to 12 As. a day. The company does not believe in any welfare work and has discouraged trade unions or any effort of the people to improve their miserable condition. Which is more important, that a few foreign employers should retire with a comfortable income for life, or the more than two hundred million toilers in India should receive a living wage?

On the whole we found that the foreign firms pay better wages and provide better working conditions than most of the Indian employers. In one Indian cotton mill which we inspected we found they were paying their skilled labor Rs. 24 a month, unskilled workers Rs. 15 and boys Rs. 9 a month, plus a temporary grant of seventy-five per cent. for increased cost of living while their printed balance sheet showed a profit of 200 per cent.

In the issue of "Capital" for February 15, 1923, dividends for certain Bombay cotton mills during the exceptionally favourable years 1921 and 1920 are declared as follows:

	1921	1920
Currimbhoy Ebrahim & Sons,		
Crescent Mill ...	100	110
W. H. Brady & Co., Ltd.,		
New City, Bombay ...	100	160
Tata Sons, Ltd., Svadeshi ...	110	120
Ramnarain Harnandrai & Sons,		
Phoenix ...	175	160
Morarjee Goculdas & Co.,		
Sholapoor ...	250	200
D. M. Petit Sons & Co.,		
Monockjee Petit ...	270	65

In the same publication the jute mills of Bengal declared dividends as follows for 1919,

some being almost as high and some higher for 1920:—

F. W. Heilgers & Co.'s Kennison mills declared the following dividends for the five years from 1916 through 1920:

1916	...	...	110%
1917	...	...	200%
1918	...	...	250%
1919	...	...	250%
1920	...	...	400%

What share in these enormous profits has the poor mill worker or jute cultivator received? "The inarticulate peasant himself has to work in the fields during the monsoon, often standing waist deep in the water. He is saturated with malaria in these mosquito-ridden districts, and the continual dampness brings on ague, rheumatism and fever. All round his village he has to bear the stench of rotting jute fibre, the stagnation of standing pools of water, and a hundred other evils. . . . Directors of jute companies have been congratulating their shareholders on bumper dividends, and not a hint has been given in their glowing reports about the condition of peasantry from whom those dividends were extracted."

We visited certain typical jute mills near Calcutta. In one we found excellent conditions and an honest effort for the welfare of the workers. In another workers were driven here by hunger and would escape back to their impoverished villages if they could. Most of the Europeans were here to make money and get out of India as soon as they could. The mill seemed a penal settlement for both. In the light of recent and present profits the wages seemed pathetically small. Unskilled men were receiving Rs. 15 a week, coolies were paid Rs. 10. The young European spoke with contempt of the workers. "They have to be driven", he said.

In the roar and dust of the driving machinery we saw the dull toilers plodding at their work. They are handicapped by tropical heat, hookworm, illiteracy, poor pay, bad housing and the low moral conditions reported by the inspecting lady doctor in these jute mills. Not they, but the machines and the money behind them are masters here. There lies a baby of one of the working mothers asleep on the floor in the din and dust. What chance will this child have in life? It may grow up to aspire to earn a dollar a week in this mill. It will join the thirty million children and youth already in India for whom there is no school. What chance have

these women and children, or these helpless unorganized men against the vast forces of the industrial revolution in India? But, still, "they must be driven." How long? How long will they stand it? Crushed humanity even in obedient India, China and Japan is turning at last. The days of the fleecing of labor for the profiteer are numbered, thank God, all over the world.

We desire to bear testimony to the fine spirit of many employers. Some of them showed an attitude not only of fairness, but of real human concern for their workers.

Regarding hours of work, at the beginning of the Indian factory system, the working time lasted from sunrise to sunset, or about 12 hours. The Factory Act of 1921 limited work to a maximum of 11 hours a day or 60 hours a week, with 6 hours for children from 12 to 15 years of age, and one day's rest in seven. Unlike China very few modern mills in India have any night work. An inquiry showed the actual average working time in the mills of Bombay at present was ten hours a day for men and women, and about five hours or half time for children from 12 to 15 years of age. When we contrast this with the frequently inhuman hours of unprotected labor in China and even with conditions in some of the backward states of America, we see how far advanced India is in her labor legislation. Several leading manufacturers testified that labor in India is now producing more in 10 hours of work than it did formerly on 12 or 14 hours.

There are several evils which exist in India that greatly affect conditions of labor. The system of forced labor so widespread under Indian zemindars and princes in certain parts of the country has been mitigated, and in most parts of India abolished, under the British Government.

An even worse practice was the recruiting of immigrants under the system of indentured labor to go abroad. The plan of contract, loans and debt often reduced the poor coolies to a practical state of peonage in some colonies. It was the long battle for the rights of the oppressed Indians in South Africa that led Mr. Gandhi repeatedly to go to prison with his fellow-countrymen until they won more humane treatment. The revelation of the immoral and inhuman conditions made by C. F. Andrews and others in Fiji and other colonies finally led to the proclamation of the Viceroy on May 25, 1917, that the indenture system of Indian labor

had been finally abolished.* The whole question of emigration has now been delegated to the Indian Legislative Assembly.

There is also the opium evil affecting Indian labor in some parts of the country. After investigating the industries of Bombay Dr. Barnes reports to the Government, "the universal usage of opium in Bombay. Ninety-eight per cent. of the infants born to women industrial workers have opium administered to them. This is used as a household remedy for every ailment of infancy and childhood. The great necessity for the control of the sale of opium which is a poison, is indicated."†

The poor working mother who leaves her baby alone for the day before going to the mill gives the child an opium pill to keep it torpid or asleep during her absence. We even found these ignorant mothers where in rare instances creches were provided for the care of the children, feeding the children on opium each morning on general principles, even though the children were to be kept under the care of a trained nurse.‡

A further fact which handicaps Indian labor is the almost universal illiteracy. There are approximately 8,500,000 in school in India and 30,000,000 without schooling. That is, 3.4 per cent. of the population is in school, compared to over 20 per cent. in America. It is officially stated that 39 per cent. of the children educated in India, lapse into illiteracy within five years after leaving school. The vast bulk of the workers are totally illiterate. This must be altered if their condition is to be improved. There is deep need of a progressive movement for uni-

*The Fiji Government Medical Report for 1916, Council Paper, No. 54, revealed the whole immoral system in its statement: "When one indentured Indian woman has to serve three men as well as numerous outsiders, the results as regards syphilis and gonorrhoea, cannot be doubted."

†*Bombay Labour Gazette*, September, 1922, pp. 31, 32.

‡*"The Drink and Opium Evil"* C. F. Andrews, pp. 3-13, "It was the usual practice to poison the little babies with the opium drug in order to keep them asleep while the poor mothers went out and worked in the factories. Two of the best social workers in Bombay had told me that 95 per cent. of the mothers were obliged in this distress and poverty to drug their own little children: and the workers who went to visit them saw these opium babies with their wizened faces, looking prematurely old. The practice of the daily pill led to bowel complaints at the very beginning of life, which could never be got rid of afterwards. . . . The Govt. had refused to shut up one opium shop in a poor slum in Calcutta when petitioned to do so, because (this was the stated reason of the Excise Officer) 2,300 people frequented it daily." *Young India*, 1923, p. 235.

versal education among the young and for a Workers' Education Movement similar to that in England among adults.

The housing of the workers is a serious problem in India. We found the worst conditions in Bombay among the "chawls" or dark tenements of the workers. The official report of the inspection by the lady doctor to the Government says: "For some 14 hours of the 24, the family inhale an atmosphere laden with smoke and other impurities. Nearly every-chawl contained animals such as goats, fowls, cats and in some cases monkeys. Rats were also in evidence in most rooms visited. I have several times verified the overcrowding of rooms. In one room, on the second floor of a chawl, measuring some 15 feet by 12 feet I found six families living. Six separate ovens on the floor proved this statement. On enquiry I ascertained that the actual number of adults and children living in this room was thirty. Three out of six women who lived in this room were shortly expecting to be delivered. . . . When I questioned the District Nurse, who accompanied me, as to how she would arrange for privacy in this room, I was shown a small space some 3 feet by 4 feet which was usually screened off for the purpose. The atmosphere at night of that room filled with smoke from the six ovens and other impurities would certainly physically handicap any woman and infant, both before and after delivery. This was one of many such rooms I saw."*

More than a fifth of the single rooms in Bombay contain from six to nine persons, over 13 per cent. have ten or more persons in each room.

The appalling death rate in these overcrowded, one-room tenements of Bombay, is shown by the returns of the Health Officer, Dr. J. Sandilands. In 1921, 666 of every 1,000 babies died during the first year of their lives in Bombay. During the same year, 1921, in England 83 infants per thousand died under one year of age. Let us notice the effect of overcrowding upon infant mortality during the first year of life in Bombay, 1921.

	Deaths per 1,000
Living in 1 room tenements	... 828.5
Living in 2 room tenements	... 321.9
Living in 3 room tenements	... 191.4
Living in 4 or more room tenements	... 133.3
In England	.. 83.0

**Bombay Labor Gazette*, September, 1922, p. 31.

That is, of every thousand babies born in England during that year 83 died and 917 lived. In the one room tenements of Bombay, according to the necessarily incomplete returns, 172 lived and 828 died. In other words, several hundred of every thousand children in these tenements were sacrificed to existing conditions of life and labor. In Bombay 73 per cent. of the workers' children were born in families living in four or more rooms. It was in Bombay that the average profits of the mills were 170 per cent. in 1921.

Does it matter if a few hundred children "per thousand" live or die? What is it that really matters? Is it the profit of the few or the lives of the many? Here are five hundred and seventy millions of industrial and agricultural toilers in India, China and Japan living on a bare subsistence, often in illiteracy and ignorance, without culture or comfort, lacking almost all that makes life rich or abundant for us. Yet there are those who bitterly resent any such inquiry as this or any effort to alter or improve these conditions. To what depths of sordid selfishness and hypocrisy have we sunk if we fight to maintain such conditions and to prevent all efforts for amelioration or radical change because of our vested interests? On these great social and industrial issues we must take our stand with those who are for humanity or against it; with those who are for God or for mammon.

Living with such wages and under such conditions it is not surprising that labor in India is inefficient. The productivity of the individual worker in textile and several other industries is estimated at about one-third that of British labor. The causes of this inefficiency seem to be the following: Physically, there is the enervation of a tropical climate, under-nourishment, bad housing, often poor ventilation and bad working conditions in the factories, with the prevalence of hookworm, malaria and other debilitating diseases. Mentally, there is the illiteracy and ignorance of the workers, socially, these abnormal conditions sometimes result in the practice of drink, gambling and immorality. Many of the men are living in overcrowded tenements away from their families with their natural instincts repressed. The migratory character of Indian labor also makes for inefficiency. The villagers find themselves in a new environment under strange conditions in a job that is galling and irksome. This, coupled with low wages, bad housing and labor unrest

accounts for the large turnover of labor in nearly all industries. Employers of long experience whom we consulted, however, agreed that Indian labor was capable of great improvement and had already advanced in efficiency in recent years.

The condition of women and children in labor in India calls for special consideration. Dr. Barnes in her report speaks of their state of fatigue when forced to work ten hours while standing and then walking the long journey to their homes where they have all their own housework to do. Only a few mills provide maternity benefits before or after childbirth, and few have creches for the care of the children who must play about the floor of the factory or in some sections of the country are given opium and left uncared for at home. The vast majority of the mills have no welfare work whatever and when the weekly wage is paid feel no further obligation for their employees. One of the deplorable features connected with the employment of women in industry is the immorality which the system entails. The power of the foreman and middle-men in some mills enables them to make immoral overtures which if refused may lead to dismissal. The shortage of houses, over-crowding, poverty and the absence of so many of the workers from their village homes increase the moral problem.

The Report of the Mine Inspector in 1921 showed that there were 249,663 mine workers among whom there were 91,040 women and 8,548 children under 12 years of age. Some of the worst conditions we found in India were in the most backward mines of Bengal. One is reminded of recorded conditions of labor in England before 1842, when women were finally excluded from underground labor. It was then customary for women and children to drag tubs of coal by a girdle and chain, like horses, a total of from seven to nine miles daily. Even pregnant women had to work in dark unventilated, undrained mines. The moral effect was degrading and dehumanizing.

Conditions have already been improved by Government legislation in India, but there are still tens of thousands of women in India, China and Japan who could re-echo the sentiments of Isabella Hogg of Scotland (1841) when she said: "Tell Queen Victoria that we are quiet, loyal subjects; women-people here don't mind work; but they object to horse work".

After considering the profits of many

employers and the wages and conditions of the workers, it is not to be wondered at that there is a growing evidence of labor unrest in India. Indeed what human being, except a profiteer, could wish them to be contented? Sir Thomas Holland, speaking in the Imperial Legislative Council, declared he would rather see the mill industry of Bombay wiped out than accept the perpetuation of the conditions, which goaded the workers to their last great strike. Labor unrest is the first hope of improvement. During the typical years of 1921 there were 341 strikes and industrial disputes reported, or about the same number as in Japan. Of these 110 were won by the workers and 225 were unsuccessful or indefinite in their terms of settlement.

Before the war, conditions in many mills in Ahmedabad and elsewhere were intolerable. Abusive language and sometimes thrashing were resorted to. In 1917 the poor workers struck. Again in 1918 the Ahmedabad weavers and 10,000 workers under the leadership of their townsman, Mr. Gandhi, went on a long strike which was finally settled by arbitration. The great strike in the textile factories of Bombay in 1920, which began as a lockout, was entered into over 150,000 workmen though ignorant and unorganized. India, like Japan and China, was feeling the influence of the universal upheaval in the labor world after the war. The employers failed to realize the new spirit of the workers. The men were driven by the goading sense of injustice, the pinch of hunger for many, the squalor and misery of their surroundings, exhausting drudgery and lack of personal touch between the employers and the employed. One mine superintendent said to the writer: "I can't beat the men as I once did. There is a new spirit among the workers since Gandhi appeared. For two years I have not dared lay hands on a man. If you beat one now, a hundred others will go for you. The workers have been quite spoiled by this new movement."

The year 1921 witnessed a remarkable growth of the Trade Union Movement throughout India and the world. Mr. N. M. Joshi of Bombay, the able labor representative in the Legislative Assembly places the present number of Trade Unions in all India at about 150 and their membership at nearly 200,000. It is impossible to state numbers with accuracy as many of the unions, owing to their poverty, ignorance, lack of experience and absence of indigenous labor leaderships are little more than strike committees.

When we visited the Government Labour Office in Bombay in 1923 we found five blue flags locating on the map the five strikes then in progress. Only three weeks during the previous ten months had been free from strikes in that city. The All India Trade Union Congress is not yet a strong and effective organization.

There is almost a complete absence in India of radical and especially of Bolshevik influence which one finds in Japan and China. A wise and generous attitude on the part of the Government and employers may win the whole movement to a fair policy of constitutional co-operation, while a selfish and reactionary policy will drive it toward radicalism as in other countries.

The Trade Union Movement is in its infancy in India and the great mass of the workers are too illiterate and untrained to be leaders. During this period many barristers, philanthropists and others are leading the movement. These men are of two kinds: interested and disinterested. Self-appointed labor leaders who are seeking personal notoriety are not only exploiting labor but deeply wronging this needy cause and bringing it into ill repute.

On the other hand we cannot agree with the employers, like those of several other countries we have visited, who refuse to see or recognize any but their own employees. Labor is now in a vicious circle of low wages, illiteracy and unorganized helplessness. If we wait till labor is able to furnish its own leadership for how many generations will it be exploited? The employers are strongly organized and financed and they can afford the best legal counsel. Are the impotent workers alone to be denied all help from outside?

Article 427 of the Peace Treaty, to which India was a signatory, lays down "the right of association for all lawful purposes by the employed as well as by the employers." The right of collective bargaining and trade union organisation has long been recognized in Great Britain.*

* The Industrial Disputes Committee appointed by the Government of Bombay expresses the "sincere hope that there will be, neither on the part of the State nor of industry, any hostility to the free evolution of the Trade Union Movement. The outside friend of labor, if he is a genuine friend of labor and is not using his influence for other purposes, is in present conditions a necessity. As soon as a genuine Trade Union organization emerges it should be officially recognized as the channel of communication between employers and employed". They further recommend Works' Committees welfare work which they regard as "efficiency work," medical attendance, maternity benefits, creches for children of working mothers

Lord Reading in September, 1922, said: "We hope to place our considered decision regarding the protection and legal status of trade unions before you." In considering the question of labor legislation, full credit should be given to the Government of India for its wise and generous policy for the protection of labor. India was almost the first country in the world to ratify the action of the Washington Labour Conference. No other country has been more responsive to world public opinion regarding industrial conditions or has more improved its labor legislation since the war. In the debates in the Council of State in Delhi, we heard repeated assurances of India's loyalty to the Labour Organization of the League of Nations. India has far surpassed Japan and has set a shining example to China in her labor legislation.

The outstanding achievements of India's industrial legislation since the war have been the Indian Factories Act which was followed by the Mines Act and the Workmen's Compensation Act.

The Indian Factories (Amendment) Act, 1922, provides for a maximum 11 hours working day and a 60 hours week, which was allowed to India by the Washington Labor Conference, as against 48 hours for Europe, or an average of six days of 10 hours each; for one rest day in seven; for fixed hours of employment and periods of rest. Work is forbidden for children under 12, those from 12 to 15 may work half time, not exceeding 6 hours a day. There is no night work for women. We only wish that every state in America had such a law. The India Mines Act of 1923 provides for one day's rest in seven, work above ground limited to 60 hours a week, below ground to 54 hours, no children under 13 to be employed either below or above ground; with provisions for inspectors, health and safety of workers etc. The Workmen's Compensation Act provides for compensation for injury and death to cover over 3,000,000 workers in factories, mines, railways, ships, etc. This is most important as in Bombay alone during the

last decade 12,000 workers were incapacitated permanently or temporarily by accidents; in many cases without any compensation from their employers.

India has increased her trade about ten-fold in half a century, built 37,700 miles of railway, and improved 27,000,000 acres of land by the most colossal system of irrigation in the world.

The present political situation affects industrial conditions. India today is swept by a vast revolution of thought affecting one-fifth of the human race. The 320 millions of India are divided between some four thousand different castes. Yet in spite of being the most divided country in the world, the leaders of India after the War were forged and fused into one burning unit of new national aspiration. Under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi they demanded Swaraj, or complete self-determination, the majority preferring home rule within the Empire. They proposed to attain this not by violence or military force but by moral suasion or "soul-force", by non-violent, non-co-operation with the Government. They demand economic self-determination under their own self-government.

India, like China, has large undeveloped resources. Her output of coal has doubled since 1910 with an annual production of over 22,500,000 tons, or a little greater than that of China and nearly equal to Japan. She has deposits of iron ore which are among the best in the world. India is the fourth country in the world in her railway mileage, exceeding that of France or Great Britain. Her cotton industry exceeds that of Italy, Belgium or Japan. She has a monopoly of jute which supplies the world with sacking and packing materials. India stands first in the world in her production of rice, sugar, tea and jute, second in production of wheat and cotton, with a large production of manganese, oil, etc.

Why is it then, though India has large natural resources and next to China the largest supply of cheap labor in the world that she is very backward in her industrial development? India's stores of money have lain idle and Indian capital has been shy of industrial investment. Her labor has been inefficient though capable of great improvement. She has been dependent on foreign leadership in commerce and industry and her own intelligentsia had no taste for industrialism.

Nine-tenths of India's teeming population is in her 737,000 villages. Each is a small isolated

workers' education, cloth shops for employees, tea shops and restaurants for the sale of cooked food at cost, better housing, the removal of liquor and bucket shops, and, when all other agencies fail, an Industrial Court of Inquiry to be followed by an Industrial Court of Conciliation, half representing the employer and half the operatives, with a neutral chairman. Altogether their report is most wise, just and statesmanlike. *Bombay Labor Gazette*, April, 1922, p. 23-31.

self-sufficient community surrounded by farm land owned individually or collectively. The land is sub-divided in minute fragmentation like a checker board. The size of an average farm is from one to five acres, though sometimes an acre is cut up into more than a score of small holdings. About 72 per cent. of the population is engaged in agriculture or pasture.

Following Japan's victory over Russia in 1906 the Swadeshi Movement supported by the educated classes for the patriotic patronage of home production, was the first signs of the industrial awakening of the Indian people. It was the war, however, that did most to revolutionize industry. It showed clearly the danger of India's reliance on imports from overseas and force the Government to take vigorous measures to make the country more self-contained, both economically and for purpose of defence. The appointment of the Industrial Commission, 1916-1918, marked a change in public opinion.

During the past few years the industrial development of the country has made rapid progress. Amongst the numerous activities of the Central and Provincial Departments of Industries, might be mentioned the opening of a number of trades schools and training centres, and the financing of numerous pioneer industries such as the manufacture of glassware, rubber goods, soap, ink, aluminium, pencils, condensed milk, matches, etc. In other directions Indian industry has made rapid strides. The high protective duties of the past few years have considerably increased the demand for Indian and woollen goods, steel and iron ware, but high tariffs will make the rich richer and the poor poorer in India.

With her vast supply of cheap labor, which can be obtained at from ten to twenty cents a day, with her large resources in raw materials and the new nationalistic demand for the fostering of her own industries, India will take an important place in the industrial world. Already she has been recognized by the Council of the

League of Nations as one of the eight chief industrial countries of the world.

Calcutta is now the centre of the jute industry. Bengal has over a thousand mills, employing more than 430,000. Bombay, now one of the great cotton centres of the world, has 954 mills with 312,000 operatives. Madras has over 500 establishments with some 100,000 workers. India's principal manufactures are cotton and jute, followed by wool, iron and steel, paper, etc. During the twenty-six years from 1892 to the close of the war, the number of India's factories had increased 398 per cent. India's foreign trade has increased over forty-five fold since 1834 and at the close of the war reached over one and a half billion dollars, being a little less than that of Japan and more than that of China.

The Tatas are a fine example of Indian enterprise. Beginning about 1850 with almost nothing, they built up their large fortune out of their cotton mills in Bombay and Nagpur. The great iron and steel works at Tatanagar reduced what was a barren jungle in Bengal in 1908, to a great model industrial city, comfortably housing some forty thousand of their own employees and fifty thousand other employed in subsidiary enterprises. Their investment of 25 crores with five modern blast furnaces now claims to be turning out the cheapest pig iron in the world. Their vast hydro-electrical plants are harnessing the power of the rainfall of western India at a cost of over 15 crores to develop finally over 150,000 horse-power of Bombay, a city of a million people. Their engineering works, cement companies, oil mills, sugar corporation, industrial bank and hotel companies are a further mark of the enterprise of this great Indian firm. With an eight-hour day in Tatanagar, shop committees, a relatively high wage scale, workmen's insurance and wise welfare work, they are setting an example to both Indian and foreign employers. They suggest the possibilities of India's future industrial development.

THE DICTATOR OF THE MICROCOSM.

By MR. K. C. SEN.

Stormy waves of self-consciousness are surging in the ocean of humanity to-day. Woman, worker, weak Race, worn-out spirit are all becoming self-conscious. They are acquiring a new consciousness,—a knowledge of their rights and capacities, probably also of their responsibilities. The family, the society, the political world and the spiritual universe are all in commotion. The moral atmosphere appears to have undergone a drastic change and the tumult seems to be its external manifestation. I propose to trace this vigorously-developing and expanding self-consciousness to its source. In the meanwhile some preliminary explanation may be useful.

Vertebrate self-consciousness expresses itself in self-assertion. Melting lava cannot long remain concealed in the bowels of the volcano. Self-assertion in the world, as it is, confounded by centuries of exploitation and expropriation, involves a just or unjust derogation from vested interest. It means a claim, rightful or wrongful, upon things in other people's possession which the latter are not willing to part with, and are prepared to fight for. The law of limitation is set up by way of defence; but its validity is denied by the newly-acquired self-consciousness of the aggressive party. Sometimes the issue is attempted to be made to stand on expediency, that is, on future consequences affecting society, sometimes upon rights acquired by the social contract. The validity of the contract is denied on the ground, first, that woman was not a party to it; secondly, that it is oral, unregistered, uncertain, unsound, not freely executed, but acquiesced in by ninety per cent. of the executants under the circumpressure of the caste and set, manufactured by the other ten per cent. The original nature of man is put forward as the real nature in contrast with the second nature of man created by art and varied by it. The aggressive party is in doubt whether it wishes to go back to primitive conditions, or is inspired by the aspiration to create a third or higher nature in man by barbaric violence or by refined art.

Whatever that may be it is evident matters are coming to a crisis; and crisis means war, which, in spite of all our boasted civilization, is still the final arbiter in all questions concerning natural or divine justice. War is the outward expression of hate. Hate means the perversion of the ethics of amity into the ethics of enmity,—a partial reversion to pre-social moral condition. It means, in short, demoralization. And when demoralization sets in it acts like a gangrene. Nobody can tell where it will end.

We are accustomed to distinguish between natural right and artificial right, though we are not clear as to what is nature or what is art. The war referred to in the preceding paragraph is between natural right and artificial right. Artificial right is created somewhere by the destruction of natural right elsewhere. Self-consciousness has for its object the restoration of the *status que ante*. But we are apt to forget in the argument that the natural right of living beings in general, and of man in particular, is synonymous with might, and this right must stand at the back of the desire to deprive anybody of his artificial rights. In plain terms men must prepare themselves for war before claiming rights in the possession of others. This natural right, the ultimate dispenser and arbiter of all rights, may rush to the field at once, or assume a formal dialectic attitude with the oblique fiery glances of a diplomatic plenipotentiary, not with the humility and homeliness of a beggar. The success of self-consciousness depends upon might, kinetic or potential, active or argumentative. In other words, one must possess himself of the muscles and sinews of natural right before one can think of depriving anybody of an artificial right. Where self-consciousness is not accompanied by the acquisition of this supreme natural right it has no value; it is invertebrate. Now this supreme natural right may come in two ways, the one positive and the other negative. More generally the two ways present themselves simultaneously. The person in possession may have become weak by long indulgence in an artificial and unjust right, or the

self-conscious claimant may have gathered positive strength, no matter how. It may be remarked however that before the distinctly visible appearance of self-consciousness there elapses a period, long or short, during which growing weakness on the one side is attended by growing strength on the other. This is the period of the incubation of self-consciousness. An utterly mean, cowardly, worthless man can never acquire self-consciousness. The very birth of self-consciousness shows that desire was partially preceded by desert, and that the desire of self-assertion has grown in parallel lines with deservingness. The truth seems to be that by a law of nature weakness becomes weaker, and strength grows stronger until a certain maximum is reached. Where readjustment of rights beings to take place automatically, wisdom suggests the expediency, for the holder of vested interest, of conceding recognised rights as soon as self-consciousness makes its appearance in those at whose expense they are enjoyed. Evasion, prevarication, equivocation, tantalisation and desperate unscrupulousness create rancour out of proportion to the purpose which they are intended to serve. Every hour by which the readjustment is wrongly postponed creates new chances of tragic consequences. It is unwise to dam up the course of evolution, for obstructed evolution expresses itself in revolution. The Mississippi and the Missouri glide down smoothly and quickly, but the Niagara, though a smaller stream, makes a great noise. The latter attracts visitors of a reckless noisy character, who find beauty in terror and frightfulness; not in peace, but in war; not in love, but in hate.

What is this noisy self-consciousness? Is it a phenomenon of cognition or one of emotion, or of a combination of both? If it is a combination, which is the more dominant element? Psychology says that man is a self-conscious animal: his superiority to other animals consists in his self-consciousness. If this is so, where lies the newness of the self-consciousness of which we hear so much in these days in the press and on the platform? Were the people, who are now acquiring self-consciousness, devoid of it before? Is the new consciousness a special creation or a new dispensation?

The truth is that the self-consciousness which is making so much noise is old, yet new; old in substance, new in form; old in age, but young in strength. It was asleep before, it has

become awake now. Perhaps the dead has come to life; and therein lies its newness. This is one way of looking at the thing. It is not philosophical, but commonplace and political.

Another explanation is that a single individual is never spoken of as acquiring self-consciousness, for he already possesses it. It is an aggregate of individuals that are said to acquire it, when they are organised into a corporation, or, in other words, when they acquire the consciousness of corporate life, when the aggregate is transmuted into an organism. The Hindu priest before beginning to worship the clay image of God goes through the ceremony, called *pranprastha*, or life-giving. He may be superstitious but not illogical. He does not worship the clay in the form of man, but the living spirit, invoked or created by him and embodied in the clay. It is thus that life is breathed into the aggregate, which is transfigured into a living corporation with a will and purpose of its own, often different from the will of the individual or that of all the individuals taken separately. It has interest unlike those of the individuals, and sometimes of an antagonistic nature. Yet it is rightly said a corporation has no soul. That means it has no immortality; no responsibility beyond the near future. It may achieve glory or bring disaster on itself, but it has no eschatological heaven or hell to arouse hope or fear. Its morality is more cosmic than ethical. Hate is decidedly stronger in its bosom than love. Many personalities fused into one make a formidable personality, a *virat purush*.

The explanation, though it has a fascination for the intellect or the reasoning faculty, lacks fulness, because it has a look of unreality in it. The Corporation is an abstraction. Our nature looks for a more concrete something in the self-consciousness of a group of persons. In the presence of the Corporation the individual does not wholly lose his individuality. Its opinion is public opinion; and public opinion is the opinion of individuals strengthened by mutual agreement. What then is the relation of the individual's consciousness to the consciousness of the collective personality?

The life of the collective personality has a definite purpose or permanent mission. It is a pure, unadulterated purpose. That life possesses virility and vigour in proportion to the purity or singleness of its purpose. A mixed purpose is destructive in character, and proves disastrous in proportion to the strength of the adulteration.

That purpose is self-preservation developing into self-aggrandisement by evolution. There are two things to bear in mind in this connection: (1) That the purpose or mission incubates somewhere before the birth of the Corporation or organism, and (2) that evolution is used in two distinct senses: it is used by theosophists in the sense of the unfolding of a germ, and by biologists in the sense of epegenetic growth by differentiation and integration. In the theosophist's sense the germ of self-aggrandisement exists in concealment before self-preservation appears, and gradually grows into full manhood and power. In the biologists' sense the idea of self-aggrandisement is in the beginning non-existent, and gradually grows by the favourable influences of environment. In my opinion the theosophists' sense is more in consonance with the facts of experience. The idea of self-aggrandisement, flying in the air somewhere, brings the collective life into existence, and then embodies itself in the abstract personality of the Corporation. Self-aggrandisement being the primordial purpose unwilling to show itself openly, creates for itself a hiding place in self-preservation, which is never ashamed of itself, and can proudly appear in public. Hence in argument with critics self-preservation takes the field, while in action it is self-aggrandisement that prompts the organism from behind the screen. There is an analogy between self-preservation and self-aggrandisement on the one hand, and fate and freewill on the other. In argument fate is prominent: in action free-will is unfettered.

I have already hinted that in the exposition of the self-consciousness of a collective personality we look for a more concrete or tangible something. That something incubates in the consciousness of the individual person; and when the incubation is general, the new thing is abstracted from the general consciousness of the individual and given a separate place. When this process has spread over a comparatively large area, that is, among a large number of men, the collective personality is born. It begins life with a cry, like a new-born babe, and slowly gathers strength by mother's milk and external nutriment. The self-consciousness of the collective personality, then, has its root in the self-consciousness of individuals.

When we speak of self-consciousness we are supposed to know what self means. Is it a simple or elementary substance, or, is it a complex of substances? Is it a unity or a plurality?

Chemists distinguish varieties of substances, namely, elements, compounds, mechanical mixtures, solutions, fusions, amalgams, alloys. If the self is a plurality, what is the nature of the cohesive force that keeps the elements bound to each other? James considers the self to be a unified plurality. He divides the constituents of the self into two classes, (1) the pure ego and (2) the self as composed of the material self, the social self and the spiritual self. The material self consists of the body, the clothes and the family,—the last consisting of parents, wife and children. "They are," says man, "bone of my bones, flesh of my flesh." When they are gone a part of his self is gone. If they do anything wrong it is his shame. If they are insulted his anger flushes forth as readily as if he stood in their place. Our home comes next. then our property and the products of our hands or brains. "A man's social self is the recognition which he gets from his mates." "Properly speaking a man has as many social selves as there are individuals, who recognise him, and carry an image of him in their mind". "A man's fame, good or bad, his honour or dishonour are names for one of his social selves." "Nothing is commoner than to hear people discriminate between their different selves thus: 'As a man I pity you but as an official I must show you no mercy; as a politician I regard him as an ally, but as a moralist I loathe him.'" "By the spiritual self, so far as it belongs to the empirical ME, I mean a man's inner or subjective being, his psychic faculties or dispositions, taken concretely."

In the name of truth what a congeries of selves is congested in the small word 'self'? What an overcrowding of personalities in a veritable black-hole! Their name is legion. Each of us seems to live like the wretched man on the Gaderene Coast from whose head Christ drove out thirty-thousand spirits,—counting by the number of swine that committed suicide by drowning themselves in the sea, on the spirits entering into them.

Mathew Arnold and most cultured people discriminate between the higher self and the lower self. We also distinguish between the mortal self and the immortal self; the true self and the self of illusion. Where hides the self which we have in mind when we speak of the self-consciousness recently acquired by woman, worker, subject Race and Natural Man? It is none of the selves that the professor so elaborate-

ly brings into light. It is the pugnacious, noisy self in man that hates peace and contentment; and loves the noise and smoke of boilers and chimneys, the din and clatter of arms, the roar of guns and the blood of men.

James suggests such a self, but does not mention specifically. He speaks of the family as part of the self, and gives reasons for so speaking. He might have spoken with equal reason and conviction of the nation, the race, the class or caste, the profession, the religion, the sex of an individual as parts of his or herself. Every person has a racial self, a national self, a regional self, a sexual self, a class self, a professional self and a religious self. There are as many types of Hate as there are selves of this type. The sexual self of woman rouses her to revolt against the domination of man. The class self of the labourer rouses him to revolt against the capitalist, and so forth. The multitudinous selves in man have each a distinct interest of its own. The special interest of one self may be congenial or uncongenial to another self. But as a rule, the selves are at war with one another by nature. The total organism is kept in order by the domination of one of the selves over the rest. This ruling self guides, controls, subordinates, sacrifices, neglects, loves or hates, the other selves, who are compelled to place all their resources at his disposal. Thus when we speak of a subject race acquiring self-consciousness we mean that the racial self of the individuals belonging to that race has secured the throne in the association of selves living and working within him. But none of the selves can permanently occupy the throne or reside in White House. The national self has for a long time been so residing in the heart of the man of the West. There are signs, though yet very indistinct, to show that its term is coming to a close, and that some other self will take its place. A sort of revolution takes place in the heart of man when one self is dethroned and another takes its place. This revolution means that the individual has changed his character, has acquired a new nature, is stimulated by new facts, makes new responses to old stimuli, and is indifferent to other facts which used to shake him violently before. When the racial self has acquired the supremacy, the individual thinks of his own race; he thinks of other races. He thinks of the present inferiority of his race and the present superiority of the ruling race, and

he thinks of future possibilities, favourable to the one and adverse to the other. Love and Hate have taken a new direction; both have been roused into life. But Hate is more energetic, more dynamic than Love.

The selves are susceptible to weariness, disease and death. They have hours of wakefulness and sleep. They suffer from debility and anæmia. Climate, specially moral climate, has great influence over them. Peace debilitates the national self. General prosperity debilitates the class self and the professional self and also the sexual self. In a word all that is good in life weakens these selves. The worse the climate, the better their health. Such is the abnormal character of these selves. As soon as they begin to assert themselves one may easily guess there is some screw loose somewhere: the world is out of joint.

In the self-consciousness which was vigorously aroused in the peoples of Europe at the beginning of the Great War, it was the national self of each person that was stimulated, tingled and titillated, that lost its balance, grew despotic and arbitrary, insensate and irrational, and by these aberrations acquired complete supremacy over his other selves,—his bodily self, his family self, his spiritual self and all other selves working in mutual friendly antagonism within him. The result is that the War by the reaction of its termination has left the world weary, weak and demoralized intellectually and ethically.

In time of foreign war internal peace is automatically secured, because Hate rushes to the front with his family and effects, leaving Love in charge of domestic affairs. This Love is a creature of Hate, and rules as vice-regent to gather munitions for his Chief now at the front. Similarly the multitudinous selves in man forget their differences and antagonisms for the time being and submit themselves unconditionally to the dictates of the national self when foreign wars disturb inter-national relations. During the World War there was no Irish War, no class war, no sex war, no strikes, no suffragette movements in England. Even the House of Commons with its Liberals and Conservatives, its Nationals and Radicals, its Irish members and Ulster members, seemed hushed to silence as if Lord Kitchener had proclaimed the necessity of general domestic peace, and placarded the streets with "Let there be peace within to strengthen the fierceness of war without", in blazing

capitals. The national self was absolutely supreme in man, in woman, the subject man, the working man and all shades of men. The national self-consciousness had become red-hot, and all other kinds of self-consciousness had become cool, humble and submissive, strong in their weakness, noble in their slavishness, and splendid in their self-sacrifice. They had flung aside their self-assertiveness, their claims to attention, their mutual jealousies, and other passions. The confederation of selves had turned themselves into a commonwealth with national self-consciousness as its dictator.

Gradually the dictator became weary, and Hate became restive; and as soon as the War terminated, strikes and Irish affairs took a serious turn. The adventures of Napoleon out of France were mostly prompted by the necessity of keeping the Republic of selves in healthy and good order. Hate is undying and it stands on a free fulcrum permitting of cross gyrations—the guns of the artillery are best turned towards foreign foes.

In the Great War the national self was at its best in the German heart. The German was stigmatised as too docile, too humble and submissive. The criticism was based upon ignorance and error. The national self was vigorous, more vigorous in him than in the Allies. The other selves surrendered themselves at discretion, and joyfully accepted unprecedented risks and sacrifices. The Germans gave their money and muscles, their blood and bones without stint. They were overpowered by superior strength, but not by the strength of a superior national self residing elsewhere. Their very enthusiasm in the service of the national self hastened exhaustion and eventual disaster. The national self in the British heart was more discreet and exhibited greater prudence on the whole, though there were fluctuations leading to coalition and change of Ministers. Victory was won at the front, but the discreetness, the mildness, and the prudence of the national self kept the other selves in fairly good strength, and the result was that the Armistice was followed by the self-assertion of the racial self in Ireland and elsewhere, of the class self in the mines and factories, and of the regional self in the Overseas Dominions and Dependencies. These man-created selves are noisy, depreciative and injurious to the true self, the higher self, the permanent, iramortal self. The fate of Central Europe shows that a strong

national self-consciousness is not an unmixed blessing; and the troubles in Western Europe indicate that this particular self-consciousness in any strength, London proof or under proof, is like alcohol, unwholesome in the long run. The higher self is impoverished and humbled in the general tumult of the art-created selves. In the West these selves are stronger than the true self, which is slowly receding into the back ground with the not very remote risk of being annihilated. Spiritual development in Europe is positively in a decadent condition now. As to morality, the ethics of Hate have largely supplanted the ethics of Love, and competition is unmistakably stronger than Co-operation at this moment. Remembering the wisdom of Mr. Wilkins Micawber's opinion that a difference of six pence in expenditure with an income of twenty shillings leads either to disaster or to happiness in the long run, we may guess what the future has in store for the world. The national self seems to work on the mind of the West like the spirits that caused the swine on the Gaderene Coast to commit suicide. It is self-destructive. Thousands of wretched people in 1914 rushed to the front in enthusiasm, and sacrificed themselves in spite of Spencer's principles of ethics which gives to egoism a superior place over altruism, and in spite of James' psychology which makes the body self of the individual the centre of his existence, the pivot on which hangs the balance by which the value of truth is weighed.

Does no self-consciousness exist in the mind of the Indian? Surely it exists; for self-consciousness is man's birth-right, and the Indian is a man. Why then do the optimistic platform politicians declare with a glorious, trumpet voice that India is becoming self-conscious? They are not in error, yet they are not accurate. The old consciousness has been readjusted to new conditions. In place of the old spiritual self dominating in the heart, some form of the material self is presiding over the Republic of selves in the heart of many. This was inevitable. India has for the last one thousand years been placed in contact with foreigners in whom the will to live is strong. Attachment to mundane affairs is all-pervading, and cosmic with its hard struggle for existence is predominant,—foreigners whose communion with God is not illuminating, but is limited to exchange of ideas, such as what we experience in common life in social intercourse, carried on for purposes of self-preservation and race-preservation, between the strong and the

weak, the resourceful and the helpless, the proud and the humble,—foreigners, whose ideals as well as realities of life are antithetical to ours. This contact with foreigners has been on unequal terms, in which the Indians all along have been in the position of disadvantage. Foreign ideas have more or less freely affected their lives, while indigenous ideas have had no adequate opportunity of spreading among the obtrusive guests. Thus the change has been one-sided. Indian thought has changed, but Islamic and Christian thought, Pathan, Mongolian and British thought remain unaltered and apparently almost unaffected by the contact. The truth is India is now presenting an amalgam of spiritualism and materialism, strange yet susceptible of explanation. The change which has taken place during the last half a century is marvellous, though melancholy.

What is this change? It may be explained in a few words. The centre of gravity in the mass of agglomerated substances called the mind is changed. In the commonwealth of selves the ascendancy has passed from one set of selves to another: from the spiritual to the material. Among the material selves James counts the body, clothes, family and private property to which I may add profession, class, nation and race. In the beginning of English education in India imparted through the bazar, the streets, and in a feebleness through the schools, the attention of youngmen was directed to the care which Englishmen bestow on the body, the clothes, the food, the comforts of life. Their attention was next drawn to the difference of honour and public respect paid to different professions; and they instinctively felt a predilection for one profession in preference to another. As to class, India had already stratified and petrified the thing into castes. In course of time the nation came to engage a share of their attention. All these things, it must be borne in mind, belong to the category of material self according to James; but it is possible to divide into high and low. The self of clothes and food occupies the lowest place. The national self occupies the highest. Young men are to be congratulated when they fling aside fine clothes and fine food, and take to nationalism; for that means a distinct move from the lower to the higher. But both are very low when viewed by the side of the spiritual self. Yet the majority prefer the national self to the spiritual self. The value of

the national lies in the fact that it helps the spiritual self to find scope for its activities. But the national self leads men astray when it takes the supreme place in the Republic of selves, and becomes its despotic president. Man loses value in proportion as the spiritual self receives less and less attention and honour, not in actual life only but also in the ideal. This then is the significance of the new self-consciousness of which we speak with so much splendid emphasis as a rise in Indian life. As already said attention paid to nationalism is superior to attention paid to clothes, food and drink; and in so far the new self-consciousness is welcome as an upward movement. The national self has however a grave draw-back. It is treacherous. It comes into power as minister, not as king, pretending to subserve the interests of the spiritual self as an auxiliary, and then furtively works its way and disposes its chief. On the pretext of spreading love it diffuses hate, the result coming out in the shape of a complex mixture of sham love and real hate. This process has throughout marked its course in the West; and there is very little reason to suppose that it will take a different course in India, where the moral climate has been already largely poisoned, and the struggle for existence is rapidly increasing in hardness, necessitating recourse to qualities which distinguish the ape and the tiger on the one hand, and the fox and the crow on the other. Biological evolution is misunderstood when it is supposed that it has no susceptibility to a backward movement. It has now been discovered by biologists that certain ape kinds are "not ancestors but degenerate descendants of man". Cultural development or evolution has a greater proneness to move backward than forward; and who can tell whether the new self-consciousness in India has come as a regenerative or as a degenerative force. Swine are pulled backward by the tail when the object is to make them move forward. Is *Mahamaya* pulling India in the same way for her regeneration?

In India nearly all the selves are invertebrate as the result (1) of physical environment, which disfavours the gladiatorial life of the West (a) by providing beforehand all that man requires for wholesome existence and (b) by disinclining man to crave for material possessions not required for such existence, and (2) by culture, which foresees at every step the debasing influence of high life, and places the spiritual self at the top of the commonwealth of selves. The supremacy

of any of the selves is weak and unstable. One self is easily dethroned by another, and the latter is soon dethroned by a third. The national self sometimes shows vigour; the spiritual self comes next to rule; and in a short time the æsthetic self asserts itself. But even this self is invertebrate, for though the desire for enjoyment may be strong, that of acquiring possession of the requisite materials is weak. Self-consciousness expresses itself feebly in self-assertion, if at all. The will to live is weak, and the will to shine is weaker. The trouble with the Hindu is not how to prolong life, but how to put an end to it. Suicide is futile where belief in the principle of rebirth is firm. The will to live must go, or there can be no salvation. So long as this is the dominant sentiment the national self can never acquire permanent vigour and supremacy. That self can at best subserve the life of the spiritual self, and has value only as a subservient self. This is the keynote of Hindu philosophy; and philosophy has permeated the life of the Hindu more thoroughly than that of any other people. Christian philosophy, that is, the essence of Christianity, as an exotic, never permeated Western life, and is now in process of being rapidly ejected out of it by the philosophy of evolution which traces man's ancestry much further back than human life, and confirms in man the natural desire, reinforced by the pride of pedigree, to shine as the remote ancestors shone millions of ages ago. The ape and tiger quality which lingers in man is lauded and encouraged and re-invigorated by special culture. The ethics of the national self is the ethics of enmity and hate. The ethics of amity is subordinated, subdued, subverted and made subservient to the ethics of hate. The struggle for existence is purposely made keener by fusing it up with the struggle for aggrandisement, and by creating needless wants which prompt exploitation. Exploitation leads to conflict, and conflict leads to war; and war gives a scope for the remote ancient inherited qualities of man to display themselves. The dependency of India would have been more acceptable and toothsome to England, if the people were stronger, more pugnacious, more vigorous, more willing and able to resist aggression. This would have increased the zest of life, the enthusiasm and exaltation of conquest which characterize the life of the West, and makes it worth living. But she is disappointed. The truth is that the possession of India, while it has added to her material

wealth, has been draining her wealth of gladiatorial morality. It has demoralized her in the same way as the very opulence of Nature demoralized the immigrant nomadic Aryans who occupied India about six thousand years ago. It has turned her attention from the spirit of effort to the enjoyment of material, from dignified, though barbaric, militancy to sneaky but profitable industry; from lion-hunting to partridge-shooting; from the vigorous roughness of life to the effeminate comforts of it. Compare the character of the first British adventurers who came to India, and came again and again though most of them lost their lives either by the foundering of ships, by malaria or by the bullets sent to greet them out of Portuguese guns, with that of the average Englishman of the afterwar period who comes to India for comfort or refuses to come even as a Civil Servant because comfort is mixed with risks.

The old spirit of adventure is on the wane. Preference for Hindu philosophy is imperceptibly spreading in the West, filtering down from the most cultured intellects, inspired by divine discontent and a refined disgust with the gladiatorial view of human life; and should the underlying spirit of that philosophy get adequately strengthened and diffused the difference between the East and the West will slowly disappear. On the surface, particularly in India, we see the West spreading over the East, but deeper insight will show that if the West is demoralizing the middle region of the Eastern intellectual life, the East is leavening the higher strata of Western life slowly and steadily. The West has nearly exhausted her militant energies, her warlike passions, her pugnacious interventions, her desire for finding scope for those qualities of man which she has inherited from her remotest ancestors. The desire to find scope for the acquired qualities of man, obtained with the help of science and philosophy is slowly growing within the bosom of the West. The Aryans in India having conquered the continent, established empires and built cities, and having tasted to the limits of satiation the splendour and glory of a conquering comfortable life, fell into deep contemplation, confounded by the enormities of inequality, developed by material civilization; and bewildered, instead of being fascinated, by the squalor and poverty of the masses; by the miseries caused by Nature and Art in combination; in one word, by the illusions of life; and concluded that the life hitherto lived by them

was not worth living. Something of the kind seems to be coming over the surfeited West, obscurely, slowly, indistinctly but steadily. She is increasingly suffering from the misery of opulence. Unlucrative sympathy is slowly stealing over her. Unmixed chauvinism is giving way to soft words though still supported by the big stick at the back. Cruelty for its own sake is deprecated. Preference for the simple life is percolating from cultivated into half-cultivated soil. In short, Western life is imperceptibly assuming an Indian Orientation both in intellectual and moral realization.

In the meanwhile self-assertion is emerging at the weakest parts, in woman and labouring man, among plebeians and paupers, indirectly to facilitate the process of Easternisation. The self-consciousness which is springing up in the lower strata of life has come for the subversion of life, as it is, and for the ultimate supervention of a new life. It will make some noise in the world for sometime, and will then be hushed into the general silence that will follow. It is a recrudescence of war of each against all, and the new life that will follow will be a new experiment in human organisation, based on the principle of the supremacy of the pure ego, not in the sense in which James uses the term, but in the sense of the Vedanta, which represents the pure ego as the universal self, not as the self which distinguishes one individual from another; upon the principle of unlimited, ultimate, perfect freedom, which is never disturbed by the appetites and passions, by neighbour's complaints or interference, by illusions and hallucinations, by the action of parasites, by sexual jealousies, by the demoralization of private property or by the fear of the Magnified Man. Possession of goods will not entail dispossession; distribution of it will not involve diminution. The life will be spiritual, concerned with limitless things and joys which increase in mass and density paradoxically by the force of diffusion.

The new upheaval of self-consciousness which is disturbing the peace of the world is the last flicker of the lamps of life, fed by the oil of Western culture, which instead of heartily opposing the cosmic process has been used as an instrument of reinforcement for purposes of the struggle for existence, hardened and intensified by the creation of new wants, æsthetic in origin and physiological in development, invigorating the ape and tiger fitness for survival with the ethics of enmity and the gospel of hate.

Rabindranath Tagore in his *Nationalism in the West* discovers what he regards as a strange paradox, namely, an antithesis between the nation of the West and the spirit and civilization of the West. Unmixed denunciation of the West is neither logical nor courteous, and is therefore unlikely to be listened to with patience. Prudence dictates a compromise between truth and untruth, when the call of truth is weaker than the desire for ameliorative change. Bitter criticism is made toothsome by being seasoned with courtesy and deception like the sugared-pill. By the spirit of the West Dr. Tagore means the spirit of the small faction of the uppermost layer of culture which has received an Indian orientation. He is supposed to know that this spirit is not the dominant spirit of the West but only imperceptibly budding in a promising quarter of the mighty forest of Western civilization. The truth is there is no antithesis, no incompatibility, no antagonism, and no paradox concerned. The nation is the child of the civilization, intellectual and moral. And the most charitable explanation of the error into which Tagore has fallen is that in thinking of civilization he has taken inadequate account of its moral aspect, and in looking at the nation he has confined himself entirely to that aspect of civilization. The nation is the child conceived by the union of the sperm cell of intellectuality and the germ cell of morality. To reprobate the nation while praising the civilisation is to ignore the law of heredity,—to make the lioness, the queen of the forest, bring forth a fox, a scavenger and a menial. The civilization of the West very slightly touched by the diffusion of Christianity, (see Spencer's *Principles of Ethics* Vol. I, page 323) has ever been a phenomenon of continuous development of the primitive brute instincts of man, which manifest themselves in self-assertion, and unceasingly cry for supremacy, ascendancy and leadership. The discovery of the royal Malthusian Theory of Economics and its imperial cousin of biology, I mean the Darwinian Hypothesis, was impossible in India, where Nature was generous, and neighbour uninterfering and forbearing, while the culture of the people taught man to look upon poverty as indicating no demerit, if not to accept it as a divine gift bestowed on him to facilitate uninterrupted, unencumbered attention to the spiritual self. On the other hand, the discovery was comparatively easy in the cold mountainous West where Nature, though opulent at heart, was shy,

outwardly cold and irresponsible; and Neighbour was intrusive, virile, violent and avaricious; where Nature originated the struggle, and Neighbour developed it and made it fiercer. The truth is that the West and its social organisation furnished an excellent field for observation and for the verification of the truth of the struggle for existence, of the development of its periphery of passions and cunning, and of the aspirations generated by its increasing fierceness. The theory of the survival of the fittest, in the biological sense, readily received acceptance among the people, in spite of the feeble and half-hearted protest of the churchman, because it was in full accord with their experience, and was highly congenial to their thoughts and feelings. It appealed to their intellect and their emotions as a faithful mirroring of the character of the Nature and Neighbour. The hypothesis freely permeated the ethics of the people, and firmly established their culture and civilization on the old bedrock, whose strength was rediscovered and reinforced by a new cement. The national self in the man of the West, naturally strong, has been equipped with a new whetting instrument for sharpening its accustomed ethical weapon. To speak more plainly the ethics of enmity which are the ethics of the national self have received a formidable impetus by the theory of the survival of the fittest, applied to the development of human culture. The Darwinian Hypothesis by urging the inevitableness of the survival of the fittest has added a terrific momentum to the old civilization of the West, which, be it remembered, was but slightly touched by the sermon on the mount. Civilization, there, was never a conflict between the cosmic and the ethical process; and now the latter is vigorously and jauntily subserving the aspirations of the former process. The West has so far made no sincere effort to pit the microcosm against the macrocosm, Art against Nature, Love against Hate. With all her marvellous achievement in science, and in the acquisition of power over Nature and Neighbour the West has never attempted to make the impossible possible, to create human without the help of brute excellence. She has never swum against the tide, but always with the current with the result that her progress has been rapid and even dazzling. One might almost say it has been shocking. She was perhaps wise; for the true spiritual life follows and does not precede the animal life. The latter life must have time to

fully or approximately exhaust itself before it can make room for the former. That consumption is slowly approaching. As already indicated the upper layers of Western life are getting imbued with true spirituality, which is slowly filtering downward with the help of changing environment. The West is moving in the same line as India did three thousand years ago. Kurukshetra is not a mere geographical term. It has a spiritual meaning and value. It means the harbinger and *dharma* and the vindication of it. It regenerates by destruction; recreates by annihilation. It kills the excellence of brute life, of militarism, of power and of the spirit of ascendancy; ushers in the spiritual life with its true freedom and its indifference to material and sensuous æstheticism; and opens up a new vista of wondrous joys from which the cosmic life of man is debarred by divine decree; and then the old glories achieved by the united power of the macrocosm and the microcosm, like the effusions and escapades of enthusiastic youths, provoke a regretful smile in the face of the prime of humanity.

India forming a small fraction of humanity having, by her premature exhaustion of animalism, outrun the rest of the world, where the cosmic life was in full swing, became afterwards partially dislodged by external pressure, from her lofty spiritual height, and slowly reinoculated and recorruped with the virus of animal life. In the new mixture of the animal and the spiritual life the power required for self-preservation was weaker than the desire to maintain it. This mixture, defective in character, has come down to the present generation. The new national self-consciousness tries to improve the mixture by adding the element of power to that of desire.

Western civilization now virtually embraces the entire world with its outstretched arms. Its spirit has permeated entire humanity, while the latter has been brought close together by its power over external nature, that is, by distance-annihilating machines. The coming *Kurukshetra* will leave no loop-hole for the admission of subsequent reinoculation and recorruped such as India was exposed to. There will remain no external barbarian to disturb the new spiritual life. The Indian experiment failed because it was premature and carried out on a small scale. The new experiment, the coming *Kurukshetra*, has a better chance for stability of results. For good or evil a new dis-

pensation is on its way from heaven. India thinks it is coming for good; the West thinks it is coming with a dreadful glare. (Read Lloyd George's recent speech at the meeting of the National Liberals).

To conclude, the Collective Self is a soulless self. It has no high moral principles. It is the creation of man to subserve the cosmic process, and to add to the fierceness of the struggle for existence by reinforcing the power of Nature with the power of Art, by adding to the power of bones and muscles the power of gun-powder and gas, by improving upon brute cunning and cruelty by the refinements of strategic treachery and cultivated unscrupulousness. It is self-destructive in the long run, poisonous in its life process and destructive in its death; for though it is eventually followed by the superior life of the spirit, the interregnum is a melancholy period in human history. The suzerainty of the collective self, whether as national, class, professional, racial, or sex self, in the heart of man (of either sex) means the dethronement of the true self, of the image of God in man. It degrades him to the refined brute life of war on

the pretext of elevating him to the peace and bliss of the kingdom of God on earth. The collective self is a slave king, a usurper, an upstart, a tyrant, gloriously ignoble and infamously triumphant. Its suzerainty is however a passing phase in the life process of man, a necessary evil in the inscrutable economy of Nature which makes tribulation an inseparable antecedent of triumph, for which Mill condemns Nature as clumsy, cruel, unjust and wasteful, while Huxley thinks it a sufficient explanation to say that she is non-moral, and the Vedanta assumes a moral reverential tone by ascribing the phenomenon to the sportive mood of *Maya*, which the general culture of the West, untouched by Christianity and the Bible, regards as devilish, while Herbert Spencer considers it a knowable phenomenon indicating the mood in which works the Unknowable Power throughout the universe, admitting thereby that the Latter is known to this extent that He is wasteful in His method, callous in moral sentiments, and therefore imperfect in character, leaving room for a still Higher Being to complete the harmony of our conception of the universe.

THE ART OF CARICATURE AND ITS SCOPE IN INDIA.

By MR. S. SATHIAVAGEESWARAN, M.A., B.L.

The other day I was reading an American writer Price Collier on Germany and the Germans and alighted upon this sentence. "One hears almost as little laughter in Germany as in India." It made me think for a while; for truly has it been said that gaiety and laughter are the bubbles and foam on the glass of life, proving that it is charged with energy. In our determined and often grim struggle to make headway in this world, we are often apt to be assailed by a sense of despair verging on madness, if we do not overcome it by the irresistible dash of humour, geniality, fun. The constant pounding-in of patriotism, legitimately of course, is apt to make us excessively self-conscious. And self-consciousness, as we

know, is the prince of mental and social diseases, as Vanity is the princess; and even self-conscious patriotism seems a little unwholesome and not quite manly and often even grotesque. It is the parent of Jingoism and Chauvinism and other allied distempers. This perpetual self-consciousness must be relieved by the free abandon, unrestrained and the glorious corrective of a normal development of the healthy art of caricature. In the midst of this dread struggle for lifting ourselves to more life and still more life, the oil of geniality, the bubbling vigour of laughter, the unrestrained career of fun, even buffoonery, would not at all be dangerous but would be the lubricant to regulate the breaking social and political

machinery of this country ; and would make public and journalistic life certainly enjoyable ; just as they say, a pint of claret or two glasses of champagne or a bottle of beer or a sip of whiskey and soda occasionally, will not hurt a man and add perhaps to the "agreeableness" of life as Mathew Arnold phrases it. Our public life and mutual journalistic rebuffs would partake of a certain air of boorishness, suggestive of the bucolic stage of social sophistication, if we always assume the chip-on-the-shoulder attitude instead of the infinitely more agreeable and civilized policy of "give and take". The fixing into air-tight compartments, running into standardised moulds, rigid, inflexible, so characteristic of Indian public and private life is the result of that unrelieved seriousness which we have imported into our political and social discussions and which renders social companionship impossible between political opponents or opposing parties in a keen controversy. It is the attitude expressed in 'if you do not agree with me, you are a cur'. I believe and honestly believe that a healthy development of the art of caricature would render acrid personalities a vanishing cult and purify our public life and effect, in the Aristotelian phrase, a moral *Katharsis* by appealing to the instincts of ridicule and shame—ridicule at others and shame for ourselves.

Let us see what course the history of this art has taken in other countries, where we must grant, it has developed on more congenial soil. Wrote Monsieur Ernest Chesneau, the accomplished art-critic and historian, "Under no form of literature, sculpture or painting nor by means of any other art does the character of a race more openly confess itself or show itself in more legible traits than in caricature". Nations pour themselves into the tiny moulds of these cartoons and give us statuettes of themselves. The successful caricaturist must appeal to the knowledge, the beliefs, the prejudices, the passions, the sympathies of the majority of his contemporaries. He furnishes the social and political documents of the period during which he works ; and faithfully represents and interprets the manners and temperament of the people, better than the grave chronicles which more pretentiously describe the conditions of the time. He thus catches and fixes on his parodist's canvas, in a moment, the ruling principles, in their light as well as serious side,

of natural character. He thus, in a word, holds the mirror up to nature.

The history of pictorial caricature is varied and interesting. If we take it as the art of applying the grotesque for the purposes of satire, then, in its vocal and pictorial form, in the shape of satire, parody, burlesque, cartoon, etc., it has occurred in all countries and ages even in India, often in indescribably indecent pictures. We are concerned mainly with the pictorial aspect of caricature. The three Egyptian papyri, though more properly they belong to the ithyphallic drolleries than to the realm of ironical grotesque, indicate the first birth of this art. Greek and Roman pottery indicate indubitably the presence of a genius for pictorial parody ; and the curious frescos unearthed at Pompeii, Herculaneum, tend to confirm it. During the Middle ages, the Renaissance, the Reformation and the 18th century, it underwent a regular development until we come to the typical and more pure modern representatives in Hogarth, Leech, Gilray, Tenniel, Daumier and Cham and the galaxy of those excellent souls who represent the *Punch*, which is about the acme of perfection in the pictorial art of caricature.

From a survey of this history, we can make certain deductions which are more or less applicable to the present state of India. The caricaturist or the cartoonist finds food for his analytic and penetrative art during the periods of tumult, of moral and mental discrepancy, when the human mind runs out of all proportion with the inane creeds and dying cults, when the false and the superficial hide and encumber the True and the Real ; when Affectation and Humbug boss the show. Clash of ideals, impact of cultures, the state of mental and moral stagnation produced by rapidly worn and attenuated beliefs and traditions being ignorantly cherished,—these often result in a nebulous and clumsy crop of solemn absurdities, trivial exaggerations, and such a lot of other excrescences which the caricaturist comes to sweep off. His is the great Sanitary Department in this debris-ridden area of the world. That was what happened in the Germany of the Reformation, in the England of the Great Rebellion. The affectations and extravagances of the Cavaliers and Roundheads came to be mutually caricatured, often in title pages of scurrilous books, on banners, and also on packs

of playing cards. Again the political and theological disputes of the age of Charles I and the Commonwealth, later the Sacheverell episode, the South Sea Bubble, the warfare between Whigs and Tories, the intrigues of rival parliamentary leaders, the clamour for "Wilkes and Liberty", the wild riot of elections, called forth one of the most extraordinary episodes in political caricaturing marked by wonderful versatility and rough, fierce wit.

Alongside of this grew another *genre* in this art, *viz.*, the social caricature. The modern social caricature was first embodied in France, "in the farcical designs of Pigal, the realistic sketches of Henri Monnier, the portrait busts of Danton the Younger, the fine military and low-life drolleries of Charlet". But it really begins from Surplice Paul Chevalier (1800-1806), better known as Gavarine, though it attains its modern perfection and elegance at the hands of Charlet, Cruikshank, and Leech. In England, however, we associate the social caricature with the masterly moralities of Hogarth whose *Rake's Progress* and the *Modern Midnight Conversion* are landmarks in the history of this art and probably unsurpassed for vigour, energy and humor. Altogether the social caricatures of the 18th century betoken the characteristic features of this bellicose art, *viz.*, a coarse, though grandiose brutality, vigorous obscenity, violence of expression and intention. The fierce energy that is often seen in these cartoons epitomises popular movements and keen political excitement which require some such vehicle of comment or censure.

The conditions, at present, in India for the growth of a body of caricaturists are to be found even at a casual glance. There is much in our social and political life which no amount of rude protest, or thundering Isaiah-fashion or even the epicure-like blandness of a Thackeray could wipe off. A more decent Swift than the one known to history, a Gilray and Hogarth are necessary to cleanse the Augean stables of social and political pestiferousness stalking large in our country. There is enough rottenness in our midst which can only be swept away by the blighting brush of Ridicule. The convenient and accomodating orthodoxy of our social conservatives, the heresies of our heterodox social reformers solemnly recanted in moments of domestic tribulation, the simulated patriotism of political adventurers, and all the passing absurd phases of an Age of Transition unduly delayed—

all these require to be castigated in merciless terms. Again the facile and meaningless adoption of foreign manners is the source of so much absurdity that Ridicule alone can cure it. As was beautifully said by a critic:—"Ridicule is society's most effective means of curing inelasticity. It explodes the pompous, corrects the well-meaning eccentric, cools the fanatical, and prevents the incompetent from achieving success. Truth will prevail over it, falsehood will cower under it; and it is well-known that when reason, indignation, entreaty and menace fail, ridicule will often cause a Government to abandon a bill, a lover his mistress, a younger brother his sartorial indiscretions". It is the most potent weapon to-day, in India, to effect a purification of our social abuses. The following story narrated by the writer on Parody in the Arts and Crafts Series is illustrative of the point. Some dons tried to analyse the characteristics of an absentee friend; but their discussion availed nothing until one of them by dropping his arms akimbo, curving them slightly, bending his legs too and thrusting his head forward, so completely and without exaggeration suggested all the simian characteristics that it was more illuminating than any amount of discussion. Ours in India at present is certainly a motley and boisterous period. The rude genius of the caricaturist alone will sift the true from the false in the most effective manner. It is thus tyrannous ideas come crashing to earth and free ideas rise to their heights. The loud, gross and coarse cartoons of Gilray, Rowlandson and Cruikshank and those others who in every country emulated their methods destroyed the disproportionate Napoleonic idolatry by hearty and brutal caricature of Napoleon and his "frog-eating Mossoos" in a wild flood of satirical drawings and reduced him from the level of a superhuman to the sub-human.

The caricaturist is also the reformer of social abuses. His eyes are fixed in a horrible fascination upon vice and folly and all the moral distempers and diseases that eat into the heart of human life and bring it rotting to the grave. He raises a vengeful cry upon the exploiters of the deaf, the blind and dumb stupidity of mankind.

But we must guard against this bellicose tendency resulting in a cheapening of moral currency. For the great danger of this art consists in the fact that the man who practises it is like a medical student who spends his life on

the discovery of diseases, leaving the cure to others. And the danger is, since both modesty as well as sin assume the veil, it might so happen that the caricaturist, in his reckless career, might often tear down the veil of the former instead of the latter. He must have taste and discretion and should know instinctively "how far to go." He must hit off the weaknesses with a nimble and graceful flick of the wrist. He must treasure the sentiment of that great parodist and satirist in words, to wit, the incomparable Henry Fielding, whom to possess is a national privilege. "Great vices are the proper objects of our detestation, smaller faults of our Pity; but, affectations appear to me the only true source of the Ridiculous". Tennyson's noble aim, which guided him in all his efforts, viz., to purify parody and ennoble caricature must be the ideal of the votary of this art in India. In preferring to raise our hand against sin, we must not ourselves become sinners.

There is also the other side to this question. One might cultivate a super-sensitive and super-sentimental taste in the pursuit of this art which is apt to lead to the other extreme of discountenancing and disapproving anything that touches the consecrated dogmas of social and political and religious institutions. The recent storm of indignation in the English Press against the bold and unabashed representations of royalty by Mr. Max Beerbohm and the persistent clamour for withdrawal show to what extent the idols of conventional worship might be carried in the region of this bellicose art. The whole episode illustrates how far sentiment can go to prevent the development of this art as much as mere coarse vulgarity and unbounded license.

It must be admitted that this art in spite of its present popularity throughout the world is a peculiarly Western activity for purposes of reform. Its tone of boisterousness, its bold and adventurous spirit, its inconvenient unveiling of even sacred and venerated ideals are all characteristic of the West. Amongst the Asiatic countries, only Japan has given birth to a particular school of caricature. Because Japan alone of all Asiatic nations pursued the ideals of the West to the greatest extent. Toba-e or caricatures are now a common feature of press and periodical literature in Japan. Abbot Toba was the first who showed any predilection for this art in Japan and consequently the Japanese Mr. Punch is known as Toba-e. Toba was so eccentric and original in his designs and tenden-

cies that Mr. Nakamura Fusetsu, one of the greatest of Japan's modern painters, speaks of him as the greatest of Japan's realistic artists. But some of his caricatures, which belong to the state treasuries of the empire, are a little too real for modern taste, as he does not hesitate to caricature them in the most awkward moments under most private misadventures. After Toba's death caricature became prominent in the Tokugawa era, but its representatives Oka Shunboku and Utagawa Kuninobu never attained anything like the distinction of Toba. Two others of this school, Hokusai and Gyosai did the best work in caricature during the period. Of Japanese modern caricature a Japanese Magazine writes thus: "Among the modern caricaturists of Japan none is more distinguished than Kobayashi Kiyochika. He was a master of both native and foreign painting and the first to introduce the occidental style of caricature into Japanese art. Another artist of some distinction in this line is Katazawa Rakuten, who draws for the famous Tokyo Daily, the *Jiji Shimpō*. Okamoto Ippei of the *Ashahi Shimbun* is another skilled artist in humour. Indeed the comic papers of Japan show that the number of caricaturists is now legion though some of them are crude beyond words, not to say extremely vulgar. One of the more successful of these amateurs is Shimidzu Taigakubo of the *Yorozu Chōhō*. The most noted comic sheet of Tokyo is the *Tokyo Puck* and there is an *Osakka Puck* also.....The fact that most of the artists working for comic papers are of the western school shows how occidental art lends itself more easily to caricature than does Japanese drawing."

It is heartening to find that there are fugitive indications of a realisation of the usefulness of this art in India. Occasionally one sees, as if catching a mouthful of cool breeze in a fetid hot atmosphere, symptoms of this spirit of fun, of ridicule, call it adorable nonsense if you like, spilling itself in bright and meaningful cartoons in the pages of the *Looker-On*, and one or two others. The *Hindi Punch* has established for itself a name and fame by the verve and vigour of its satirical drawings, both political and social. Some of the humorous drawings of Gagendranath Tagore like "Thieves" with its hit at the grandiose pomposity of the Police Raj, "Respect for Women" describing a scene in a railway station where two females are the objects of unabashed stare from everywhere, and

another, possibly the most piquant illustration of Gagendranath's art, *viz.*, "Garden Party at an Indian Home", a well-merited castigation of the aping of western fashions—all these and more illustrate various and still unexploited fields for the venture-some brush of the caricaturist. And much work lies ahead. These are, at best, fitful indications of a gradually emerging need for such fare ; but the work would be done only when we have established something like a wide public craving for such pictorial journalism, which best fulfils Burns' invocation.

*Oh, would some power the giftie gi'e us
To see ourselves as others see us.*

It is that which has made the immortal *Punch* not merely a comic magazine but a national institution and that of the best kind. As the Frenchman Champfleury admits, the English have much better understood the true principles of this art than the French. For French national gaiety is apt to run itself into ferocity and even indecency, whereas the *Punch* is healthy, manly and honest and does not raise a blush in the chaste cheeks of the most innocent girl. That is the art of caricature and that is what is wanted in India to-day.

THE MASTERY OF THE PACIFIC.

By M. V. R.

In ancient and medieval times the history of the world centred round the Mediterranean. The discovery of America created a fresh centre in the Atlantic. Now a great centre is found in the Pacific, and political prophets seem to agree that the future battleground of the Great Powers will be the waters of the Pacific. If the future holds in its bosom any such international conflict—which God forbid, for the world has had enough of war and its horrors—victory will be for those who have the mastery of the Pacific. It is the purpose of this article to examine the prospects of the various powers, and to discuss in detail the latest phase of this scramble for power in the Pacific.

Why has the Pacific come so late into notice? The progressive nations—rather the aggressive nations—of the world were on the side furthest from the Pacific, and the backward ones on the nearest side. Now all is changed. There has risen a great progressive nation in the East, and Japan has become one of the great powers. The Suez Canal has opened a new route from Europe by water. The Trans Isthmian Canal has opened a short-cut from the eastern ports of the United States. Several Trans-Continental Railways cross America, connecting the Atlantic and the

Pacific Oceans. A Trans-Continental Railway through Northern Europe and Northern Asia has made a new opening to the Pacific overland. The Pacific is, therefore, now well within reach of the European powers and America, both by sea and land.

The Chino-Japanese War marks the beginning in this scramble for power in the Pacific. After the Chino-Japanese War, when Japan ceded everything on receipt of a war indemnity, Germany seized Kai-chau on the idle pretext that two Roman Catholic Missionaries of German origin, both travelling at their own risk, had been slain on Chinese soil. Russia seized Port Arthur as an off-set to the action of Germany, and England Wei-hai-wei as a countermove to both. The great country of China was, therefore, the quarry over which the vultures were hovering.

Just before the Great War, the position was this. Germany was increasing her fleet with intent to establish Colonies in the Far East for her superfluous population. America was naturally suspicious of Germany, for she had had her own interests there. England also had her fate bound up with India and her Pacific possessions. Russia too had interests in the

Pacific; but her navy was not equal either in strength or efficiency to America's or England's. The actions of the European powers and America were being closely watched by Japan, who saw in them a bid for the mastery of the Pacific. In this scramble for power in the Pacific Japan joined the Powers, but with less excuse.

The Great War has changed the prospects of Germany and Russia. Germany has been laid low, and she would take a few generations more to recover from the shock created by the War. Russia finds difficulties enough in the task of maintaining internal order.

There remain therefore England, Japan and America whose respective claims and prospects in this connection have to be considered. Japan holds a very commanding position in the Far East, has very great resources, and her people are an enterprising race. She has an efficient navy, and can hold her own against any power, except England whose navy is immensely superior to hers. Though the recent earthquake has compelled her to place all the resources at her disposal towards the rebuilding of cities, she would not be idle or behind the other nations while they are increasing their armaments. The havoc created by the earthquake will be but temporary, and let us hope she will very soon take her proper place in the scale of nations.

America has acquired the fine harbour of Honolulu in the Sandwich Islands, Manilla in the Philippines and Tutuila in the Samoas. These acquisitions give them a great hold on the Pacific. Moreover she has a great navy, almost equal in strength to England's.

Let us consider the prospects of England in this connection. Her main possession in the East is the vast empire of India and Ceylon. India can provide troops at short notice, almost in indefinite numbers. Moreover, England has in China itself Wei-hai-Wei, Hong-kong and the Coast facing Hong-kong. In the Malaya peninsula, England is the predominant power, and has a fine harbour in Singapore. She has, besides, the great continent of Australasia; and in any emergency, Australia can send her fleet. Canada also can provide fighting material. On the Pacific slope of Canada, England has everything necessary for the creation of a fresh naval base. Placing England, therefore, with Japan and America, and taking into account the acquisitions of these powers in the Pacific, England

has far better prospects of dominating the Pacific than any other power.

Having considered the prospects of the respective powers, let us for a moment examine the policy adopted by each since the Great War, with reference to this question. The Great War was an object lesson to the several powers, and soon after its conclusion they were determined that they should have no future war—at least of the magnitude of the Great War. How to avert in the future another catastrophe similar to the one of 1914? Certain statesmen thought that the end in view could be achieved by a limitation of armaments. So the United States invited the Great Powers for a Conference at Washington, in which the limitation of naval armaments was discussed. This Conference was fairly successful and England, America, Japan, France and Italy agreed to a limitation of their respective naval armaments. This treaty at Washington limited the battleship strength—not the cruiser nor the general naval strength of the powers concerned. Coupled with this limitation it established 'a zone of non-fortifications'—that is, a limitation of fortifications—in the Pacific 'which should be a guarantee to each of the Powers concerned'. It means, therefore, that armament-expansion in other directions could go unchecked? What about the unlimited expansion of the Air Force, especially when, in any future war, the air power is as important as the naval power of a nation? The Washington Conference was said to begin a new era of peace and good-will among nations. But later events seem to destroy the hopes entertained; and the world is now a long way off from peace.

Since the Conference, each nation has been spending a large sum of money on the Air Force, and also on naval armaments in the directions not affected by the treaty at Washington. The motto of each power seems to be '*Si vis pacem, para bellum*'. The Great War has not taught them; perhaps, a severe enough lesson. For instance, France is building a larger number of submarines and battleships; and the French Senate has voted an additional sum of 36,120,000 francs this year for Air Service alone. Though the militarist policy of France could not effect the interests of the Powers in the Pacific, yet it gives them an excuse to embark on a like policy.

It is, therefore, no wonder that America, Japan and England are found spending a bigger or an equivalent sum on armaments—naval and

other. Japan spends at present one-third of her total revenue on her navy alone. She is now carrying out a policy of dockyard and naval base extension. The Washington Pact precluded any power from developing inside a certain zone—the neutral zone—in the Pacific. So the Japanese are now spending some £2,000,000 on their naval base to the north of this zone. America is not behind Japan in this competition. She is spending on the navy a sum bigger than Japan's; and she is now strengthening her fortifications to the south of the same zone. It is claimed that the very object of this zone of neutrality in the Pacific was to separate the powers by such a distance that they could not act offensively against one another. It is also said that no aggressive policy is intended in such actions; but the future alone can tell what faith can be placed in such intentions.

Will England be left behind in this mad race? If competition in armaments began and proceeded without any check, it would undoubtedly lead to another war, worse than the last. It bodes no good for the future of world peace. England joins this race with a certain amount of grace. She has no aggressive policy against any nation, and Mr. Amery says that the British Navy has never been the aggressor. She has immense interests in the Pacific, and has to protect the trade and communications of a widely extended empire and to ward off from its shores any formidable invader. To effectively do this she must maintain a strong navy—'a navy strong in the discipline, skill and courage, of a numerous personnel, in the number and quality of its ships, in the excellence of its materials and in the efficiency, security and the geographical position of its arsenals and bases'. Although she has a strong navy in the Home Waters, 'England', to Mr. Amery, 'is helpless in the Pacific and relies on the good will of a friendly and lately allied power'. In other words, the British Navy must 'hold its own' in the Pacific also.

Bringing this plea, Mr. Amery means spending 10½ millions sterling to create a fresh base in the Pacific; and the Parliament has voted this sum. Where can such a base be created? There is Hong-Kong which could be developed, but it is within the Zone prescribed by the Washington Pact. So, Singapore is chosen for this new scheme of the Admiralty, Singapore not coming within this zone. If Japan and America could develop and extend their naval fortifications

outside this zone, England argues that she could create fresh naval bases outside the same zone without offending any power. Thus Singapore is to be developed as a set off against Hong-Kong which could not be developed. Though there may be weightier moral objections from the point of view of international amity and good fellowship, these fly off and count for nothing with the nations in the race for expansion in armaments. It should also be pointed out that it is foolish to embark on such schemes at this stage of economic stress and universal retrenchment. Again an additional sum of 10½ millions pounds would be required before the completion of the base.

The Admiralty having decided to establish a fresh base at Singapore, let us consider the claims of Singapore for an efficient base of naval operations. The island of Singapore at the extremity of the Malaya Peninsula was acquired in 1819 by Lord Hastings 'who saw the necessity of securing a safe trade route with China and the Far East'. The City with its capacious harbour is situated in a position between the Indian and Pacific Oceans, dominating the Straits of Malacca, the principal gate to the Far East. 'It is strongly fortified and is the port of call for practically all the shipping of the Eastern World'. It is admitted by every one that Singapore is of great commercial value and is strategically important.

Certain objections have been brought against the scheme: that the climate of Singapore is not suited to British sailors, and that it will be difficult to find foundations for the erection of a base. In the debates in Parliament on this question, Lord Northcliffe was quoted by certain members as having written while at Singapore in December 1921: "I do admire how the people tackle with their jobs in this infernal climate, for such it is." Hence it is argued that it would be unsuitable for English sailors. Moreover it is said that submarines could not lie in very hot climates, and consequently that they would not be able to lie at Singapore. But Sir Guy Grant M. P. says that it is not so hot as people imagine. Captain Lovat Fraser quotes the authority of Mr. Darbishire who intimately knows Singapore for he was a member of the Singapore Naval Board, when he objects to the scheme on the score that the Harbour contains 'mud with no bottom'. It will therefore be difficult, he says, to find foundations. Mr. Amery says that he enquired into all the 'condi-

tions before he took action'. Some others object to the scheme since in any future war air power would decide the issue and hence that money spent in naval defences is a waste.

On behalf of the scheme it is urged that Singapore is easy of defence and that there are 'in reasonably close propinquity oil fields in Burma and North Borneo'. The Marquis of Linlithgow, Civil Lord of the Admiralty complains that at present there is no dock nearer Singapore than the Home ports, which could accommodate the most modern type of capital ships; and says that therefore the Singapore base is by far 'the cheapest way of rendering the British Navy and British sea-power effective in the Far East.'

How is such a scheme received in India and the Dominions? Public opinion in India is against the scheme on the score that it would arouse Japan's suspicions. India also fears that she would be saddled with a part of the expenditure. As regards the opinion in the Dominions, Australia and New Zealand ardently desire this base. The New Zealand Government has asked

the Dominion Parliament to vote £100,000 to be spent either towards the cost of Singapore, or on the advice of the Imperial Naval authorities on some internal defence work in New Zealand. The Federated Malay States have decided to make a free gift of the land required for the naval base 2,250 acres and of the ground required for the Aerodome, 597 acres. The Civil Lord of the Admiralty, Lord Linlithgow also hopes to get further contributions from other dominions; and he is eagerly looking forward to the result of the Imperial Conference where the question of this base will be discussed.

That this scheme is being pushed through at this time of general economic distress in the world points to only one thing—that England does not wish to be left behind Japan, America and the other nations in the competition of armament-expansion. She is determined 'to hold her own' in the Pacific as in every other sea in the world. The future, of course, is ominous, for such unhealthy competition must inevitably lead to another war in which England, America and Japan will be the principal powers involved.

THE LEAGUE AFTER FOUR YEARS.

By MR. K. R. R. SASTRY, M.A.

The history of the League of Nations is briefly told.* The Wilsonian 14th point contains the germ of the League. In the memorable Peace of Versailles, Clause A of the League of Nations' Resolution runs thus:—"It is essential to the maintenance of this world-settlement, which the associated nations are now met to establish that a League of Nations be created to promote international co-operation, to ensure the fulfilment of accepted international obligations and provide safeguards against war."

The Constitution of the League.

On January 10th, 1920, the League came

* For a description of the historical precedents and an exhaustive discussion of the covenant cf. the present writer's article in "*The Hindustan Review*", November—December, 1919.

into formal existence. An Assembly, an Executive Council, and a permanent Secretariat were established. Every state has three representatives, but only one vote, in the Assembly. The Council had nine members, one each from the then five Great Powers and four others selected by the representative delegates. The Council is bound to meet at least once annually and is empowered to increase its total membership. Another important innovation consists in the inauguration of a permanent International Secretariat meeting at more frequent intervals. Though the grand League had initially support from 14 states only, it now has the pronounced support of 52 states. The sittings of the International Court of Arbitration in Hague since September, 1921, constitute an epoch-making advance on the past.

The Assembly has finished its fourth sitting at Geneva under the presidency of Dr. Dela Torriente, the Cuban Delegate, and this serves well as an occasion to take stock of the achievements of the League.

The Continued Dissociation of the U. S. A.

All well-wishers of the League are deeply disconcerted at the continued official withdrawal of the great Trans-Atlantic Power from the League. That 14 points should have been accepted with 45 reservations by the country which once elected Wilson, has regrettably depicted, to all penetrating observers, the grim humour of the situation.

Ireland Admitted.

On the unanimous recommendation of the Committee of the League of Nations, the Irish Free State has been admitted as a member of the League. It was but proper that President Cosgrave assured the Assembly that Free Ireland would prove a "factor of peace".

New Members for the Council.

Further, the Assembly has elected the following non-permanent members of the Council for the ensuing year—(1) Hungary, (2) Brazil, (3) Belgium, (4) Sweden, (5) Czecho-Slovakia, (6) Spain. The Chinese Delegation has protested against China's failure to be re-elected asserting that the principle of Geographical Distribution of non-permanent members has not been respected. The protest of the Far-East has much force behind it.

Russia and Germany, still Non-Members.

Bolshevik Russia and Republican Germany are still outside the League. The late Dr. Frederic Harrison was criticising the League more than once on its one-sided character; and the admission of Hungary last year had only the qualified approval of her neighbours, the Little Entente. It was the solemn opinion of the French Premier that "Bolshevists were a danger to French Society"† during the critical Russian Debate in January, 1910; and it is highly doubtful if a salutary change has yet come over the minds of the diplomats of the West-European countries. How far the finality of the decision of the 52 states in the Assembly at Geneva is being seriously limited by the exclusion of big

Powers like Germany and Russia is yet to be realised by that picturesque gathering.

The Italo-Greek Dispute.

Perhaps, the best remembered incident this year is the *impasse* created by the Italian Premier, S. Mussolini, in occupying Corfu following on the Janina murders. As chance would have it, the Assembly had its annual sessions when the curious parallel of the Serajevo murder happened. The manner in which this excellent opportunity of firmly establishing a well-known international convention was set at rest by the relegation of the dispute to the Council of Ambassadors—throws a lurid light on the power for good in the League. Viscount Ishii at the League Council announced his decision to refer the question of the Council's competence to interfere in this particular dispute, to a Commission of Jurists. Lord Robert Cecil as expected, urged the necessity of immediately deciding the question at issue. Prof. Gilbert Murray hoped that the League bore no responsibility for the decision of the Ambassador's Conference.

A Persian's pointed question.

In this connection, the Persian Delegate Prince Arfold Dovelen bluntly asked:—"If states are to determine political actions for themselves and reserve mainly technical questions for the League, then *this institution is hardly worth its Cost*".

Any Progress Towards Disarmament?

It is relevant to remember the unanimous passing of Lord Robert Cecil's proposal for a Guarantee Treaty coupled with the reduction of armaments last year. The only advance—if it can be so termed—is the Assembly's recording with great satisfaction the report on the reduction of expenditure on armaments by most of the states; the note ends with the pious hope that "it would become more marked and general."

Humanitarian Work.

The League of Nations has arranged for the vaccination of 7,20,000 refugees in Greece at a cost of £5,000. Further, the Polish Government and the League of Nations are co-operating in fighting typhus in Poland. Fifty-eight fully equipped isolation hospitals have been built.

The Council of the League of Nations has

† *Vide* Appendix C. "The Prime Minister" by Harold Spender—p. 398.

decided that a Conference of States where opium-smoking still continues shall meet in Geneva in the middle of January, 1924.

Prestige of the League on the Wane.

Towards the close of the third sitting, Lord Robert Cecil, the conscience of the League, hoped for the "Steady advance of the League on its present lines, with a gradual access of strength all the time". It is a thousand pities that this sanguine hope has not been realised. The studied contempt with which France has been treating the League, is ably pointed out by that pen-man of high principles, Mr. A. G. G. "Whenever French interests were concerned, the League was silenced and when the challenge of the Ruhr invasion went by without action or comment. As prestige was gravely weakened and its subsequent intervention in the case of Corfu was *robbed of the force*

and authority it should have possessed (italics mine).

Whither?

Cheap wit and shallow philosophy have derided the League too early enough and discerning observers like the late Viscount Bryce and Earl Balfour were found emphasising on the want of stability in the settlement and the creation of "new Irredentas". U. S. A. is aloof; Britain has cultivated an indifference in the League's affairs in spite of the persuasive Lord Robert Cecil and the upright Gilbert Murray; France cares not for the existence of such a moral force; Germany and Russia are excluded from it; and the Asiatic Members are grumbling within it. Wilson's "everybody's business" is 'as in all such cases, turning out to be "no-man's business". We are constrained to ask, *has the Great War been fought in vain?*

INDIAN MUSIC.

By MR. M. S. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, B.A., B.L., L.T.

IV

Physics of Music.

1. Music needs science. It is a patent fact that the practice of dealing with a succession of sounds at once subtle, delicate and fleeting, without a knowledge of the theory to keep it alive, dies with the professor. No teaching of music can be placed on a proper basis without making its theory and practice go hand in hand. 'Music as a *science*,' observes Sir William Jones,* 'belongs to an interesting part of natural philosophy which by mathematical deductions from constant phenomena, explains the causes and properties of Sound, limits the number of mixed or harmonic sounds to a certain series which perpetually recurs, and fixes the ratio they bear to each other or to one leading term ;

but, considered as an *art*, it combines sounds in such a manner as to gratify our ears and please the sense or affect our imaginations and captivate the fancy.' It thus becomes clear that the 'science' of music distinguishes the sounds and views them analytically, while the 'art' thereof combines them and views them synthetically. Can a painter produce a beautifully combined color, without a previous study of the properties of each individual color? Hence the attention of the people should now be drawn more and more to the *scientific* aspect of music which will surely result in a healthy reaction on its *practical* side and get it correspondingly purified. Music, being mainly a matter of Sound,† and Exposition of 'the Theory of Sound' and of its allied subject, 'the Scale and its Development' will be a fitting prelude to a dissertation on music.

* In his "Musical Modes of the Hindus."

† Mr. W. H. Stone defines Music as the æsthetical and emotional side of sound. Cf. सङ्गीतं ध्वनि सञ्चरति:

I shall, therefore, deal, in the present article, with *Physics of Music*.

2. Sharangadev has defined *Sound*, a little crudely, thus : 'The soul, desirous of speaking out its intention, excites the mind ; and the mind operates upon the vital heat of the body by setting the air therein in motion and the air remaining in the Brahmagranthi (Lungs?) rises up and produces 'sound,' through the navel, the heart, the neck, the head and the face.'† In *Abhinavarangamanjari*, Sharangadev's definition has been modified and brought in line with the modern conception of *sound*. ब्रह्मग्रन्थि, for instance, has been substituted by वक्त्रस्थल ; and the last line of Sharangadev has been completely omitted and, in its stead, runs the following line—

हृत्कण्ठाद्यादिगात्रीमूलं ज्येष्ठाद्योऽभिधायते

3. Whatever we perceive through the ear we call *sound*. Such perception is produced only when a body *vibrates* or moves to and fro. A tuning fork, for example, which is U-shaped steel-bar with a stem at the bend, emits a sound, only when its prongs are set in vibration by a stroke. It is a truism in Physics that a body emits 'sound,' only so long as it is in a state of vibration and that, in order to cause the sensation of sound in the ear, the vibratory motion must satisfy two essential conditions, *viz.*,

(1) *It must be sufficiently rapid*. For, witness the slow flapping of a pigeon's wings incapable of producing a musical note, and, as a contrast, witness also the quick flapping of a bee's wings more than enough to make a humming sound.

(2) *It must be transmitted to the ear through, not a vacuum, but a material medium such as air, water, or wood*. A bell rung under water is heard above the surface ; and a watch placed at one end of a table can be heard by applying the ear to the other end. The ordinary medium of sound is, however, air.

4. Be it noted that God has so constituted our ears that any sound reaches them, only after it passes through air, bone and fluid. For, in the external ear, the vibrations travel through

air ; in the middle ear, through membranes and bones ; and in the internal ear, through fluid. It is the internal ear, where the auditory nerve begins, that is really important. Close, for instance, your ears and place a watch between the teeth : and you will hear the ticking, even though your ears are tightly closed. For, the vibrations pass through other bones of the head, instead of the first two divisions of the ear, and affect the fluid of the internal ear. Hence the internal division of the ear, more than others, must, by the grace of God, be hale and healthy in order to be able to hear and appreciate good music.

5. The vibrations of a body cause the contiguous layer of air to be alternately condensed and rarefied. These condensations and rarefactions are propagated to the ear in spherical waves, called *Sound Waves*. At one time they move regularly and at another time irregularly and thus give rise to a pointed distinction between noise and musical sound. When a book falls flat on the floor, the sound heard is a noise ; while the sound given out by a tuning fork or the strings of a *thamboora* is a musical sound.

6. In three points musical sound differs, *viz.*, Pitch, Intensity and Timbre. The pitch of a tone or musical sound depends upon the rapidity of vibrations, that is, upon how many vibrations occur at a time. The larger the number of vibrations, the higher the pitch ; and *vice versa*. Suppose the vibrations of the eight notes,* *Sa, Ri, Ga, Ma, Pa, Dha, Ni, Sa*, are 24, 27, 30, 32, 36, 40, 45, and 48 respectively, then, every subsequent note is higher in *pitch* than that which precedes it.

7. The intensity (or loudness) of a tone depends on the extent (or amplitude) through which the particles of air oscillate and therefore increases or decreases with the greater or lesser amplitude of the vibrations which produce the note. The same sound will be much less intense (or loud) to one who is at a distance from the sounding body than to one who is near it. In addition to its varying inversely as the square of the distance, the intensity of sound depends upon the density of the air. The more rarefied the air is, the less intense the sound will be. At the top of Mount Kailas, where the air is very much rarefied, the discharge of a pistol is

आत्मनि विवक्षमाणाऽयं मनः प्रेरयते मनः ।

देहस्थं बद्धिमाहन्ति स प्रेरयति माकृतम् ॥

ब्रह्मग्रन्थिस्थितः सोऽयं क्रमादूर्ध्वपथे चरन् ।

नाभिहृत्कण्ठमूर्धास्थौ श्वाविर्भावयति धुनिम् ॥

—Sangitharatnakara.

* A Bank Note represents a sum of money ; A Musical Note represents a musical sound.

not heard, as easily as it does on the earth's surface.

8. Again, the same note will have a different effect upon the ear, if produced by two voices or two instruments, so that we recognise now something besides pitch and intensity. This something is analogous to quality and is called the *timbre* of the note. It is in connection with this timbre that the musicians speak of what is called 'Mouthing'. Indeed the mouth plays an important part in Voice-Production, in as much as the voice-training divides itself into three departments, *viz.*, (1) Chest or the control of breath; (2) Larynx or the proper use of registers; and (3) Mouth or the production of good tone; and in as much as the shaping of the cavity of the mouth produces the full resounding note (or resonance) and distinguishes the various vowel-sounds, *viz.*, *aa*, *ee*, *oo*.

9. We shall now proceed to study something about a musical Scale and its Development. In connection with pitch, we studied that, of the eight notes, *Sa-Ri-Ga-Ma-Pa-Dha-Ni-Sa*, every subsequent note was higher in pitch than that which preceded it. These eight notes of the ascending order form a musical scale. But what was its origin? As, in Philology, a question arises, *viz.*, "Thought or Language—which precedes which?" so, in Music a similar question crops up, *viz.*, "Singing or Scale—which precedes which?" The answer is not far to seek. Primitive thought, it is said, precedes primitive language. Quite similarly, primitive singing precedes primitive scale. For, which mother would wait for the scale to lull her baby to sleep with cradle songs? Even the chanting of Samaveda, which is doubtless the earliest form of Indian music, was first sung on an imperfect scale and was indeed preceded by still more imperfectly scaled systems of music, such as, *Archika* of single note, *Gathika* of double note, *Samika* of triple note and *Swaranthara* of quadruple note.† It

was to a very late stage in the evolution of music that *Oudava* of quintuple note, *Shadava* of sextuple note, and the perfect scale of *Sampoorna* belonged.‡ "We are apt to take it as a matter of course," observes Tylor,* "that all music must be made up of notes in scale and that scale the one we have been used to, from childhood. But the chants of rude tribes, which perhaps best represent singing in its early stages, run in less fixed tones. One of the simplest scales was forced upon their attention by that early musical instrument, the Trumpet, which sounds the successive notes of "the Common Chord," *viz.*, *Sa-Ga-Pa-Sa*, (C-E-G-C), on which the trumpeter performs the simple tunes, known as trumpet-calls. Another scale of five notes also pleased the people all over the world from the earliest times, *viz.*, *Sa-Ri-Ga:Pa-Dha-Sa*, (C-D-E-G-A-C), which scale is known, in North India, as *Bhupkalian* and, in South India, as *Mohana*. The South Indian name is indeed descriptive of the nature of the scale and literally means 'enchanting or fascinating.'

10. It is a musical fact that an instrument can produce the sounds of the *lower* notes much better than the voice and that, in vocal music, the more 'telling' notes are the *higher* ones. Hence a scale, conceived with the help of an instrument, invariably runs in the *ascending* order, starting from the 'lower' notes; while a scale, conceived with the help of the voice, runs in the *descending* order, starting from the 'higher' notes. For example, the earliest scale of Europe, *viz.*, "*Sa-Ga-Pa-Sa*" (C-E-G-C), discovered with the help of the trumpet, was ever regarded as an ascending series; while the earliest scale of India, *viz.*, "*Ga-Ri-Sa*" (E-D-C) discovered with the help of the voice, was ever regarded as a descending series. Indeed the primitive scale of "*Ga-Ri-Sa*" was the primal chord of Samaganam and those three notes, Panini called respectively *Uddatta* (high tone), *Anudatta* (low tone), and *Swarita* (a commingling of both)‡. Another proof that the primal

† आर्चिकं गायिकं चैव सामिकं च खरान्तरम् ।

एकान्तरः स्वरो ह्यनु गायामु दान्तरः स्वरः ।

साम सुव्यन्तरो विद्यादेतावत्स्वरतोन्तरम् ॥

—Narada Siksha.

§ (स) पूर्णः स्यात्सन्धिः स्वरैः । षड्भिः षाड्वचञ्च
सात् औडवः पञ्चभिः स्वरैः ॥

—Bhavabatta.

* Vide his Anthropology, p. 291.

‡ उदालश्चानुदानश्च खरिताख खरास्तुयः । उच्चैरुदातो

नीचैरनुदातः समाहारः खरितः । Panini, in his *Siksha*

further dilates on the point, thus :

उदातो निषादगान्धार-नुदात्तः षष्ठम धैवतौ खरितप्रभावाच्चेते

षड्जनमथमपञ्चमाः ॥

That is, 'Udatta' include *Ni*, and *Ga*.; 'Anudatta,' *Ri* and *Dha*.; and 'Swaritha,' *Sa*, *Ma* and *Pa*. This view fits in with the theory of 'Vadi, Samvadi, Anuvadi

chord of Samaganam was "Ga-Ri-Sa" is to be found in the numerical way of naming them at a later stage of the Samaganam. "Ga" was called *Prathama* (1st); "Ri" *Dwitiya* (2nd); and "Sa," *Tritiya* (3rd). When this "Ga-Ri-Sa" evolved itself to be a tetrachord,|| "Ni" was tacked on to it and thus became the fourth Swara, called *Chaturtha* (4th). Thus the primal tetrachord of Samaganam was "Ga-Ri-Sa-Ni", called respectively *Prathama*, *Dwitiya*, *Tritiya* and *Chaturtha*. Later on, a higher note was added, to which the name of *Krushta** was given; and two lower notes, called *Mandra*† and *Athiswarya*,§ completed the Samam Scale‡ and made it perfect—which was, according to *Naradasiksha*, "Ma-Ga-Ri-Sa-Ni-Dha-Pa," named respectively *Krushta*, *Prathama*, *Dwitiya*, *Tritiya*, *Chaturtha*, *Mandra* and *Athiswarya*. But *Samaparibhasha* has given the same names, viz., *Krushta*, etc., respectively to "Ni-Dha-Pa-Ma-Ga-Ri-Sa," Perhaps they represent different stages in the growth of Samaganam. Be that as it may, suffice it for us to remember that the Saman Scale, even when perfect, was a descending|| series and that it had a set of names far different from the modern one.

II. The names of the notes that mark the modern scale are, it is well-known, *Shadja*, *Rishabha*, *Gandhara*, *Madhyama*, *Panchama*, *Daivata* and *Nishada*. Are these names merely fanciful or really pregnant with meaning? It is said of *Guido Aretinus*, the inventor of the European *tonic-solfa*, (i.e. the seven *swaras*) that

and *Vivadi*, which will be explained later on. Of the primal chord 'Ga Ri Sa,' Ga includes its samvadi Ni; Ri, its samvadi Dha; and Sa, its samvadi Ma and Pa.

|| Tetrachord means a group of four notes.

*'Krushta' means *High*. *Kallinath* calls it *Uthkrishhta*.

† 'Mandra' means *Low*.

§ 'Athiswarya' means *extremity*.

‡ The authorities for the Saman Scale range from *Rikprathisakya* (4th century B. C.) to *Narada Siksha* (12th century A. D.) I follow *Narada Siksha*. The names given by *Kallinath* in his *Commentary* on *Sangitharatnakara* are:

सामनि त्यक्त्वा प्रथमद्वित्यतृतीयचतुर्थमखादिखायांसाः

सप्त स्वराः ।

|| अथ ऋषादेः सप्त स्वराः उत्तरोत्तरं नीचा भवन्ति ।

The same Notes (*Krushta*, etc.) are, in pitch, in the descending order—*Narada Siksha*.

N.B.—The Greek Scale also, it is said, was a descending series.

he got the "solfa" directly from heaven, though the grave historians are of opinion that one day *Guido* heard the following hymn of *St. John the Baptist*, sung in the Church, viz.,

*Utquean laxis Resonare fibris,
Mira gestorum Famuli tuorum,
Solvipolluti Labia reatum."*

He marked the iteration or the frequent return of the words containing the syllables, italicised in the above hymn, viz., *Ut, Re, Mi, Fa, So, La*; singled them out for the purpose of his tonic-solfa and added *Si* to complete the seven notes of the European Scale, which when so completed, was sung as—

Ut, Re, Mi, Fa, So, La, Si, Ut; and which was modernised into—

Do, Re, Mi, Fa, So, La, Si, Do.

Is there any similar account or any account at all, of the Indian tonic-solfa or *sapthaswaras*?

12. An account there is, though not a similar one. While the European tonic-solfa came out full-fledged from a hymn, sung in the Church; the Indian *sapthaswaras* took their own time to grow and got their present names in different periods of the history of Indian Music. Why, have we not noted that the old names of the seven notes of the Saman Scale were not simultaneously baptised, like the European tonic-solfa, but got into the scale slowly and one after another and in different periods of time? One proof, that even the modern names could not have been simultaneously given, *Mr. Fox Strangways* adduces: "Madhyama and Panchama are next-door neighbours. And of these *Madhyama* appears to be the older name, that is, to be applicable to an earlier state of the scale. They can hardly be contemporaries, for otherwise they would have been called *Chaturtha* and *Panchama*."

13. Be it remembered that, according to *Samaparibhasha*, "Ni" was the starting point of the Saman Scale and was even called *Samaja* (born of Sama) which epithet was subsequently transferred to the elephant** that, according to the legend, produced it. It was regarded that all the other six notes were seated or centred in this one note *Ni* which, therefore, came to be called *Nishada*,§ meaning the note wherein all

** Compare *Thiagaraja's Hindola Krithi Samajavaragamana*.

§ निषोदनि स्वराः सर्वे निषादस्तेन कथ्यते

—*Kallinath*.

the other notes are seated or centred. Captain Day recognises the fact that there was a time when the tuning was, and the chanterelle strings were, "Dha-Ri-Ga" instead of the modern "Sa-Pa-Sa." It is then easy to understand that once Dha played an important part and was regarded as an indispensable factor to keep the other notes in their proper order. Hence the name *Daivata*,⁽¹⁾ meaning 'a note whereby the other notes are kept in their proper order.' Or it may be that the production and Dha-sound affects the forehead and hence got the name.⁽²⁾ As for Panchama, the, root *pach* [पच]⁽³⁾ means 'broad'; and the word *pancha* [पंच]⁽⁴⁾ means "spread or extended". *Pa* was ever regarded as a note whereby a raga could be conveniently extended or elaborated and that note was called *Panchama*.⁽⁵⁾ Whether the scale was conceived upward or downward, *Ma* invariably happened to be in the middle of the seven notes and was therefore called *Madhyama*,⁽⁶⁾ meaning 'that which is in the middle.' *Ga* has a history of its own. It is clear from Sharangadev that once the scale started with *Ga* and was called "Ga-grama," which was considered to be a celestial or *gandarva*⁽⁷⁾ music. The note *Ga* itself came subsequently to be known as *Gandharva* and later on, by corruption, *Gandhara*.⁽⁸⁾ To say, as some do, that 'Gandhara' was so-called because it was sung in the Gandhara country is as much as to say that the milk is white, because the cow that gave the milk is white. How do you account for the name *Rishabha*,⁽⁹⁾ though it was not sung in the Rishabha country? Kallinath explains *Ri* as the note wherefrom the

scale begins to *move* upwards to reach the other notes one after another. When as we shall see, by the conjoint work of the vocal and instrumental music, the order of the Saman Scale was turned upside down and conceived as an ascending series,—

Sa-Ri-Ga-Ma-Pa-Dha-Ni ;

the first note or the starting point came to be *Sa* instead of *Ni* ; and all the properties attributed to *Ni* were virtually transferred to *Sa* which thenceforward became the seat or centre the other six notes. Hence the name *Shadja*⁽¹⁰⁾ was given to it, meaning 'a note that originates the other swaras.' To-day *Sa* is the tonic⁽¹¹⁾ of the scale as much as *Ni* was in former days. From this rough account of the Indian saptha-swaras, it is self-evident that the Indian scale did not drop down from heaven as a ready-made thing but grew by degrees to what it now is.

14. But what is a Scale? The word *scale* is derived from Latin 'scala,' a ladder. Anything graduated especially when applied as a measure is a scale. It was found by actual measurement⁽¹²⁾ that the tonic *Sa*, in South Indian *Sankarabhoranam* or North Indian *Bilaval* or European C Major—for all the three practically mean the same—produces 256 vibrations a second ; *Ri*, 288 ; *Ga*, 320 ; *Ma*, 341½ ; *Pa*, 384 ; *Dha*, 426⅔ ; *Ni*, 480 ; and octave⁽¹³⁾ *Sa*, 512. Since there is, thus, a *graduated* increase in the number of vibrations of these eight notes, the whole series of the eight notes came to be known as a *SCALE*, which may be defined as a *graduated or ladder-like arrangement of notes, in the order of Pitch, from a given tonic to its octave both inclusive*. "Sa-Ri-Ga-Ma-Pa-Dha-Ni-Sa" is then a scale. These notes will hereinafter be marked in capital letters as "S, R, G, M, P, D, N, S ;" and the scale we have been discussing may be illustrated thus.

S*	R	G	M	P	D	N	S†
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Fig. I.

(10) षड्जस्वरराणां जमकपध्दु जः।

(11) 'Tonic' means Fundamental or keynote.

(12) The vibrations of musical notes may be accurately measured by an instrument *Syren*.

(13) 'Octave' means *eighth note*.

(14) 'Interval' means the distance between any two notes of a scale. To find out the *interval* between two given notes you will have to divide the ratio of the latter, by that of the former note. The interval between *x* and *y* is *x/y*.

(1) तत्तत्स्थाने धृतो यस्मात् स धैवतो श्रुतः।

(2) षष्ठस्थाने ललाटस्थाने धृतवाद्वा धैवतः।

(3) पचि विस्तारे।

(4) Cf. *Panchapathran* पंचपातुम meaning 'a broad or extended vessel'.

(5) पंच विस्तार' मिमीत इति 'आतोऽन्तपसर्गे कः' इति क प्रत्यये पंचम इति रूपम्

—Kallinath.

यद्वा स्वराणां क्रमेण गणने पंचमतात्।

(6) स्वराणां मध्यमात्वाच्च मध्यमः स्वर उच्यते

(7) प्रवर्तते खर्गेलोके शमोऽसौ न महौतले। शमोऽसौ refers to *Ga-Grama*—*Sangitharathnakara*.

(8) गान्धर्वसुखहेतुत्वात् गान्धर्वः

(9) 'ऋषभतो' कृषति गच्छति इत्यस्माद्भौतौषादिके भक्षप्रत्यय कृषभ इति रूपम्।

15. Let us study the same scale a little further. Remembering the respective vibrations of the 8 notes of the scale, given above, we are now in a position to deduce that, if the tonic S is taken as a unit, that is, as 1; R should be taken as $1\frac{1}{8}$; G as $1\frac{1}{4}$; M as $1\frac{1}{3}$; P as $1\frac{1}{2}$; D as $1\frac{2}{3}$; N as $1\frac{3}{4}$; and octave S as 2. In other words, the *interval*, (14) between the tonic S and each of the other seven notes including the octave S, may be represented to be $\frac{1}{8}, \frac{2}{8}, \frac{3}{8}, \frac{4}{8}, \frac{5}{8}, \frac{6}{8}, \frac{7}{8}$,

$\frac{1}{8}$ and $\frac{2}{8}$. Now take the L. C. M. of denominators and multiply with the result each of the eight fractions. We arrive at the following whole figures to represent the intervals of the eight notes, viz., 24, 27, 30, 32, 36, 40, 45, 48. The following table gives you the symbols, names, intervals between the tonic and each of the succeeding notes, vibrations as well as the intervals of two successive notes in the scale.

Designation	Prime or Key note	2nd	3th	4th	5th	6th	7th	Octave
Symbols.	Indian.	Sa	Ri	Ga	Ma	Pa	Dha	Sa
		S	R	G	M	P	N	S
	European.	Ut	Re	Mi	Fa	So	La	Ut
		Do	Re	Mi	Fa	So	La	Do
		C	D	E	F	G	A	C
Names	Indian.	Shadja	Rishabha	Gandhara	Madhyama	Panchama	Dhaivatha	Nishada
	European.	Tonic	Super-Tonic	Mediant	Sub-Dominant	Dominant	Super-Dominant or Sub-Mediant	Leading Note or Sub-Tonic
Presiding Deities	Agni	Brahma	Saraswathi	Mahadev	Luxmi	Ganesh	Surya	Agni
Intervals	1	$\frac{9}{8}$	$\frac{5}{4}$	$\frac{4}{3}$	$\frac{3}{2}$	$\frac{5}{3}$	$\frac{15}{8}$	2
Vibrations	24	27	30	32	36	40	45	48
Intervals of two successive Notes.		$\frac{9}{8}$	$\frac{10}{9}$	$\frac{16}{15}$	$\frac{9}{8}$	$\frac{10}{9}$	$\frac{9}{8}$	$\frac{16}{15}$

Fig. II.

16. Regarding the intervals of two successive notes in a scale we found that, in Fig. 2, the

following ratios were obtained, viz., $\frac{2}{3}$ thrice, $\frac{1}{2}$ twice and $\frac{1}{3}$ twice. Special names have been

given to these outstanding ratios in the scale. $\frac{9}{8}$ is a Major Tone; $\frac{10}{9}$ is a Minor Tone; \dagger and $\frac{11}{10}$ is a Semi Tone. \ddagger We have generally in a scale three major tones, two minor tones, and two semi tones. The result is important. If we insert semi tones between the whole tones in the *gamut*,§ we get in all twelve|| of them in number.

17. The same conclusion may be arrived at in a different way. Our ancient scientists grouped the seven notes under two main divisions, *prakritha* and *vikritha*. 'Prakritha' notes are those which are fixed and do not admit of any variation or classification, *viz.*, S. and P.; while 'vikritha' notes are those which do admit of variations or classifications, *viz.*, R G M D N. The classification of *vikritha* notes may be illustrated thus:—

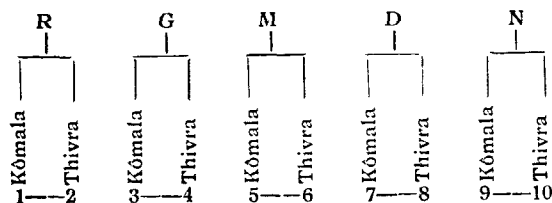


Fig. III.

There are thus ten notes of the *vikritha* type which, when tacked on to the two *prakritha* notes, give us in all twelve notes. This is exactly the number of the notes arrived at either by ancient Greece or by modern Europe. We shall reduce the twelve¶ notes graphically thus:—

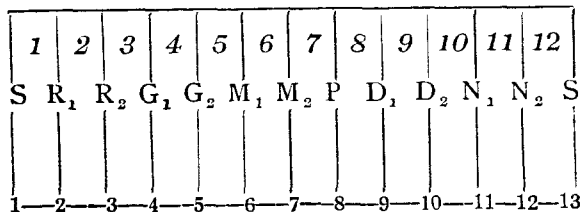


Fig. IV.

* Chathusruthi.

† Thrisruthi.

‡ Dwisruthi; Semitone is Half-Tone.

§ Gamut is a Scale of eight notes.

|| In a scale we have 5 tones (major and minor) plus 2 semi-tones. Since 5 tones are 10 semitones, the whole scale is said to consist of $(10 + 2) = 12$ semitones.

¶ If we add "S"—The total comes to Thirteen.

18. In this figure 4, we have thirteen notes, *viz.*, the ten notes of the *vikritha* type plus the three *prakritha* notes S—P—S. The figures 1 and 2 appended right below the other notes of the scale show that those notes are *Kōmala* and *Thivra* respectively. For instance, "R," means *Kōmala R*; "R₂" means *Thivra R* and so on. *Kōmala* and *Thivra* mean literally 'tender' and 'strong' and represent in music the flat* and sharp* notes respectively. Be it noted that now-a-days these two terms are confined to the North Indian music, while the South Indians have had a different nomenclature to denote the ten *vikritha* types, such as, *Suddha*, *Chathusruthi*, and *Shadsruthi Rishabha*; *Suddha*, *Sadharana*, and *Anthara Gandhara*; *Suddha* and *Prathi Madhyama*; *Suddha*, *Chathusruthi* and *Shadsruthi Dhaivatha*; and *Suddha*, *Kaisiki* and *Kakali Nishada*. To avoid, however, any possible confusion, I choose, at the outset, to apply 'Kōmala' and 'Thivra' in connection with both the systems of Indian Music; and I intend referring to, and dealing with, the South Indian names of the *vikritha* notes later on.

19. You will find, in Fig. 4, that, as between the thirteen notes, there are twelve intervals marked in *italics*. These twelve intervals the Europeans regard as the smallest ones and call "Semitones".§ Now, we first thought that a ladder-like arrangement of seven notes

* Raising or lowering the pitch by the ratio of a Semitone—be it $\frac{16}{15}$ or $\frac{9}{8}$ is making the particular pitch "sharp" or "flat" respectively.

§ All the twelve semitones, be it noted, are not of equal intervals. In other words, there are many kinds of semitones of different intervals. We have already noted $\frac{16}{15}$ to be one interval of a semitone. Watson calls it 'Limma'. The difference between a minor tone ($\frac{10}{9}$) and a major tone ($\frac{9}{8}$) is also called a semitone, which comes up to $(\frac{9}{8} \div \frac{10}{9}) = \frac{9}{8} \times \frac{9}{10} = \frac{81}{80}$. This new interval of $\frac{81}{80}$ has a special name given to it, *viz.*, "Comma". Again, the difference between a semitone ($\frac{16}{15}$) and a minor tone ($\frac{10}{9}$) is also regarded as a semitone, which comes up to $(\frac{16}{15} \div \frac{10}{9}) = \frac{16}{15} \times \frac{9}{10} = \frac{24}{25}$. This new interval's name is "Diesis." These three kinds of semitones, *viz.*, $\frac{16}{15}$, $\frac{81}{80}$, $\frac{24}{25}$ and even more(?) bewilder even the most careful researcher and challenge him to divide a gamut into equal parts. For instance, in Fig. 4, the ratios $\frac{32}{27}$ and $\frac{9}{8}$ elude the grasp of " $\frac{16}{15}$ -semitone-intervals." Another view is:—Just as there are 3 diatonic intervals (suravas), so there are 3 enharmonic intervals (sruthis). The 3 diatonic intervals are:—

and an octave, as in Fig. 1, was a scale. We are now confronted with another ladderlike arrangement of twelve notes and an octave, as in Fig. 4. Are we to call the latter a scale or not?

20. We shall study Fig. 4 still more in detail. It is ordinary arithmetic that two semitones make one tone and that the twelve semitones, in Fig. 4, make six tones in all. The question now arises: can we sing the twelve semitones, or for that matter, the six tones, in *succession*? The whole musical world proclaims we cannot; and Aristoxenes goes to the extent of saying that human voice cannot sing even three semitones in succession. The reason is this: in singing a Hindu Scale you cannot as a rule avoid the dominant note P, inasmuch as it forms the prakritha note along with, and the samvadi note of, Shadja; and both S and P often form the consonant drones. For example, "S to R₂" is a tone; "R₂ to G₂" is again a tone; "G₂ to M₂ is, further again, a tone. Thus we find that, in the first tetrachord, *viz.* S R G M, there are three tones. After M₂ comes the co-drone P which, I repeat, cannot ordinarily be avoided. Hence you have necessarily to pass from "M₂ to P" which is only a semitone. Starting again from P, which forms the first note of the second tetrachord, you traverse first from "P to D₂" which is a tone; then from "D₂ to N₂", which is again a tone;

and finally from "N₂ to S" which is only a semitone. We conclude that a *singable* scale invariably consists of five tones and two semitones.

21. The scale we have been studying is *Mechakalyani*. It is called, in Hindustani Music, *Yaman*; in European Music, *F. Scale*; in Greek Music, *Hypolidic*; and in church music, *Lydian*. Milton seems to have been fond of our *Mechakalyani*, in as much as he writes:—

"And ever against eating cares.

Lap me in soft *Lydian* airs.

Married to immortal verse."

The *Mechakalyani* scale is, as we have seen, sung thus:—

S—R₂—G₂—M₂—P—D₂—N₂—S* and the process of selecting these eight notes from Fig. 4 may be shown thus:—

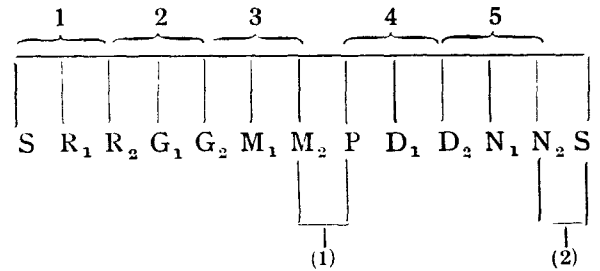


Fig. V.

The sign \frown denotes the tone, while, the sign \sqcup denotes the semitone. *Mechakalyani* scale consists of five tones and two semitones. Other scales which consist of the same five tones and two semitones are: Hanumathodi, Natabhairavi, Charukesi, Rishabhapriya, Natakapriya, Karaharapriya, Gowri-manohari and Sankarabharanam. But there are still good many scales which consist of *less than* five tones and *more than* two semitones. The following is a rough list of them; Bhavapriya, Vakulabharanam, Nawanarayani, Shanmukapriya, Deunka, Subhapanduvarali, Mayawalavagowla, Kamavardhani, Kiravani, Simmendramadhyam, Sarasangi, Lathangi-Shadvidhamagini, Chakravakam. Ramapriya, Hemavathi, Swarnangi, Suryakantha, Gamanakrama, and Dharmavathi. Let us now apply ourselves to a closer study of these scales.

22. Take, for instance, the most popular scale of South India, Mayamalavagowla which is sung thus:—

(1) Major Tone = $\frac{2}{3}$ = 4 Sruthis,

(2) Minor Tone = $\frac{1}{3}$ = 3 Sruthis,

(3) Semitone = $\frac{1}{6}$ = 2 Sruthis.

The enharmonic intervals are such as correspond to a difference of one between the sruthis of the swaras. The numbers 4, 3, 2 may be handled in three ways so as to produce a difference of one, *e.g.*,

(a) $4 - 3 = 1$ sruthi; that is, $\frac{2}{3} - \frac{1}{3} = \frac{1}{6} = 22$ Cents.

This is the Indicative Sruthi, the *Comma* of Didymus.

(b) $3 - 2 = 1$ sruthi; that is, $\frac{1}{3} - \frac{1}{6} = \frac{1}{6} = 22$ Cents (strictly 70.6). This is the small semitone.

(c) $(3 + 2) - 4 = 1$ sruthi; that is $(\frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{6}) - \frac{2}{3} = \frac{1}{6} = 22$ Cents. This is the Pythagorean Limma.

N.B.—Dr. Stone, in his *Scientific Basis of Music* remarks: "This discrepancy is a Law of Nature, not inherent in any particular system or method, and entirely beyond man's control." The modern European division of the various parts of a musical scale in equality, as against Nature which delights in inequality, is called *Temperament*; and such equally divided scale is called a *Tempered Scale*.

S—R₁—G₂—M₁—P—D₁—N₂—S* and the process of selecting these eight notes from Fig. 4 may be shown thus:—

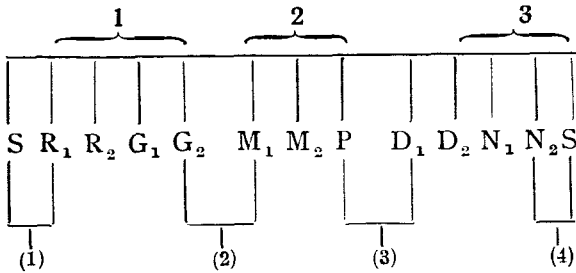


Fig. VI.

We have here three tones and four semitones. Of the three tones, the first and the third will be found to consist each of one full tone and a residue but are, for all practical purposes, deemed to be each one *whole* tone. Take again, another scale, *Vakulabharana* which is sung thus:—

S—R₁—G₂—M₁—P—D₁—N₁—S* and the process of selecting these eight notes, from Fig. 4, may be shown thus:—

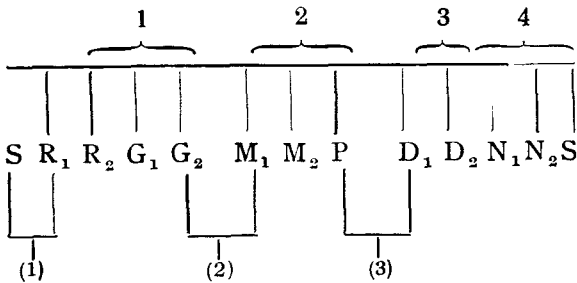


Fig. VII.

Here we have four tones and three semitones, the first tone alone, though practically a whole tone is really a tone and a residue.

23. The following conclusions at which we have arrived, are important:—

- (1) A full scale consists of twelve semitones or six tones. This is not singable.
- (2) A singable scale consists of five tones or less (but not less than three) and two semitones or more (but not more than four).
- (3) The scale of five tones and two semitones is called a 'diatonic' scale, because the *tones* therein play a prominent part. While the scale of less than five tones and more than two semitones is called a 'chromatic'

scale, because the *semitones* therein play a prominent part and give it their own *chroma* or color. 'A chromatic melody', observes Mr. Strangways, 'tends to centre in the cluster of semitones.'

24. Do the notes, in Fig. 4, form—even as they are—a Scale? That was the question we had proposed to answer. In the light of the definition given above of a scale the thirteen notes, in Fig. 4, do form a Scale. Is it diatonic or chromatic? Since it is the twelve semitones that play a prominent part therein, the scale of Fig. 4 must be deemed to be a chromatic scale. So the Europeans call it. But, as has been said, it is not singable but merely consists of a group of thirteen notes. Hence the chromatic scale of Fig. 4, may be called by some such name as the *Chromatic-group-scale*, as opposed to so many chromatic singable scales which may be called *chromatic scales* pure and simple. The present diatonic and chromatic scales may be said to have emanated from this chromatic-group-scale of Fig. 4. Hence it is that the Hindus, like the Greeks, held that the chromatic preceded the diatonic.

25. To sum up. Sound, as opposed to noise, forms the aesthetic and emotional side of music which is therefore conterminous with Physics. The compass of the musical scale increases with the state of civilisation. In cities the compass is anything up to, and even beyond, the octave. Among the west coast tribes it is not more than 4 or 5 Notes; among the Malaysians and the Travancore boatmen and also the Todas, not more than 3 or 4 notes; and among the remote Kanikas, only 2 or 3 notes. There are two broad tendencies in scale-building, *viz.*, to step melodically to the next-door note and to leap harmonically to one which is not next-door, the leap being always to a consonant (*samvadi*) note. 'Steps' prevail in South India and 'Leaps' in North India. The Indian musical Scale originally began with a single note and reached first to the stage of the primal tetrachord of Samaganam, *viz.*, G R S N. Even when the Saman scale became perfect, it was conceived as a downward series which, when the instrumental music came more and more into vogue, was turned upside down and became an upward series of the modern times. All the seven notes of a scale were first conceived only during the time of Samaganam; and Sharanagadev only confirms my view by observing

"This Music Brahma obtained from Samaveda".* These seven notes were originally studied with reference to 22 semitones but were later on confined to 12. A new interest is being created now to realise once again the importance of the now-forgotten 22 Sruthis, which will be explained in detail in my subsequent article on *Theory of Music*.

V

Physiology of Music.

1. In the preceding section we studied that music was impossible without sound and that sound itself was impossible without vibrations. Be it noted, that, in musical instruments, the vibrating elements are to be found in strings or leather, as the case may be. But where those elements are to be found in the Human Voice? "The Vocal Apparatus," observes.† Churchill Sibley, "is a *Musical Instrument* of exquisite design, sensitive beyond compare and devised by Dame Nature to fulfil all her conditions for the production of sound, the adjustment of Pitch and the infusion of quality." Every blessed individual on this side of the Sun, is in actual possession of this exquisitely designed "musical instrument." How is it, then, that he does not make use of it? It is because he is too indolent to care for studying its vibrating part, a true knowledge whereof will substantiate the truth of what I elsewhere remarked, *viz.*, 'whoever can talk can sing.' If it is a glorious privilege of man to *hear* good music, it is his much more glorious privilege to *produce* it. We must therefore thank God for His having given us the Voice and the Ears. But should we not make a critical study of these special organs, so as to be able to all the more appreciate the divine gifts? There is yet a practical advantage in such a study; for, it enables the singer to have a proper and effectual *control* over his Voice which, if scientifically trained, can—like the eye—shed its tear or sparkle under the influence of joy and again can—like the lip—wreath in smile or pout in scorn.

2. Music mainly depends on the Respiratory Apparatus which consists of the Lungs, the Bronchial Tubes, the Bronchi, the Trachea and the Larynx. The first four occupy the major

portion of the Thorax or chest. The Lungs—which are two in number, *viz.*, the right Lung and the left Lung, each of which is divided into lobes and lobules—are spongy and elastic bags consisting of air-tubes, cells, blood vessels and elastic tissue. The air which passes in and out of them forms the basis of the Voice and travels through the Bronchial Tubes, the Bronchi, the Trachea and the Glottis of the Larynx. The Trachea is a tube beginning from just below the Larynx and ending with the two Bronchi. It is popularly called the Windpipe. It consists of cartilaginous loops, the function whereof is to keep the windpipe open at all times. It divides itself below into two Bronchi, each of which ramifies itself into the Bronchial Tubes which again merge themselves with the air-cells of the Lungs. If the Lungs, the Bronchial Tubes, the Bronchi and the Trachea—all together supply a current of air, the Larynx is capable of converting it into Voice. Hence the Larynx is popularly called the *Voice-Box*.

3. We shall study the Larynx in particular. Placed at the upper part of the air-passage and situated between the Trachea and the Root of the Tongue, the Larynx is a funnel-shaped structure consisting of cartilages and muscles, formed to play into each other's movement or to move together. The cartilages are the Thyroid, the Cricoid and the two Arytenoids. The Thyroid Cartilage does not form a complete ring around the Larynx but only forms the prominence in throat, known as 'the Adam's Apple'. At the base of the Thyroid and supporting it on the Trachea lies the Cricoid which forms itself into a complete ring, broader in the back than in front. On the top of this broad portion of the Cricoid will be found the Arytenoids, which invariably accompany the Cricoid in all movements. The Arytenoids are connected with the interior surface of the front part of the Thyroid by means of two bands of firm and yet elastic fibres which are imbedded in folds of mucous membrane. These bands are called "Vocal Cords." The slit-like aperture formed by the vocal cords is called the Glottis, which has a lid also—named Epiglottis—to cover it during the act of swallowing and thus prevent food or drink from getting into the Windpipe.

4. During quiet breathing, the vocal cords are relaxed; the glottis is wide open; and the current of air passes through, freely, without setting the side-lying vocal cords in vibration.

* सामवेदादिदं गौतं स'जगाह पितामहः ।

† In his "Voice and its Control".

Be it noted that, when the larynx is in a state of rest, the aperture of the glottis will be V-shaped, the point of the V being forwards and the base behind. For in front the two vocal cords are fastened permanently closed together ; whereas, behind, their extremities will be separated, as far as the Arytenoids, to which they are attached.

5. The principal muscles of the Larynx are:—The Arytenoid Muscle, the Crico-Arytenoid muscles, the Thyro-Arytenoid muscles and the Crico-Thyroid muscles. The Arytenoid muscle commonly called the *Posterior Arytenoid*, usually draws the arytenoid cartilages together and completely closes the glottis. The Crico-Arytenoid Muscles are of two kinds, *viz.*, the Posterior Crico-Arytenoid and the Lateral Crico-Arytenoid. The former widens the glottis by swinging the arytenoid cartilages outwards, while the latter brings the same into position and narrows the Glottis. By the more or less separate or combined action of these muscles, the arytenoid cartilages may be made to approach or recede from each other, and thus the Vocal Cords rendered parallel or the reverse. The Thyro-Arytenoid muscles are parallel to the vocal cords and attached to the same points. Hence their contraction produces the relaxation of the vocal cords. But the Crico-Thyroid muscles, which lie between the cartilages of the same name, produce, when contracted, an opposite effect, *viz.*, the tightening of the vocal cords. Thus the parallelism of the vocal cords is determined by the relative distance from each other of the arytenoid cartilages which again depends upon the movement of the Posterior Arytenoid and Crico Arytenoid Muscles. But, the tension or relaxation of the vocal cords depends respectively on whether the Crico-Thyroid Muscles or the Thyro-Arytenoid Muscles contract. When the cords are sufficiently parallel and tense, a musical note is produced : otherwise no audible sound is heard. Accuracy of singing depends upon the precision with which the singer can voluntarily adjust the contractions of the Thyro-Arytenoid and Crico-Thyroid muscles, so as to give his vocal cords the exact tension at which their vibration will yield the notes required. The quality of a voice—treble, bass, tenor—depends on the make of the particular Larynx, the primitive length of its vocal cords, their elasticity and the amount of resonance of the surrounding parts.

6. We have now come to a stage when we can, in a way, understand the general conditions affecting the production of tone. They are :—

- (1) The perfection of the Larynx and its muscles.
- (2) The length, firmness and sensitiveness of the Vocal cords.
- (3) The symmetry of the nasal and head cavities.
- (4) The shape of the pharynx, mouth and tongue.
- (5) The size of thorax and capacity of lungs.

A Larynx may be deemed to be perfect when its vocal cords can, by the action of its muscles, be rendered parallel and tight, so as to convert the current of air, coming from below, into a Sound. But the highness or lowness of the voice depends upon whether the vocal cords are short or long. As a rule the longer the cords, the lower the voice. The cords of men are long and their voice is low ; while those of women and children are short and their voices are high. Be it noted that when a boy reaches 16, his larynx enlarges and the vocal cords lengthen and hence his voice tends, about that age, to "break" or go lower in pitch. The larynx of the girl too, at the age of puberty, likewise changes but her voice is only slightly affected in pitch. On the whole during the period of puberty, whether of a boy or a girl, which generally ranges from 1 to 3 years, a systematic cultivation of singing should on no account be attempted, as the injury done may be irreparable. Another precaution a singer has to take is that he should not sing when suffering from cold, for, then, the vocal cords, become heavy with blood and a hoarse low voice results, just as the heavier strings on a violin produce a lower note. He should avoid smoke, dust, drink, condiments or exposure ; for, otherwise the delicate mucous membrane

of the air-passage will be irritated and inflamed and prevent him altogether from singing. Of far more consequence to a singer are regular habits, sufficient rest and sleep, proper diet and rational exercise in the open air. The question of diet may be left to his taste ; but he should make it a point never to sing immediately after a heavy meal or when he is hungry or fatigued. Even when sight, hearing, etc. become impaired, a good vocal organ, well-produced and consistently used, is said to wear well if due attention is paid to bodily health. But what an unspeakable curse it is in our country that the innocent lamb of professional music skips and plays with the butcher of immorality and licks the hand just raised to shed its blood. A musician must, as a rule, lead a very pure life ; and this rule must be enforced by the people at large by uniformly disdaining the immoral singers and declining to hear them. The existence of prostitute-singers and (what is more heart-rending) prostitute-Bhagavathars is a shame to our country ; and the patronage held out to them is a matter of positive disgrace.

7. Writers on music, especially of the West, attach not a little importance to what they call "Voice-Production", the first essential whereof is said to be Deep-Breathing. A knowledge of such breathing is said to have saved many a glorious voice to enchant the world with sweet music. One thing is certain that deep breathing is a medicinal prescription ; and, if persistently practised, it dissipates the sallow complexion and even brings back roses to faded cheeks ; and again, lung diseases would become less prevalent, if people would carry out this simple exercise. But is such deep-breathing necessary for music ? I should think it is necessary. For, though ordinary breathing is accomplished by involuntary and uniform effort, a deeper and more expeditious inspiration is felt to be absolutely necessary for a sustained use of the voice which singing too often requires. Hence it is pithily said that Breath is to the vocalist what the Bow is to the violinist.

8. The following hints and suggestions regarding Voice-Production may be of some use to the reader :—

To acquire proper voice-production, proceed as follows : At the beginning of every singing lesson, stand straight with chests well out but not strained ; place the hands on the sides above the hips, fingers in front, thumb at back ; breathe in slowly through the nose* until the lungs are fully expanded and the abdominal muscles move ; then exhale slowly through the lips, pursed as if for whistling but making no sound. Do this thrice ; later on, the number may be increased. Next, standing as above, first draw a full breath and, while exhaling, sing 'Oo' to a note of medium pitch, till one counts five (later six, seven, etc.). The sound produced should be soft and kept at the same degree all through. Next, standing as above, breathe fully and, while exhaling, sing—softly and sweetly—a succession of notes in one breath, such as, Sa—Ri—Ga—Ma. Later on, other notes may be added and the student may be enabled to sing, in one breath, the whole ascending and descending scale. When a composed song is learnt, too much attention cannot be paid to the full value of every vowel sound occurring there, in as much as the vowel alone, unlike the consonant, can be prolonged at pleasure or terminated by mere cessation of vocal effort. We cannot hold on a consonant, since the very act of pronouncing it shuts the voice. Further while consonants exhibit the intellectual phase of music, vowels exhibit the emotional phase thereof. Though consonants cannot sustain tone, they can separate vowels from one another ; and the way to be *distinct* in singing, as in speech, is to exaggerate the consonants. I need hardly tell you that the common cause of confused utterance in singing is the neglect of consonants.

9. Every musician must make it a point to study and understand his *Sthayi* or Voice-Register and should strictly avoid singing higher than the pitch which the range of his voice

*Nasal respiration is generally speaking impossible during singing ; but under ordinary circumstances it should be encouraged, because it is the natural safeguard against the danger of inhaling cold or impure air. The nasal passages are richly supplied with blood-vessels, so that on a day when the temperature is 36°F, the air during its passage to the larynx will rise to about 82°F.

will permit. It is sheer ignorance of the delicate formation of the vocal organs that leads to encourage the singers to strain them beyond their strength and thus to deteriorate, nay, destroy their voice. Foolish ideas still prevail in our country, as they once did in Greece, that the higher the pitch of a musician, the cleverer he is. The trumpet players at the Olympic games used to express an excess of joy, when they found their exertions had burst a blood-vessel or done them some other serious injury. A young flute player, Harmonides by name, began a solo, on his first public appearance at these games, with so violent a blast, in order to surprise and elevate the audience, that the poor fellow breathed his last into the flute and died on the spot. In our country, though such serious mishaps have not been recorded to have occurred, the sorry spectacle still persists—that of holding, at a discount, a singer with a lower range of voice, as though he belonged to an inferior rank. I have often noticed another bad custom of abruptly asking any singer, who happened to be present as one of the audience in a music party, to get up on the platform and sing a song or two. If that singer declined, he used to be blackmarked as an ill-mannered churl. The truth is that the people are steeped in dire ignorance of the hard fact that one singer's *sthayi* will not suit another singer's *sthayi*: and that when the former's performance is over in one particular register, the latter ought not to be required to conform his voice to that self-same pitch, irrespective of his capacity to do so. False Intonation or singing *out of tune* is a different thing from *sthayi* and is due to forcing the voice or the effects of a cold or a defective ear. The last case may be generally regarded as hopeless. But the other two may be safely corrected.

10. A word about *Resonance* and I shall have finished this portion of my discourse. Every musical sound is in itself something more than a simple tone produced by one set of vibrations. It is a compound tone, made up of fundamental sound and certain other higher sounds—called *Overtones*—generated by it. Hence the tonic *Sa* is deemed to include in it all the overtones of the other six swaras, as its name *Shadja* (born of six) indicates. Had it not been for the presence of overtones, all musical sounds would be of the same colorless character. Indeed the quality and distinction of every musical sound depends upon the

number, order, and comparative prominence of its overtones.

11. Now, besides these overtones, there is a still more important factor for our early recognition. In answer to the vibration set up by the vocal cords, some other parts of the body also agree to set up *co-vibration*, corresponding in pitch to the first cause. This "co-vibration" is called *Resonance*. When we sing in the higher or *thara sthayi*, the resonance comes from the nasal and head cavities; when we sing in the middle or *madhya sthayi*, it comes from the pharynx, mouth and the shaping of the tongue; and when we sing in the lower or *mandra sthayi*, it comes from the thorax or chest. Now you realise the truth and importance of the five conditions affecting the production of tone, enumerated above. No musical sound will be perfectly sweet without its corresponding resonance; and the importance of this truth is recognised even in the construction of Instruments. Hence the pianoforte is provided with its sound-board, the trumpet with its tube and the violin with its hollow body.

12. Finally, I should like to rivet your pointed attention to a fact that a fine voice—acquired as it may be with a full knowledge of its physiological conditions—is not after all enough for a good singer to challenge the public verdict; for he must also possess an artistic temperament, a genuine individuality and the consummate self-control acquired by training and experience, each of which will loom in importance, as we proceed to tackle the next subject—Psychology of Music.

VI

Psychology of Music.

1. Psychology deals primarily with thought-activity, feelings and will; and all the subdivisions of the subject come under one or another of these three essentials. But what relation subsists between them and Music? You start at a loud noise; but a sweet sound invariably creates instantaneous pleasure. Thus the loud noise and sweet sound first touch your feelings of pain and pleasure and cause 'Reflex Actions.' You then proceed to find out their cause; and that is an aspect of thought-activity, by virtue of which Associations of Ideas are formed between cause and effect. Morning Ragas, like *Bhoopala*, call to your mind the associations of the morning; and the *swara*

letters are always associated with the sounds peculiar to them. Hence music-teaching seems to be based upon the principles of Reflex Action and the Association of Ideas ; and when various kinds of sound are introduced into music, associations which these sounds convey in real life are called up and suitable feelings are expressed by means of the Reflex Action.

2. Most singers of the present day are stiff, inanimate and wooden when they sing. Either they do not feel their songs or manage to conceal their feelings. The latter is due to a fallacious notion that unfortunately prevails in some parts that a musician must sing in such a manner as nobody should know who it is that sings. By nature, all men are good elocutionists. Listen to a child pleading with its mother in long-drawn and tenderly inflected notes. As we grow up, this natural freedom of voice and gesture gets overlaid by an artificial repression. Yet, when suddenly caught or strongly moved, we forget our stiffness and become natural again. The great thing in singing a song is to let the feelings have full play in the voice, the face and even the gesture of body and limb ; and the great secret of the singer's power over the hearts of his hearers lies in his total forgetfulness of self and surroundings and in entering heart and soul into the conception of the composer.

3. Music again, it is said, is the language of emotions. Emotion, like heat, is a form of energy. When it enters the body, its active power depends on the quality of the nerve substance over which it spreads. If the substance is a good conductor, the whole human frame is thrilled with emotion. If the nerve is a bad conductor, music produces no effect in him. The same idea has been graphically described thus:—Take a point A and draw a line A B to indicate "nerve-power". Draw another line AC perpendicular to AB ; and let AC indicate "will-power". From the centre A at the distance AB, draw a circle. We thus have a quadrant CAB and shall consider it. Bisect the right angle CAB by a straight line drawn from A to meet the circumference CB at D. Then AD will be the line midway between the will-power and the nerve-power. It represents a well-balanced mind. The more one moves from AD and marches towards AC, the stronger his will-power becomes and his nerve-power if any weakens correspondingly ; softer feelings disappear ; music does not move him. But if

he moves from AD towards AB, his will-power decreases and nerve-power increases. He becomes yielding to emotion and is carried away with music. The angle BAD is musical, while the angle CAD is unmusical. Capacity to appreciate music depends upon the position one occupies in the quadrant. Shylock stood exactly on the line AC. while Romeo and Juliet exactly on the line AB. Again Kaikeyi stood on AC, while Dasaratha stood on AB. In the former there is no room for nerve-power, while in the latter there is no room for will-power. Hence Kaikeyi out-beat Dasaratha. General education brings a man from AB nearer and nearer to AB. while music-teaching brings him from AC nearer and nearer to AD. Thus general and music teachings are absolutely necessary for a man's cultural life. Nero, who "tiddled when Rome burnt," furnishes to us a rather curious example of a man who was really a *strong-willed* person but studied music as a matter of intellectual—not emotional—pleasure.

4. The psychological effect of musical notes is, in itself, a serious study. In this connection Mr. Sibley observes : "the keynote is the point of finality and repose ; the second degree of the scale suggests incompleteness ; the major-third is bright and brilliant but the minor is mournful and solemn ; the fifth is emphatic ; the major sixth is buoyant and the minor sad ; and, lastly, the seventh degree conveys the feeling of longing or surprise." We shall however make our own inquiries about the matter.

5. In the period of babyhood, a child's eyes are almost closed and the sight, if any, is void of purpose. All the limbs of the body are quite at ease. There is serene tranquillity over the face and, for that matter, over the whole system. The tonic *Sa* represents that stage. For, while sounding it, you are in your own usual speaking voice and so make no effort. There is no strain given to any muscle or nerve of your body. Your face is bright and your eyes are almost closed. Hence the tonic or keynote *Sa* may like the babyhood be said to represent serene tranquillity and mark a *cheerful* note.

6. As the baby grows, it begins to feel a little disturbed by *sound and form* coming from outside. But the disturbance is vague and the child cannot recognise the sound or the form. It shows a tendency to forget the vague impressions caused from outside and to relapse into the original state of serene tranquillity.

"R₁"—that is Komala *Ri*—represents this second stage. Unlike the keynote, it disturbs the mind though mildly ; opens the eyes though a little ; creates a sort of drowsiness and tends to go down and merge with the tonic. Hence R₁, may be said to indicate a little disturbance and to mark a *plaintive* note.

7. In the period of boyhood, the child is, unlike in its infancy, able to wide open its eyes and perceive and recognise the *sound and form* coming from outside ; does not allow its mind to be disturbed by it but enjoys at the happy perception thereof. "R₂"—that is Thivra *Ri*—represents this third stage. There is no drowsiness or plaintiveness in sounding R₂ which is attended with the wide opening of the eyes and indicates a clear awakening and perception and which comes under the category of a *cheerful* note.

8. In its youth the child has to undergo the severe discipline of a rigid time-table. "G₁,"—that is Komala *Ga*—represents this uneasy stage and is therefore a *plaintive* note.

9. The stage of inquiry arrives at the early manhood of the now-grown-up child which therefore consents to joyfully acquire much knowledge. Hence "G₂"—that is Thivra *Ga*—which represents this stage is a *cheerful* note.

10. Optimism and egoism form the several feature of the young man puffed up with mere knowledge. "M₁"—that is Komala *Ma*—represents this stage and is generally a *cheerful* note.

11. When, upon the hard and unsympathetic rock of the world, the earthen vessels of optimism and egoism are broken to pieces ; the hitherto optimistic man feels himself disappointed and grows pessimistic, This seventh stage is represented by "M₂"—that is Thivra *Ma*—which is, doubtless, a *plaintive* note.

12. Wisdom and humility, then, set right the mind of the disappointed man which (mind) thereupon reaches the happy state of equilibrium. P—that is Panchama—represents this happy eighth stage and is a *cheerful* note.

13. Having arrived at the stage of P the young man's mind begins to be vaguely vexed with the problem of eternal life. This vague disturbance is represented by "D."—that is Komala *Dha*—which is a *plaintive* note.

14. The reason of the disturbance is perceived to be the want of Bhakthi or faith in God. This perception is the tenth stage represented

by "D₂"—that is Thivra *Dha*—which is again a *plaintive* note.

15. "N₁"—that is Komala *Ni*—marks the eleventh stage of Bhakthimarga being cheerfully followed ; and hence it is a *cheerful* note.

16. A doubt regarding the efficacy of prayer arises in the twelfth stage of "N₂"—that is Thivra *Ni*—which may be marked as a *plaintive* note.

17. In the thirteenth stage, the happy conclusion is arrived at, *viz.*, the service of humanity is worship of God. The octave *Sa* represents this stage and is therefore a *cheerful* note.

18. Thus the thirteen stages of a man's* life represent the thirteen notes of music in an octave. On analysis, it will be found that from the tonic *Sa* to *Pa* there are five cheerful notes and three plaintive notes : and from *Pa* to octave *Sa* there are two cheerful notes and three plaintive notes. If you eliminate the prakrithi swaras "Sa—Pa—Sa," you will find that, in a given octave, there are more plaintive notes than cheerful ones. Hence Shakespeare rightly observed—"I am never merry when I hear sweet music." The cheerfulness or sorrowfulness of a song depends on the nature of the notes selected.

19. Now, I have to familiarise you with what may be called "the *Æsthetics of Music.*" *Æsthetics*—I need hardly tell you—is that branch of philosophy which deals with "the beautiful" and is, indeed, a doctrine of taste. My object in drawing your special attention to this aspect of the question is to suggest to you a secret whereby to create a wholesome taste for music in the generality of the people. The savage in the hill, the peasant in the field and the cultured man in the music-hall have each his own idea of *beauty*, and music therefore affects them each in his own way. It must not be forgotten that man is, in the first place, an animal and *then* a human being and that therefore the senses of touch, tongue and nose—which are more important for the needs of animal life—affect him much more readily and quickly than the other two senses, *viz.*, the eye and the ears. To the savage, or the savage-minded man,

*Here I took Thiagaraja's life and described it in terms of the thirteen notes. Others' lives may not conform themselves to these terms. But one thing is certain that in a musical scale there is more of *plaintive* notes than of *cheerful* ones.

music will affect primarily his senses of touch, tongue and nose ; and lascivious songs—Javalis for instance—will please him very easily and make him be “all teeth.” But mere sensual pleasure, be it remembered, is incapable of affecting the mind or serving higher purposes ; nor is its field of action wide enough to perpetuate, intensify or even variegate the pleasure. Hence the necessity of *higher* music that will appeal more to the sense of *hearing* than to the lower group of senses.

20. Every higher musician must therefore make it a point not only to be satisfied with his own elevated condition, in point of music, but also to see that the audience he wants to please is also elevated to his level. But the tendency goes the other way, the musician is content to level himself *down* even unto the wretched predicament of the audience.

21. Both the musicians and their audience have, alike, forgotten the wholesome lessons* taught by Thiagaraja in his *Sogasuga Mridanga Thalamu* and *Kaddanuvariki*. The former krithi shows that Thiagaraja recognised, as an accompanying percussion-instrument of music, Mridangam and (mark !) Mridangam alone ; but not Kanjira, Dolak, Ghata, and a host of other antiquated instruments. The history of musical instruments reveals that, of all percussion-instruments, Mridangam is the highest and latest product. To use, therefore, in a musical performance, all the out-of-date and superseded instruments side by side with, or (what is worse !) sometimes even without Mridangam is as absurd and ridiculous as a Master of Arts using after his name all his previous and superseded titles, such as, Matriculate, F.A., B.A., and M.A. Again, the same krithi makes a telling suggestion that the singer, like a master, should ever come to, and maintain, the forefront ; while the instrumentalist, like a servant, should ever keep himself in the back-ground, in subordination to the singer. If the order is reversed, much the same chaos and confusion will ensue in the region of music, as we witness in the region of politics, consequent on the servant of the Executive Council lording it over the master of the Legislative Council and reducing it to a “Glorified Debating Society.”

22. The latter krithi, *Kaddanuvariki*, teaches us another lesson. It emphasises the importance of the time-honored Thambura even

for the purpose of drone, and not of the now-unfortunately—prevailing Harmonium, against which such European Scholars as Messrs. Clements and Fox Strangways have fought a tirade. If, in spite of the Europeans' tirade against the European harmonium and of the Indians' emphasis on the Indian Thambura, our people still persist in the use of the vicious monster† of the tempered instrument ; the reason is to be sought for in the never-untrue lines of Alexander Pope :

“Vice is a monster of so frightful mien,
As, to be hated, needs but to be seen ;
Yet seen too oft, familiar with her face,
We first endure, then pity, then embrace.”

23. There is still another and deeper reason for the present depravity of taste. That is the fallacious view of the Theory of Beauty which deserves to be exposed now. Beauty has been wrongly regarded as an entity and the modern musician laboured under a mistaken notion that he had no other option than to adjust his own music to the entitative notion of beauty held by his audience. The truth is that beauty is—not an entity—but a *relation*. A rustic passes by and even lives amidst a beautiful scenery and yet heeds it not ; while a townsman, living far from that scenery and crushed by a weight of anxieties from which the rustic is happily free, ever appreciates and has at least a landscape before him. Hence beauty is a matter of undoubted *relation*. The people must not therefore be supposed to have any absolute idea of beauty germinated in their mind ; for, really it grows in proportion to the development of their mind and in its *relation* to the outward nature. Hence I repeat that a fine voice alone is not enough for a musician but that he must also have an artistic temperament, a genuine individuality and consummate self-control, all capable of levelling *up* his audience. In other words, the up-bringing of musicians alone is only a *partial* work and must be supplemented or complemented by the up-bringing of the audience as well. The musician is a gem—a precious gem indeed ; but the audience is the light wherein alone the gem can shine and exhibit its beauty. You are now in a position to understand that you cannot rightly complain about the want of musicians without previously creating an appreciative audience for them for the reason that the

*See my *Life of Thiagaraja*.

†For a Monster the harmonium is inasmuch as it gloats on suffocating the Indian intonation.

musicians and the audience usually adjust themselves according to the immutable Law of Supply and Demand. Open, and take care of, music-schools all over the country and the musicians will take care of themselves. I cannot assure you that, by opening music schools, every blessed individual living in our country will be, without a single exception, metamorphosed into a musical being. For, just as you have *color-blindness*, unaffected by light-waves; so you have "sound-deafness", so to speak, unaffected by air-waves. It is a matter of ordinary experience that men, who have excelled in the knowledge of abstruse scientific truths, are almost insensible to the most elementary forms of artistic, and of even natural beauty. Such men God, in the plenitude of His wisdom, has excluded, for the time being, from the inheritance of music. We must all pray that they must sooner or later evolve themselves to musical persons but should not find fault with them for their present unavoidable apathy for the fine art. The existence of such incorrigible men is certainly no argument against the establishment of music-schools which, like an arrow shooting at two birds, creates at once both the musicians and an appreciative audience.

24. Let us pursue the subject of beauty still further, as such a pursuit is attended with the most practical consequences, especially, from the musician's stand-point of view. Too often do we find musicians tainted with a spirit of amateurish exclusiveness, born of narrow prejudice which leads him on to say that this music is beautiful and that music is ugly. Do not the Europeans cry down the Indian Music? And do not the Indians return the compliment with a compound interest? The law of relativity of beauty will, if carefully understood, set right these erratic men. Ugly is the sight of a man covered with dust and blood, stentoriously breathing through dilated nostrils and mouth agape, a wild look of fury in his eyes. But the very pathology of his appearance and expression will seem almost sublime, if we see in him a devoted warrior fighting for his fatherland and his home. But again to a mind which has overstepped the boundary of the notion of fatherland and home and thinks of mankind as of one brotherhood, the appearance of a blood-stained soldier is doubly loathsome. Thus the idea of beauty cannot, in the nature of things, be absolute but

only relative. The Europeans must not therefore think of adjusting the Indian Music to their taste but should do the contrary. Accustomed to the music of an orchestra, the artificial atmosphere of an upholstered and crowded concert hall and the complexity and variety of emotion awakened by the elaborate developments of modern western music, it is not surprising that the delicacy and subjectivity of Indian Music leave them little moved or give only an impression of monotony. It is more their misfortune than their fault that they cannot appreciate the beauty of Indian Music. I do not deny that the same remark holds good in the case of some Indians too. But the greatest charge with which an Indian musician is attacked is that he hates the ancient music of his own country as something ugly and is enamoured of the present street-music even to a fault. Is the revival of Sharangadev's Ragas a step forward or a symptom of decadence? Is the bringing back of the old *Nata* to commence a music-party in preference to the modern *Hamsadhwani* and the hackneyed *Vatapi Ganapatim*, set on foot by Maha Vythinaihier—a step in the right direction or wrong direction? The law of relativity of beauty holds the answers to myriads of such questions.

25. Closely allied with the notion of beauty, there is also that of sublimity; and both the notions form the basis of study of all fine arts. What is the difference between beauty and sublimity? Physical littleness contributes to the emotion of beauty, while physical superiority to that of sublimity. Nothing is sublime that is not vast and powerful and nothing is beautiful that is not small and enchanting. The Grecian Cupid is beautiful; but the Egyptian Pyramid is sublime. We have now to consider which sounds are beautiful and which sublime. A woman's voice is beautiful but a man's voice is sublime. The notes of stringed instruments are beautiful, but those of wired instruments as well as of percussion-instruments are sublime. Since Nature delights in both the Sublime and the Beautiful we have but to follow Nature and adjust our music-party in such a way as to bring into prominence these two æsthetic emotions. Hence it was that Patnam Subramanier instinctively insisted on the accompaniment of "Maddala, Thala, Thambura, Vina and Murali" with a sweet voice, in his *Dhanyudevado*.

CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTIONS : A TRAVESTY.

By MR. A. S. VENKATARAMAN.

The formation of the new ministry in Madras raises matters of constitutional importance having no parallel with the present conditions in any self-governing country and having no support in the past in any country where responsible government has become a *fait accompli*.

The Government in a communique announced that it be established as a convention that the Ministers resign before the formation of the new council. There is in it more than meets the eye. Constitutional conventions, as followed in ordered, constitutionally progressive countries, demand that the old ministers unless defeated in the elections, should face the Council and take its verdict ; but here in Madras—we understand this course was adopted in other provinces also—a different convention has been adopted. The convention which in England has been very largely a result of accident and absence of design has here been dictated by the Governor. In other words, the resignation of the old Ministry has had its origin in the ostensible desire to establish a convention, whose sponsor has been the Governor.

The 'Justice' party has not been returned on any party cry or party programme, but it so happened—as it would always happen—that most of the M.L.C.'s happen to be Non-Brahmins and the 'Justice' party claimed them all in its fold—an *ipse dixit* based on the ground that Non-Brahmins *ipso facto* belong to it. Now the claim has been beaten hollow by the formation of a Non-Brahmin opposition. The fact that the Ministers did not resign during the last three years when they lost the confidence of the house almost and that now, after the general elections, they resign in response to the Press Communique, goes to illustrate another convention being established perhaps (notwithstanding any section in the Government of India Act or any instruction laid down in the Joint Committee Report) *viz.*, that the ministers depend on the Governor for "getting into" and "getting on" with their office. The Ministers

hold their offices during the pleasure of the Governor while the Executive Councillors are even a worse lot in as much as they have to serve two masters, the Governor and the Ministers, as can be illustrated in the case of the late lamented Sir K. S. Aiyengar anent the introduction of the Irrigation Bill, who resigned as he did not care to continue in office on sufferance.

In this connection the position of the English Prime Minister may be considered. In the words of Alston "The English Prime Minister serves two masters. If the House to which he owes his elevation turns against him, he can destroy it and appeal for support to the nation (or even possibly hold office for a time, relying on the support of the sovereign till smoother times come round—though this is scarcely conceivable, unless the country passes again through some great crisis such as that at the end of the 18th century) while on the other hand, he may continue to act as if quite indifferent to the general feeling of the nation, provided only the Majority is for him". It will be thus seen that the two constitutional masters whom the English Prime Minister has to serve may even be defied by the Indian Ministers.

Adverting to the debate on the "No Confidence" motion of Mr. C. R. Reddi, the Hon'ble Education Minister, in defence of the Ministry is reported to have said that the Ministers are individually responsible. It is not known whether he was fully alive to the significance of his statement. Either the Ministers are responsible or they are not. If they are responsible, their responsibility is individual or collective. If according to the Hon'ble Mr. Patro they are individually responsible, the resultant product is American departmentalism, not the English Cabinet Government, and the necessity that the Ministers should belong to the same party will be obviated. The fact that they are of the same party cuts the ground underneath the argument emphasising individual responsibility and affords overwhelming evidence in favour of

the supposition that the Ministers are collectively responsible. If they are collectively responsible, they must resign in a body or accept office as a body. When has happened is that the Ministry having resigned, a truncated body with the repudiation of one arm has accepted office with the substitution of another. In England even as early as 1765 the principle of Cabinet solidarity had gained ground. Referring to Rockingham's first Ministry, Lord Chesterfield writes (*Vide* pp. 212—13 "Government of England" by Hearn). "I do not remember in my times to have seen so much at once as an entire new Board of Treasury and two new Secretaries of State cum multis aliis". Again the late Lord Morley in his *Life of Walpole* observes "As a genreal rule, every important piece of departmental policy is taken to commit the entire Cabinet and its members stand or fall together. The Chancellor of the Exchequer may be driven from office by a bad dispatch from the Foreign office, an excellent Home Secretary may suffer for the blunders of a stupid minister of war. The Cabinet is a unit—a unit as regards the sovereign and a unit as regards the legislature. Its views are laid before the Sovereign and before Parliament, as if they were the views of one man. It gives its advice as a single whole, both in the royal closet and in the hereditary or representative chamber. The first mark of the Cabinet, as that institution is understood, is united and indivisible responsibility". This famous passage from the pen of Lord Morley is supported by the more authoritative utterance of his chief Mr. Gladstone. He said "As the Queen deals with the Cabinet, just so the Cabinet deals with the Queen. The Sovereign is to know no more of any differing views of differing ministers than they are to know of any collateral representation of the monarchical office; they are in unity before the sovereign and the Sovereign is an unity before them. While each minister is an adviser of the Crown, the Cabinet is an unity and none of its members can advise as an individual without, or in opposition, actual or presumed, to his colleagues". It would be absurd to maintain, that in this sense, the Ministers under the Indian dyarchy are collectively responsible.

The next question that arises is "To whom are the Ministers responsible," Now this has been partly anticipated. In theory they are responsible to the council and through it to the electorate. In practice they are responsible to

the Governor. The first would imply the resignation of the Ministry, if it gets defeated in any important Government measure. Some M.L.C.'s are of opinion that for the Minister's sins of omission and commission, the party is responsible. Now, this is altogether the negation of ministerial responsibility, a *sine qua non* of responsible government. When important governmental measures are defeated, the Ministry does not resign. The question of responsibility to the electorate too has been brushed aside. The Religious Endowments Bill has been carried through in the teeth of opposition from the electorate. The Viceroy has reserved his assent to it and it is in-operative. He rightly understood the large measure of protest and the volume of public opinion against it. The members of the 'Justice' party might have defined their attitude towards a question of this kind and might have canvassed with an election cry. In practice, the Governor's dictating a convention and his choice of the Ministers (whereas in England the choice is of course very narrowly limited in practice) serve only to strengthen the belief that the Ministers are responsible for their acts to the Governor, but what then is the dividing line between the Reserved Half and the Transferred Half?

On the other hand, if the Ministers are really responsible to the Legislature, why should the nominated element in the Council be allowed to vote on an important measure like the "No confidence" motion moved by Mr. C. R. Reddi in the local council on the 27th November, when, properly speaking, the question should be decided by the elected element purely. This is perhaps another convention among the several conventions by which the Reserved Half, according to the Home Member, Sir Charles Todhunter, endeavours to develop what is admittedly a transitional and imperfect form of government. Another convention perhaps is the voting of the Ministers also against the 'No confidence' motion. This may *mutatis mutandis* be applied to elections of Presidents in Local Boards and Municipalities when two or more candidates contest the Presidentship, why not allow them to vote for themselves? On its very face, this is ridiculous. Similarly when the Ministers are indicted, they can not be allowed to vote. The neutral attitude of Sir K. V. Reddy, ex-minister, has been legitimate, constitutional and therefore commendable.

The inevitable inference is that the English

conventions, very largely the outcome of accident and absence of design are distorted in India and that it is feared, the ultimate result will be that the so-called *responsible* government, even on a limited scale as it has been given, will be neither responsible, nor ordered Government and the so-called "Reforms," a farce.

This fear is confirmed when we contrast the powers of an Indian Minister with those of an English Minister. We can allow the Indian Minister to speak for himself "I am Minister of Development *minus* Forests and you all know that Development depends a good deal on Forests. I am Minister of Industries without Factories, which are a reserved subject, and Industries without Factories are unimaginable. I am Minister of Agriculture *minus* Irrigation. You can understand what that means. How agriculture can be carried on extensively without Irriga-

tion in the hands of those who are responsible for it is rather hard to realise. I am also Minister of Industries without electricity which is also a reserved subject. You all know the part which electricity is playing in the development of Industries now-a-days. The subjects of Labour and of Boilers are also reserved. But these after all are some of the defects of the Reform Scheme". The powers of the English Minister are thus described by Mr. Low:—"Backed by a stable and substantial majority in Parliament, his power is greater than that of the German Emperor or the American President, for he can alter the laws, he can impose taxation and repeal it and he can direct all the forces of the state. The one condition is that he must keep his majority, the outward and concrete expression of the fact that the nation is not willing to revoke the plenary commission with which it has clothed him".

THE GOAL.

By DR. BHUPENDRA NATH DUTT, M.A., Ph.D.

For the last two decades India is in a state of political unrest. The Extremists and revolutionists have been conducting a vigorous campaign for putting an end to the foreign rule. To-day, the non-co-operation movement has set the whole of India in motion against the foreign domination. A ferment has been created in the minds of the ever sleeping dumb masses which may burst forth at any opportune time. But nobody is clear as yet what exactly we want to do.

True it is that the non-co-operation movement has some policy and follows some tactics to meet the requirements of the time, yet a well-defined goal has not been presented to the masses. It is said that Swaraj is the national goal. But the nature of Swaraj is still kept unknown. At present a spiritual interpretation is being given to it. It still remains a mystery as to what position the masses are going to occupy in the body-politics of the future Swaraj though

they are being asked to sacrifice themselves for it. In the same way the revolutionary movement does not give the public a better conception of its ideal. Every revolutionary talks of "revolution" and "independence" but it seems very few are clear about its constructive side or programme. The Indian revolutionary movement has got no definite, clear-cut, constructive programme. It is still groping in the dark. For that reason, it has developed no political philosophy of its own as yet.

Every movement which wants to appeal to the public must have a program of its own work and ideal, which will serve as the rule of conduct of the movement. Every movement pursues some aims, and it must have definite ideals, otherwise it will die out. Every movement must be focussed in a party which will be the organisation of its workers. And, therefore, there cannot be a party which has not a definite programme.

To-day the Indian movements of various shades of radicalism, which are striving for freedom, have hazy notions regarding their constructive side. People shout for freedom, for self-government, for Swaraj, or for independence, but very few of them are clear as to how it should be worked out, and the constructive program after it. We do not make an analysis of the social and economic factors that are playing great part in the society and which impels various social classes to fight for the control of the governing machine. On this account the Indian movement for freedom dwells in quagmires of contraries and impossibilities.

Now it is our duty to make an analysis of the social forces that are working and playing a great part in our society, to investigate about the social classes that are working for the cause of freedom and to form a practical program for the guidance of the movement. Program cannot be manufactured from one's own brain and be set up as a fitting machine for all but it shall be taken from life.

To-day the masses are participating in the political movement already launched out, but they must know what is the goal of the movement. Vague phrases with ambiguous meanings cannot always be set up as an ideal for which the masses are asked to die. A clear cut ideal must be put up before them. If they are asked to fight, they must know for what end they are fighting.

It is clearly to be discerned that India is drifting day by day towards a revolution. Universal discontent against the foreign rule exists from a long time. Besides that, the Indian Liberal Bourgeoisie impelled by its class interests is becoming everyday more and more radical in politics. The economic interests of this class forces it to come to opposition with the British Bourgeoisie which is dominating India to-day. Therefore the most radical section of it is to-day trying for a change of the regime. In addition to it, the masses are aroused and are organising themselves to safeguard their economic interests. They to-day are resenting the exploitations under which they suffer. And in strikes they are giving vent to their resentments. Their minds are also disturbed of the old equipoise. They are trying to assert themselves. In this wise, they are also getting revolutionary.

I do not mean by revolution—a bloodshed, warfare, but a change of mode of thinking and betterment of society too. In present day

India, the workers of the revolutionary movement are recruited from amongst the petty bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie classes. They so far are the most revolutionary minded section of the Indian community. But it remains as yet to be seen how far these classes advance in the fight for freedom in future. Already the conservative section of the Bourgeoisie is retreating under the banner of "liberalism" and "loyalty".

But the masses are getting restless and showing life. The huge Indian masses are aroused and are trying to get class-consciousness. It can be clearly discerned that the brunt of the fight for freedom will fall on them, as the other social classes impelled by their interests will gradually fall out in the course of the struggle. Thus, in order to make the masses to fulfil its great historic mission, they should be organised into an independent political party.

In order to guide the masses a constructive program dealing with the tactics and the ideal should be given to them. It has been left to Mahatma Gandhi to touch the right chord of the Indian movement for freedom, i.e., the masses have been aroused at last. Now it is the duty of the workers for independence to follow the wake of Mahatmaji and to work with the masses, for the masses, and to guide them along the correct path. The movement if not directed to a definite goal will come to grief. The movement and upheaval of 1857 inspite of its glorious sacrifices and heroic fights became a failure as there was no constructive programme and no commanding brain to guide it. Dynastic ambitions and fierce race hatred brought about the revolt which was quelled by a handful of determined enemy in a pool of blood. The intelligentsia and the masses kept themselves aloof from this wave of rebellion which swept from one part of the land to another.

But to-day the political history of India bears a different aspect. The spirit of democracy has pervaded and surcharged the Indian society. The people are no longer influenced by dynastic ambitions and intrigues. The public opinion and the Indian politics are no longer guided by the feudal aristocracy. The Bourgeoisie on account of its non-revolutionary character impelled by its class interest is loosing its hold on the masses. But in Indian politics a crisis is coming very soon. The ball of mass movement has been set rolling. The masses are getting conscious of their own interests. Bardoli

resolutions or the conservatism of the Bourgeoisie leaders will not affect it.

To-day the masses are labouring under great disadvantages. They have no class leaders of their own, they have no political organisation of their own to look after their class interests. It works to the great detriment of the cause of the Indian fight for freedom. The half-hearted slipshod policy of the present political leaders will not bring the Indian fight for freedom to its goal. Therefore it behoves those who work for the mass movement to see that the masses be

organised into a definite political party voicing its own interests. Under the existing social-polity of India, the masses are exploited and oppressed. But in order to bring them up to the desired level a new world-view has to be preached amongst them, a new social-polity should be given to them in which they can realise themselves. Therefore, in order to achieve this, the masses should be formed into a party which will fight for Swaraj with all-round freedom, based on social equality and free from all kinds of exploitations.

BOOKS OF THE QUARTER.

INDIAN PHILOSOPHY.

Indian Philosophy. Vol. I. By R. S. Radhakrishnan, King George V Professor of Philosophy, University of Calcutta (George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1923) 21s. net.

Review By THE HON'BLE DR. GANGANATH JHA.

Professor Radhakrishnan's *Indian Philosophy* (Vol. I.) is the latest addition to the very useful series of works issued under the title of 'Library of Philosophy'. The publishers are to be congratulated on having secured Professor Radhakrishnan as a contributor of the volume on the Philosophy of India. All students of Philosophy should derive benefit from a close study of the volume; for the student of Indian Philosophy in particular it provides a most systematic account of the subject; and we are looking forward to the appearance of Vol. II, which is promised to be "of a more purely philosophical character", and wherein we expect to read an equally well-balanced account of the various systems of Philosophy, specially those that are not well-known.

It may be stated at the very outset that the accounts that the book provides of the earlier

philosophical conceptions are uniformly vivid and dispassionate;—though, it has to be admitted, the detailed comments and explanations leave much to be desired in the way of a proper co-ordination of ideas and inter-relation of conceptions. Nor has the writer been able to shake off those notions of 'historicity' and 'sequence' which are ill-conceived and have been set afloat without much thought, and with much prejudice. We are thankful however for the fact that he has not entirely succumbed to those preconceptions and has, in some cases at least, been able to steer a clear course for himself; and it is these parts of the book which are most refreshing reading.

The volume begins with a short but well-written preface; at the very outset the writer complains about the profound ignorance of Indian philosophy; he has some hard things to say about the 'modern aesthete' who dismisses the whole of Indian culture and philosophy as *Pantheism*, *worthless scholasticism*, and so forth. But who is to blame for this state of things? Not the descendants of Plato and Aristotle and Bacon, but Indian scholars themselves. We can scarcely find anything said by the former against Indian Philosophy which is more unfair or prejudiced than what we remember to have read in a book written by an Indian writer about 50

years ago. It may be true that the book I am referring to (*A Rational Refutation of the Indian Philosophical Systems*, by Nehemiah Nilkanth Shastri Gore) was written by a propagandist, and with a definite purpose; but even so from a scholar, and particularly from a scholar of Philosophy, one would have expected more fairness. But perhaps the intellectual morality of those days had not advanced to the state that it has reached now. With all this however, when the learned writer goes on to assert that there is 'in Indian thought an extraordinary mass of material which for detail and variety, has hardly any equal in any other parts of the world',—we are afraid he errs on the side of the other extreme. A philosophical writer is expected to take a more dispassionate view of things, and to avoid extremism at both ends. In the present state of prejudice against philosophical studies, however, the remarks of the writer would appear to have some justification; specially as what he is pleading for is a closer study of Indian Philosophy, if not for its metaphysical and psychological contributions, at least for its cultural value, which is immense. For better or for worse, Indian Philosophy has affected and moulded the temperament of the greater part of Asia; and, who knows, this culture may yet be found to be superior to that other culture whose shallowness has been so mercilessly exposed by the recent War and its consequences.

It is refreshing to find the learned professor setting forth the view that "the problem of determining the exact dates of early Indian systems is as fascinating as it is insoluble", and characterising the attempts made in that direction as 'wildest hypothesis' and 'bold romance'. We have always felt that there is not much chronological sequence among the so-called Indian Philosophical systems. In India, it has not been as in Greeco-Pythagorean philosophy succeeded by the Socratic and the Platonic, and this latter by the Aristotelian system. Here the "systems" that we find adumbrated in the various 'Darshana-Sutras' are such as appear to have grown side by side; there were teachers,—or we may call them 'universities'—carrying on their work in several places, and each one imparting his teachings to his disciples, all at one and the same time. In fact, the same teacher might have imparted diverse teachings to different students, according to their respective receptivity of mind or intellectual and spiritual equipment; or in the words of the Indian writer,

in accordance with diversity of Adhikara. Even in our modern Universities, what the Professor of Logic says to junior students of our Intermediate classes must differ very widely from what he says to the senior members of the Post-graduate classes. The mistake of the historians of Indian Philosophy has thus been in the fact that they have hunted for chronological sequence where probably there has been none. Though the learned writer holds such strong opinions on the question, we are sorry that in the main body of his work he has not totally escaped from this fashion of chronologising; and throughout the work, he has attempted to trace sequences where, in some cases, there has been none. We shall show this as we proceed. He has, it is true, offered an apology for this; and this apology is quite reasonable; specially as he has succeeded, pretty nearly, in avoiding the danger of "starting from a theory",—as others, notably Professor Deussen and Professor Garbe, have done. He expresses the hope that he has treated the subject in a "calm and dispassionate way". Except in a few instances, the writer is justified in this hope; and on the whole, the volume before us is as nearly unbiassed and fair as one would have desired.

In view of the prospect of further volumes of the work, we find it necessary to warn the learned writer,—with apologies—against the attempt "to bring Indian views within the focus of Western traditions of thought". With due deference to all that has been written and said about human nature being "the same all the world over", we have always felt that though human nature may be so, yet the 'traditions' are not the same, or even similar; and 'Western tradition' has been very different from 'Eastern tradition'; and we feel that in the past, attempts "to bring Indian views within the focus of Western traditions" have almost invariably led to misreading of Eastern views; people have found parallels where there are none; for instance, parallelism has been attempted between Vedanta and Hegelianism, and also between Vedanta and Spenser's philosophy of the 'unknowable'. We find that the learned writer himself is conscious of the danger, and rightly remarks that the "analogies and parallels suggested should not be pressed too far"; we feel however that we must demur to the apologetic manner in which the writer differentiates between the two traditions by asserting that

"the philosophical speculations of India were formulated centuries ago, and had not behind them the brilliant achievements of modern Science". It is too early for us, students of Indian Philosophy, to offer such an apology. The 'brilliant achievements of Science' promise to be more behind our Eastern systems than behind those of the West. The researches of Sir Jagadish Bose are fast approaching the summits of our Vedanta, which, in its another and more controverted aspect, is beginning to receive support from the researches of Einstein and his colleagues.

It is a relief to find that much of what we shall find in the book to criticise is on which the writer himself is diffident. He says that he has "depended on the results of researches carried on by competent scholars". Here lies the great danger of writers on Indian subjects: The 'competent scholars' have in the past been prejudiced; and all their conclusions are more or less coloured by prejudices. Every writer on Indian subjects should, under the circumstances, make it his business to work by himself,—howsoever perfunctorily it may be,—on all shades of the problems he is engaged upon, and not take for granted any conclusions arrived at by older scholars, however competent they may have been. This will increase our difficulties; but it is well worth doing. The great results of some such independence are already traceable in some of the published researches of the Post-graduate Department of the Calcutta University.

We now pass on to the Introduction, which appears as Chapter I of the book, and covers pp. 21-60. It is wisely conceived and brilliantly executed. Even if the rest of the book had not been written this Introduction alone would have placed the writer in the front rank of intelligent students of Indian Philosophy. Much of what we read here is such as does not generally enter into the minds of our modern researchers, and it pleases the heart of a purely Sanskrit scholar to find that Sanskrit literature is so much appreciated by one who is professionally supposed to be a scholar of the advanced type, whose representations have in most cases evinced a sort of contempt for all that is ancient in the culture of this antiquated land of ours.

On the question of Indian thought having borrowed its ideas from foreign sources, the writer very rightly remarks that "the question of the affiliation of ideas is a useless pursuit; to

an unbiassed mind, the coincidences will be an evidence of historical parallelism; there is no material evidence to prove any direct borrowings by India from the West; our account of Indian thought will show that it is an independent venture of the human mind"; and we are pleased to find that the writer's account has amply fulfilled this promise.

Further on, it is refreshing to read—"The Greek and the Scythian, the Persian and the Moghal, the French and the English have by turn attempted to crush Indian civilisation, and yet it has its head held high. India has not been finally subdued and its old flame of spirit is still burning; it has fought for truth and against error".

Among the worst enemies of Indian civilisation, it may have been noted, have been, not always foreigners, but Indians,—those apostates who, for some ephemeral purpose of their own, have been, and are still, crying down everything Indian, Indian culture coming in for their bitterest attacks. What makes India still an honoured country is not its material wealth, but its culture and its philosophy;—a philosophy which, in this country has never been entirely diverted from the practical life of man. "The Gita and the Upanishads", as the writer rightly remarks, "are not remote from popular belief;the hard task of interesting the people in metaphysics is achieved in India".

Nor is it right to call Indian Civilisation 'brahmanical'; all that has happened in India is that the "idea of Plato that philosophers must be the rulers and directors of society" has been translated into practice; and it has been only an accident that the majority of these philosophers have been Brahmans; though in ancient times we find Kshatriyas and Vaishyas also among the most renowned teachers of Philosophy.

Another fiction that the writer has tried to explode is that in India Philosophy has never been 'critical'. This is not true, in any sense of the term; the slightest acquaintance with Indian Philosophical literature will suffice to convince one that "rational reflection has always tended to correct religious belief". This is so not only in the case of earlier works; but even comparatively modern works evince an independence of thought in religious matters, which is astonishing in the history of any country, and all the more so in that of a country which is generally believed to be "authority-

ridden". In fact, as the writer rightly remarks,—"The supremacy of religion and of social tradition in life has not hampered the free pursuit of Philosophy in this country;—while the social life of an individual is bound by the rigours of caste he is free to roam in the matter of opinion; Reason freely questions and criticises the creeds in which men are born; that is why the heretic, the sceptic, the unbeliever, the rationalist, and the free-thinker, the materialist and the hedonist, all flourish in the soil of India",—sometimes even in the same family.

Commenting on the "strong intellectuality" of the Indian mind, the Professor points out that it is not confined to philosophy and theology, but extends over the entire literary field; "everything useful to life or interesting to mind becomes an object of enquiry and criticism;—even such minutæ as the breeding of horses and the training of elephants had their own shastras and literature",—and we may be permitted to add, even the 'gentle art' of *thieving* has not escaped attention, the manuscript of a work dealing with it was found in Nepal by Mahamahopadhyaya-Pandit Har Prasad Shastri.

The author makes a rather sweeping assertion regarding the scientific mind being inclined "to linger over the dull particulars of the world and miss the sense of oneness and wholeness", when we think of the researches of Sir Jagadish Bose and his disciples, the accusation does not appear to be entirely deserved;—though perhaps it may be that the mind of Sir Jagadish is inherently 'speculative' and it has become 'scientific' only through the training it has undergone. That may be so; but with such a brilliant example before us, we do not feel justified in believing that the scientific mind misses the sense of oneness in the world.

"If we abstract from the variety of opinion and observe the general spirit of Indian thought, we find that it has a disposition to interpret life and nature in the way of Monistic Idealism" Of this idealism, the author finds four types: (1) Non-dualism, (2) Pure Monism, (3) Modified Monism and (4) Implicit Monism. This is a clever device of reducing all our systems to terms of 'monism'; though we confess that there is no justification for labelling all of them as 'Monism'. It is the result of the writer's own Advaita proclivities, which are manifested in the assertion that "the philosophical conclusions of Advaitic monism are based on the data of psychological observation",—and also in such

expressions as "the ever identical self",—"Pluralism collapses at the touch of logic" and so forth.

In connection with Advaitism the question is raised regarding the *world*. The author takes it for granted that the world is "in no case real". But what is *reality*? We have rummaged through the pages of the Advaitasiddhi and the Chitsukti; and the only answer that we can deduce from their hair-splitting lugubrations is that reality, as well as unreality, is in-explicable; it cannot be explained. But in course of these discussions, and also in certain earlier Nyāya treatises, we have met with the expression 'Arthakriyākāritava'; this is the only workably reasonable explanation that we have found of reality; by which 'that thing is real which is capable of efficient action'. Under this definition it is difficult to deny reality to the world.

The orthodox Vedānta explanation is simply a *non-possumus*. The world is there,—we cannot explain how and why. This is what has been called *Anirvācānīyāta-vāda*; and the theory has been carried to its logical extreme in the well-known work of Shri-Harsa, the *Khandanak Randakhadya*, which demolishes all definitions and explanations and refuses to propose any of its own instead.

Though logical, this position is scarcely soul-satisfying. That is why we find the great Shankara himself propounding in his soul-stirring hymns, a philosophy which provides a "more positive account of the relation between the Perfect Being and the world of change". For this practical philosophy however we have to turn, not to the erudite Bhāṣya and its scholia, but to the stotras:—among which the Daksināmurtistotra stands out as pre-eminent, not only by reason of its inherent worth, but also on account of the fact that this is the stotra that has been singled out by his disciple, Sureshvara, as worthy of a Vartika; and in this beautiful Vartika, known as the Manasollasa, we find what may be regarded as the real practical Vedānta, which is not only logical, but also satisfies the intense cravings of the Soul.

The learned professor has some pertinent remarks on what he calls 'the continuity of Indian Thought',—a happy expression in itself. He remarks—"Respect for the past has produced a regular continuity in Indian thought; the Hindu culture is a product of ages of change".

He goes on—"From the very beginning the Indian felt that truth was many-sided and different views expressed different aspects of truth which no one could express fully". This is what has made the better class of Indian always tolerant and receptive of divergent views.

Towards the end of the Introduction the writer answers some of the charges that have been levelled against Indian Philosophy. He has answered all of them successfully; we may mention only one. It has been often alleged, by avowed propagandists—that "there is practically no ethical philosophy within the frontiers of Indian thinking". It is enough to mention two facts in answer to this charge; (1) In every Indian philosophical system, Dharma occupies a prominent place, and (2) if the attainment of knowledge is held to be the summum-bonum, it is ethical perfection which has been held to be the first and the most requisite step towards that knowledge.

We cannot agree with the writer when he concedes that the charge of being unprogressive lies against Indian Philosophy after the stage of the first great commentators. Having looked into the pages of Udayanacharya's *Parishuddhi*, Kusumanjali, and *Atmatattvaviveka*, Shankara Mishra's *Vadivinoda* and *Upaskara*, Gangesha's *Tattvachintamani*, Vachaspati Mishra's *Bhavarati* and Suwajtya's *Sankshpastariraka*, we cannot accept the dictum that Indian philosophy has been "unprogressive" during the period covered by these writers. The advance on the ideas of Gautama and Vatsyayana that we find in the works of Udayana are not less striking than that found in the *Sankshpastariraka* over those of Badarayana and Shankara.

The author has divided Indian Thought into four periods.—(1) The Vedic Period (1500 B.C.—600 B.C.), (2) Epic Period (600 B.C.—200 A.D.), (3) Sutra Period (from 200 A.D.), (4) Scholastic Period (also from 200 A.D.). This division may be regarded as correct for all practical purposes. Though we must confess that we have no faith in the actual dates, and secondly that we do not see where lay the writer's difficulty in drawing a line between the 'Sutra' and the 'Scholastic' periods, knowing as he does that Kumarila and Shankara and all the more important scholiasts belong to the scholastic period, and none of these is believed to have lived before 700 A.D., while all the Sutras are believed to have been in existence long before the Christian Era. On this same

gr and we cannot see any justification for fixing at 200 A.D. the starting limit of what the author has called the 'Sutra period'.

We turn now to the actual book itself. Part I (which is put down as Chapter II) deals with the Vedic Period. The first section of the Chapter gives a brief account of the Vedas. Here, as in every other section and sub-section of the book, we find a very readable exposition—succinct and yet complete of the subject matter concerned. But we may be permitted to mention at the outset, that the author has not been able to shake off the pre-conceptions of Orientalists in the matter of historical sequence in the so-called development of ideas. On this point of historical sequence there is a fundamental difference in the western and eastern conceptions. The Western people are wedded to the belief that the world is progressing, rising from a lower to a higher scale; hence it is no wonder that western orientalists should start with the pre-conception that the ideas current during the Vedic period must be regarded as 'primitive'—which is only a polite euphemism for 'barbarous',—and those current during the epic and subsequent periods as 'highly evolved'—or less barbarous. On the other hand the eastern—at any rate Indian—notion is that the world-process is a cycle,—things rising and falling and rising again; and we hold that the present period is one of retrogression, the 'vedic period' was productive of the highest condition of things—at least in the spiritual or non-physical domain. With this notion we cannot reconcile any theory of 'development of philosophical ideas' from the vedic times to the present periods. For western teachers there is every justification for the stand-point they take up; they have no records of early thought; and those that they have of comparatively 'early' times do not contain indications of any very high state of philosophical and spiritual or moral development. But for the eastern scholar there is no such justification; the philosophical conceptions clearly adumbrated in the Vedas and the Upanisads are,—according to the author himself,—of such a high order as cannot be superseded, or even paralleled, by those found in any later works;—or even coming to purely philosophical topics, we do not find any 'progressive development' of ideas; those expressed in the later commentaries are, in no sense of the term, higher or more evolved than those enunciated in the Sutras. Under the circum-

stances, the entire fabric of disquisitions based upon the said notion of historical sequences, must be treated as more or less irrelevant, at least in the domain of Indian Philosophy.

We have the same remark to make regarding the idea of sequence among the various philosophical systems; just as we find no justification for the view that the Vedic people were more 'primitive' than their descendents, so also we find none for the notion that one philosophical system is more primitive or more ancient than the other. The Hindu idea is that all the more important systems have grown side by side; they are more or less coeval; and there has been no progressive sequence among them. This view also affords the only right explanation of the fact that even the earliest records of every one of the systems—*i.e.*, the Sutras—contain criticisms of the other systems. Oriental scholars have been baffled by this fact, and several explanations, more or less fanciful, have been suggested; but every one of them is coloured by the pre-conception of 'sequence'.

To the same category we relegate all such assertions as that 'the Aranyakas come between the Brahmins and the Upanishads'. The orthodox view is that the Samhita and the Brahman (which latter include the Upanishads also) form one organic whole; and we have yet to find cogent arguments subversive of this view. Much is made of the 'linguistic argument.' But everyone knows how elusive purely linguistic arguments are.

Another subject upon which the author has taken for granted the conclusions of Orientalists is that of the 'Aryan invasion' from the northwest. Is there anything in the atmosphere or land of India itself which should render it inherently incapable of giving rise to those ideas—good, bad or indifferent—that we find expressed in the Vedic Hymns? Must we look westward for everything good? The early Aryans were people possessed of better qualities of head and heart than the indigenous non-Aryans; and therefore they must have come from some country in the West. Are the arid regions of Central Turkistan, or even the 'Arctic regions' more conducive to the production of the 'Aryan' qualities than the fertile valley of the Indus or the Ganges?

On these points we do not mean to find fault with the learned Professor. His business was to deal with Indian Philosophy; and on other matters, more or less allied, he could not but

proceed on the basis of notions prevalent among 'scholars'; and unfortunately the notions current among these are of the nature the unsoundness of which we have been trying to briefly indicate. But in the matter of historical sequence—among the Indian philosophical systems at any rate,—the author cannot escape all blame. On this one point at least, he should have devoted some thought to the reconsideration—from the purely Indian stand-point—of ideas set afloat by non-Indian writers. We have a right to expect this from scholars working at the Calcutta University, where during recent years, there has come into existence, a band of scholars, who, by their researches, are making contributions,—'solid', 'liquid' and 'gaseous',—towards the work of reconstruction of early Indian history in all its branches.

We shall take one example to illustrate our point. On p. 65, the Professor declares that the Atharva Veda "is a production of a later era of thought; it shows the result of the compromising spirit adopted by the Vedic Aryans in view of the new gods and goblins worshipped by the original peoples of the country whom they were slowly subduing". We shall not argue this point; we simply put this question to those who hold such views—Is there anything inherently impossible in the view that the ideas expressed in the Rigveda should have been prevalent in the same regions as those expressed in the Atharva Veda?—De we not find in this same India at the present day highly evolved thinkers and philosophers of the type of the learned professor himself, side by side with the worshippers of those same 'gods and goblins' that are found mentioned in the Atharva Veda?

To proceed, Section II deals with the 'Importance of the study of Vedic Hymns', Section III with the 'Teaching of the Vedas', Section IV with 'philosophical Ideas,' Section V with 'Theology', Section VI with 'Monotheistic Tendencies', Section VII with 'Monism *versus* Monism', Section VIII with 'Cosmology,' Section IX with 'Religion', Section X with 'Ethics (which section gives the lie direct to the notion that ethical ideas are foreign to Indian Philosophy); Section XI with 'Eschatology'.

Chapters III and IV contain a well-written account of the Upanishads. Here also we meet with the influences of Western prejudices. The 'primitive' man is described as one "to whom the world is full of shapeless ghosts and spirits

of death". How do we know that the 'primitive man' belonged to this low stage? Has not the author himself stated that the Atharva Veda, where we find traces of the worship of these shapeless ghosts and goblins, belongs to a 'later era of thought' than the Rigveda. Does not this show that the high 'ideas' expressed in the Rigveda were current among men who might have been, under the author's hypothesis, actually were—more 'primitive' than those among whom the worship of ghosts and goblins spoken of in the Atharva Veda was current?

The exposition of the Upanishads found here is the best that we have yet seen; the treatment is sympathetic, full and less biassed by preconceptions than other parts of the book.

Chapter V provides an unvarnished account of materialism, which, according to the Professor, was the result of an 'intellectual stir' and 'freedom of thought' in India during what the author calls the 'Epic Period',—i.e., 600 B. C.—200 A. D.

Being on more familiar ground now, we feel inclined to go into details. At the very outset we find the author characterising the 'Epic Period' as an age of 'intellectual stir', when 'doubt was no longer looked upon as dangerous'. Here also we find the same tinge of 'historical sequence'. Are not doubts freely expressed during the Vedic Period? Do we not meet with serious questionings in the Rig Veda itself, and also grave doubts and discussions in the Upanishads, which are in many cases, more vital than any that we find in later literature?

Among the "common ideas of the age" the author notes that those of "rebirth and the suffering of Life, embodying the idea of impermanence were current". But are not these ideas found in the Upanishads? There does not appear to be much justification for regarding these ideas to be peculiar to that particular age. These ideas have permeated Indian thought from the earliest stages. Some of the Vedic seers may have prayed for cattle and riches; but the idea of the impermanence of the world and also of its sufferings is ever present in the Indian mind.

In his dependence upon notions set afloat by other people, the author has, in some places, been landed in inconsistencies. In one place he finds 'germs' of materialism in the Rig Veda, and regards materialism to be 'as old as philosophy',—declares that the doctrines of materialism were always rampant;—and yet in another

place he asserts that materialism came into being as a revolt against "ecclesiastical monopoly".

Chapter VI deals with "the Pluralistic Realism of the Jainas"; under the headings—(1) 'Jainism', (2) 'Vardhamana', (where the origin of the difference between 'Swetambara' and 'Digambara' is explained, and it is asserted, with what truth we know not, that the Digambaras possess no 'canonical books' of their own) (3) 'Literature',—(4) 'Relation to other systems' (where the priority to Buddhism is discussed, and we find it asserted that the Sankhya derives the development of the world from the principles of Purusa and Prakriti, though we have been taught that it is out of Prakriti alone that the world is developed); (5) 'Theory of Knowledge' (where we have a clear exposition of Saptabhāgi or Syadvāda, which, on due understanding, is nothing so palpably absurd or unintelligible as the great Shankaracharya would have us believe, since it only sets forth "the different ways of speaking of a thing"), (6) 'Value of Jaina logic', (where we find the assertion that 'Jaina' logic leads us to a monistic 'idealism', which, astounding in itself, is supported by arguments which even the acute Jaina dialectician may find difficult to confute);—(6) 'Psychology'; (7) 'Metaphysics', (the exposition of which is clear and concise, though we note some inconsistencies, for instance, while in one place we read that the Jainas hold that everything is produced and destroyed, and that nothing is permanent, in another we find it asserted that "the whole universe is traced to the two *everlasting*, uncreated, co-existing but independent, categories of Jiva and Ajiva"); (9) Ethics, (under which the author brings out the important fact that while Buddhism has passed away from India, Jainism has survived; to our mind the explanation of this fact lies in the tolerance of the Jainas; they have never been militant in any sphere; honest in his conviction of Ahimsa, the Jaina has all along been content to live and let live, and this has materially reacted in their being treated by others also with tolerance, to this extent, that there has come about a regular fusion, and intermarriage between Jainas and Hindus are very common); (10) "attitude to Theism", (where we read that though there is no room for devotion or Bhakti in the Jaina system, a sort of devotion has certainly been developed towards the great Tirthankaras:—in fact no creed, howsoever coldly logical and critical, can escape from the

necessity of the personal factor of Bhakti ; even the Vedanta has not been able to escape it—witness the fervid devotional stotras of the apostle of Advaita, the great Shankaracharya himself) ;—(II) Nirvana, which, we are told, is “not annihilation of the Soul, but its entry into blessedness that has no end”, which is also the Hindu conception of Mukti.

Chapter VII deals with Buddhism. Much confusion of thought regarding the history of Buddhism and Buddhist doctrines would disappear if the exact connotation of the term ‘Buddhism’ were fully fixed and duly borne in mind. If the term stands for the doctrines *as preached by the great Gautama Buddha*, who was a historical personage in the sixth century before Christ,—then all that is being said and written about its history would be intelligible ; but unfortunately the connotation of the term is extended very much further, and is applied to the doctrines themselves. To make my meaning clear by means of a well-known instance, the theories of Idealism and Nihilism have been regarded as pre-eminently ‘buddhistic’, and from this it has been argued that if a certain Sutra makes any reference to these theories, that Sutra must have been written after 500 B. C. ! It is forgotten that those theories are not entirely ‘buddhistic’, in the sense that they were preached *for the first time* by the great Buddha. In fact they were in the philosophical atmosphere of India long before his advent. The author himself accepts the connotation of the term ‘Buddhism’ as restricted to the faith preached by the great Buddha, and very rightly quotes Prof. Rhys Davids to the effect “there was not much in the metaphysics and principles of Gautama which cannot be found in one or other of the orthodox systems and a great deal of his morality could be matched from earlier and later Hindu books. Such originality as Gautama possessed lay in the way in which he adopted, enlarged, ennobled and systematised, the way in which he carried out to their logical conclusion principles of equity and justice already acknowledged by some of the most prominent Hindu thinkers”. Well, if that is so, what justification is there for arguments like the one referred to above ? If, (as pointed out on p. 470), “the tendency to deny substantial reality is common” to both Buddhism and the Upanisads why should an author criticising, or referring to, such tendencies be regarded as having lived after Buddha?—and yet this is the line of argument

adopted, not only in connection with the history of Buddhistic doctrines, but also in regard to sequence among other philosophical systems. It is forgotten that the ideas may be current in the ordinary atmosphere of a country or a University before being formally committed to writing, and there is nothing impossible in some writers referring to and criticising such unrecorded ideas. So that the sequence among ideas does not necessarily prove sequence among documents wherein these ideas are set forth.

The author makes frequent references to “the collapse of creeds and the disintegration of systems”, “the decline of the sense for the supernatural and the ideas of faith” and so forth, with which, according to him, Buddha had to “reckon”, and in view of which he had to provide “a firm foundation for morality”. One does not feel quite justified in accepting this picture of the condition of things prevalent in India during the 6th century before Christ. Our information regarding that period is so vague and so much of it is based upon conjecture of sorts, that it cannot be safe to make any deduction from data furnished by that information.

On p. 367, the learned writer calls Buddhism “a wonderful philosophy of dynamism”, on the ground of its postulating “radiant energy” and thereby adopting a “dynamic conception of reality”. What is exactly meant by these brilliant phrases we do not pretend to understand. But if it refers to the theory of “change”, “flux”, “a sense of manifestation of becomings and extinctions”,—then there is nothing “wonderful” in all this. The idea that the world-process is “a recurring rotation of birth and death” has nothing “buddhistic” about it. It is found in every Indian system worth the name—where the specifically Buddhistic teaching comes in is regard to momentariness ; and here also the Buddhistic idea is allied to the Vedanta. And it may be stated here that the theory of ‘momentariness’ does not appear to be consistent with the notion of any “series” ; once you admit the existence of the series, even though it be a series of momentary mutations and becomings—you admit of something more than momentary. The idea of an organic whole,—even in the form of a series—is impossible without a notion of the corresponding parts of that whole. That the ‘mental processes’ are momentary, every Indian Philosopher admits, and there is nothing “buddhistic” about this ; it is only when

that notion is extended to all things, that we find it combated by the Naiyayika and other realists. If, they contend, Nature is "one continuous vibration, an infinite growth bound by an iron chain of causality", "a continuous whole, one and indivisible", does not this strike at the very root of the momentariness? The chain is a continuous whole, a positive entity, continuous and indivisible;—is the Vedantic Brahman anything more or less?

Next comes the author's account of the later developments of the Buddhistic philosophy at the hands of Nagasena and others; from which we learn that Buddhist opinion on the very important subject of 'Atman' is divided and halting—Buddha himself having vouchsafed no opinion.

The writer finds the causes of the success of Buddhism in its being a "religion of love". We know not whether or not Buddhism is a religion of love; but what we do know is that its success was due to its tolerance and its peaceful method of propogating the faith; this is proved by the fact that as soon as it became more militant in its propaganda, it began to decline, and has almost entirely disappeared from the land of its birth, where its contemporary, Jainism, is still flourishing, thanks to its continued tolerance and peaceful methods of work and worship.

The weakest part of the book is Chapter VIII dealing with 'Epic Philosophy'. It abounds in undue generalisations and conjectural theorisations regarding the Mahabharata being 'non-Aryan' in its origin, and "the first attempt at affecting a reconciliation between the culture of the Aryans and the mass of facts and fiction, history and mythology which it encountered". Being no believer in the theory of this "encounter" itself, we do not feel inclined to agree to the implications of that theory. This chapter does contain however instructive remarks regarding some forms of worship. We beg leave however to demur to the view that "Sakti worship prevailed originally among the non-Aryans". In the face of the Devi-Sukta (which occurs in the Rig Veda), one finds it difficult to accept this conclusion. Nor do we find any justification for the belief that Prasatapada and Uddyotakara were "followers of the Pashupata creed"; the mere fact of their offering obeisance to Shiva does not warrant such a conclusion. Nor again do we feel inclined to believe that the Vaisnava-cult is "anti-vedic", even though it has been stigmatised as such by the Shankara,

and not by the Vedanta-sutras themselves, as the learned professor asserts

Regarding the Pancharata system, the writer does not know the origin of this name. The present writer remembers to have heard an explanation from one of his teachers to the effect that the system is so called by reason of the fact that it was promulgated for the purpose of meeting the religious cravings of men during the *five days* the Vedas remained with the demon from whom they were rescued by Visnu before the recreation of the world after *Pralaya*. We make a present of this explanation for what it may be worth.

There is a good account of 'Epic Cosmology' and 'Ethics', and the chapter closes with a brief account of the code of Manu.

Chapter IX on the "Theism of the Bhagavad-gita" we regard as by far the best portion of the book. It furnishes a closely reasoned account of the importance of the Gita in Indian thought—its universal significance—its relation to the Vedas the Upanishads and Buddhism; also of the Avataras, Maya, Rebirth, Ethics, Reason, Will and Emotion,—on Science and Philosophy, the problem of morality, on sacrifices, on Caste and on ultimate Freedom. The exposition is generally good. But there are some things said in regard to the Gita which do not appear to be fair. For instance, the author finds fault with it that "it did not destroy altogether false modes of worship"; but he forgets that the teaching is not meant to destroy anything; it is, as he himself remarks, 'universal in its significance and application.' In fact, the destroying of any belief it deprecates—*Tanakrtsnavido Mandan Krtsnavinna vichalayet*. The next criticism is that it is "dogmatic". What else could it be,—embodying as it does the words addressed by a teacher to his devoted pupil? *Shisyasteham shadhi mantvamprapannan*,—says Arjuna. Thirdly, it is remarked that the Gita contains apparently conflicting views, because it is an attempt to "synthesise the heterogeneous elements and fuse them into a single whole". This is a mis-reading of the entire purpose of the Gita; it nowhere makes any attempt at fusion, and what the learned writer calls "conflicting views" are so many distinct teachings set forth for the benefit of different grades of persons; what could be understood and practised by a highly intelligent person could not be usefully preached to one not so well equipped; that is why the Lord has set forth a graduated course of teachings for

the benefit of a graduated set of pupils. For the same reason we cannot accept the view that "the Gita asserts the truth of an Advaita in philosophy",—seeing that writers from very early times have differed in their true interpretation of the teaching of the Gita; while as a matter of fact, as just pointed out, there is not any one teaching, with which the Gita as a whole could be identified,—it is a graduated course. This also accounts for its decidedly tolerant attitude.

The last two chapters again deal with Buddhism as a Religion and the schools of Buddhism, which are written in the Professor's excellent style.

A reading of the book leaves behind the rather painful impression that the Professor has relied a little too much on the opinions of others and on translations of original Sanskrit texts more than on the originals themselves. There is just a lurking suspicion left in the reader's mind that he is not quite conversant with the Sanskrit language. One glaring instance of this we find on p. 497 where we find the expression '*abrahmastambhaparyantam*'; every student of Sanskrit knows that the terms used in this expression is '*stamba*' without the 'h'. At first we regarded it as a misprint; but the translation of it as 'pillar' left no doubt as to the word having been misread and misunderstood. The expression mentions the two extremes—'*brahma*'

as the highest and the '*stamba*' as the lowest; and the '*stamba*', the tuft of straw, is a more correct representation of the lowest grade of 'being' than the '*stambha*', the pillar.

Another glaring instance of the writer's disregard for the real state of things in Sanskrit literature is found on p. 65 where we meet with the assertion that "there has not been any Indian Commentary" on the Atharva Veda. As a matter of fact there is as good a Commentary,—and by the same famous commentator Sayana-charya—on the Atharva Veda as on the Rigveda,—a fact of which the Professor would have been convinced if he had merely glanced at the title-page of the standard Edition of the Atharva Veda—as edited by S. P. Pandit for the Department of Public Instruction, Bombay.

After all is said and done one has to admit that the book is a creditable production, both as regards the subject-matter and the method of exposition: and the writer deserves our hearty congratulations. We shall look forward to the volumes that are to follow, with regard to which we would take the liberty to suggest that the author should consult the Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit originals more than he has done so far. The work of an Indian Professor writing on Indian Philosophy is expected to be a great deal more than a resume of what Colebrooke or Deussen or Garbe or Jacobs has written on the subject.

LOVE IN RELATION TO SEX.

By MR. F. HADLAND DAVIS.

A number of books have been published dealing with sex from almost every conceivable point of view. It is a subject of such vast importance that it is worthy of a copious bibliography. Some of these books are excellent—honest attempts to interpret a series of problems which must be solved for the benefit of the human race. A few works, some of German origin, are morbidly pornographic, and so far from serving any useful purpose are often decidedly pernicious.

When Ovid wrote his *Art of Love* he was probably under the impression that he had written exhaustively on the subject, though as a matter of fact he had not touched the fringe of Love's garment. He wrote about Love with all the joyous abandon of a Pagan writer. He knew nothing whatever about the psychology of sexual desire. Seneca was prophetic in that he hinted at the Unknown God and caught a glimpse of the splendour of spiritual life that survives the grave. Ovid never saw in sexual

intercourse the symbol of a Divine Union, or appreciated for a moment the sex problems we are out to master to-day.* His conception of love was no higher than that of Anacreon or Casanova. He wrote primarily for the libertine and the courtesan. He is not to blame. We have travelled further down the road of life than was possible in his day. We have seen more, felt more, and in consequence longed for more.

The psychological study of sex in relation to love is of comparatively recent date. Among the leading exponents we have Havelock Ellis, Forel, Edward Carpenter, Ellen Key, and Dr. Marie Stopes. What Carpenter has so beautifully expressed in *Love's Coming of Age* from a man's point of view, Dr. Stopes has described with equal success from a woman's point of view. In *Married Love* and its sequel *Wise Parenthood** she has brought to bear special qualifications that render her work of the greatest value to those who are anxious to gain sound knowledge of a subject that affects their welfare. She has performed an incredibly difficult task with a success I have met in no other writer. A Doctor of Science, she has for many years studied sex problems. She has studied those problems, not from a dull academical point of view but in relation to life itself for the purpose of bringing happiness to those who are married or betrothed. The clarity of her style, the masterly way she deals with her material, her deep human sympathy, her fearlessness and her sense of poetry combine to make her work of immense value. *Married Love* is now in its seventh edition, second impression, completing 50,000 copies since its publication in March, 1918, and I predict that it will not be long before the book has a circulation of over 100,000 copies. It is a volume I should like to place in the hands of every intelligent married couple, and into the hands of those about to enter matrimonial life without having the slightest intention of accepting Mr. Punch's foolish advice on the subject. There is only one married lady I know who would regard the book with stupid indignation. Her name is Mrs. Grundy.

It has often been said that Christ never expressed an opinion in regard to sex matters, that He was silent on a theme that now seems to us so complex. To me one of the most moving and dramatic incidents in the Life of Christ is the story of the woman taken in adultery. That incident, together with the gracious words the

Master spoke to Mary Magdalen, is sufficient to show Christ's attitude in the matter. He realised the sweeping force of human passion. None could lift a stone against the "fallen woman." Every loud-mouthed accuser silently crept away. And so it seems to me that Christ was tenderly aware of the frailty of human flesh, and taught mercy and tolerance. If the great masters of the past have said little or nothing in regard to sex questions, many lesser beings are now in the field sowing good seed which in time will yield a fair harvest.

Dr. Stopes writes in her preface to *Married Love*: "In my first marriage I paid such a terrible price for sex-ignorance that I feel that knowledge gained at such a cost should be placed at the service of humanity. In this little book average, healthy, mating creatures will find the key to the happiness which should be the portion of each. It has already guided some to happiness, and I hope it may save some others years of heartache and blind questioning in the dark." It will, if the message does not come too late. There are some unfortunate marriages which no healthy wisdom can make happy. To turn sorrow into joy, to affect the malady of an unhappy marriage, the medicine must come in time. Montaigne wrote: "Cupid is a roguish God . . . It is his glory that his power checketh and copes all other might, and that all other rules give place to his."

Much depends upon the use or abuse of sexual intercourse in married life. To regard such an act with horror and loathing is far from being an indication of a clean, well-balanced mind. At the same time we should do well to remember the truth of St. Jerome's words: "The devil's master-point lies in our loins." Browning's love for his wife has become a kind of glowing banner held up for the admiration of the world. There were times when Browning exulted in the joy of the senses, times when the joy of the body thrust aside the joy of the spirit. I think he regarded earthly love as beautiful and sufficient in itself without the great Panjandrum of more mystical ideas. He wrote:

"———let me love entire and whole
Not with my soul!"

And again:

"Eyes shall meet eyes and find no eyes between,
Lips feed on lips, no other lips to fear!
No past, no future—so thine arms but screen
The present from surprise! Not there, 'tis
here—

Not then, 'tis now;—back memories that
intrude!
And over all the rest, oblivion roll—
Sense, quickening soul."

There is no mistaking the meaning of Browning here, and Dr. Stopes is no less insistent on the great importance of the sex problem in married life. She maintains, and rightly, that the ardent wooing of lovers should be a prominent factor in married life, not for a year or two, as is generally the case, but so long as vitality remains. The sex instinct in a man differs considerably from the sex instinct in a woman, and that fundamental difference, unless it is understood and sympathetically adjusted has caused, and will continue to cause, a great deal of trouble in married life. Ovid was right when he wrote of women:

"They will not when you will,
When you will not, they will."*

How can this difference in sex impulse be adjusted? A woman has what Dr. Stopes describes as the "fundamental pulse," that is to say, a constant ebb and flow of sexual desire. She is not necessarily cold or capricious when her husband's love-making seems of all things the most undesirable. At that moment Nature does not thrill every part of her body. She is inert because the fire of desire does not beat in her veins. Dr. Stopes writes: "That woman has a rhythmic sex-tide which, if its indications were obeyed, would ensure not only her enjoyment, but would explode the myth of her capriciousness, seems not to be suspected. We have studied the wave-lengths of water, of sound, of light; but when will the sons and daughters of men study the sex-tide in woman and learn the laws of her Periodicity of Recurrence of desire?" The author gives two interesting charts which should be carefully studied. One "is compounded from a number of individual records, and shows a fair average chart of the rhythmic sequence of superabundance and flagging in woman's sex-vitality." The other chart shows the depressing effect of fatigue and over-work, small "wave-crests" indicating a very feeble sex-impulse until renewed vitality is obtained by Alpine air when the chart indicates high and frequent wave-crests corresponding with periods of intense sexual desire. It is good to know that Dr. Stopes is still engaged in studying the fundamental pulse and that a detailed statement will be given in a scientific

publication. We have much to learn on the subject, and a wise husband, perceiving the lines to work upon, should make his own chart.

Dr. Stopes received so many letters on the subject of birth-regulation, to which she briefly refers in *Married Love*, that it was impossible for her to answer all the correspondents individually. She has written a little volume, entitled *Wise Parenthood*, which should satisfy those who are in difficulty in regard to birth control. Many years ago there were stormy scenes over this very subject. Those who had the courage to suggest a method that would lessen the wastage of child life and increase the mental, moral, and physical fitness of infants were regarded as depraved monsters who would shamelessly sully the sanctity of the marriage bed. Preventive methods are contrary to orthodox religion, but unfortunately orthodox religion is too often contrary to sound common sense. The Bishop of Birmingham, in his address on the Birth Rate at a Church Congress, stated that there are certain cases where some kind of control is necessary. War has taken from us the flower of the nations. We cannot afford to bring into the world weak, diseased children. "After the birth of a child," writes Dr. Stopes, "it is essential that there should be no hurried beginning of a second." In order to bring this to pass, preventive methods, other than rigid self-control, are deemed advisable by Dr. Stopes. What her method is I must leave the reader to find out for himself. I believe that such a practice will improve the human race, be the means of maintaining the rapture of early love, and considerably lessen prostitution among married men. There is only one flaw. It is possible, by preventive methods, "to make sex experience dangerous indulgence." If husband and wife resort to sexual intercourse to the total exclusion of parenthood, when parenthood be possible, they are guilty of lust and not love. Dr. Stopes is not writing for those who are abnormal in their sexual desire. She is writing for married men and women who wish to remain lovers with the passing of the years. To such as these the Crown of Love is a little child.

*See my article, "James Hinton and Polygamy." *The Theosophist*, January 1919.

†*Married Love*, 6s. net, and *Wise Parenthood*, 3s. 6d. net, are published by Messrs. Putnam, 24, Bedford Street, London, W.C.

**Trist. El. I.* 34.

LORD MORLEY.*

With baffling inconsistency, the greatest modern biographer has willed that his own biography should not be written. That the writer who has enriched English literature with the lives of Burke, Walpole, Cobden and Gladstone should have imposed on the executors of his will the condition that his papers should not be made available to any person that desires to write his biography is a circumstance that cannot be easily explained. Lord Morley did write his *Recollections*, in 1917, and the concluding volume of his *Gladstone* affords many glimpses into his own Irish activities. But these do not by any means comprise a full and detailed account of a life that was so many-sided, of a career that provides so many object-lessons both to the politician and the man of letters. To Lord Morley might be applied the description of Lord Chesterfield by Macaulay that he was a man of the world among men of letters and a man of letters among men of the world. For the sake of posterity it might be hoped that the injunction would be disobeyed. Meanwhile his publishers have presented to the public what may be regarded as the definitive edition of his works and though everyone will regret the omission of *Gladstone* from this edition, the volumes will be dearly prized by all—and they are many—to whom Morley's writings have been a guide and an inspiration.

On Lord Morley's writings there was an article in the last number of this *Review*. Here our remarks will be confined to Morley as a man and as a politician. Morley was of course an agnostic. But few modern writers have had the all-embracing tolerance which characterised him. The early influence of Mill put a stamp on his character that nothing could efface. In his library at Wimbledon, Mill's portrait by Watts hung over the mantelpiece and the disciple, long years after the master's death, would still speak of him with grateful veneration. Later in life he was popularly classed among the Positivists. "Great are their leaders beyond all comparison—Comte, Darwin, Huxley, Mill, Morley, and Harrison. Who would venture to

enter the lists against such a squadron of Positivists?" But Morley described himself merely "a soldier of Universities." As an acquaintance truthfully told him, "we are quite sure that you are really nearer to us all in religion than perhaps you yourself are aware." He was indeed. Morley ended his essay on *A new Calendar of Great Men* with the following words, referring to the *Imitation of Christ*.

"Is not the sphere of these famous meditations the spiritual rather than the moral life, and their aim the attainment of holiness rather than moral excellence? As, indeed, another writer under the same head better expresses it, is not then inspiration 'the yearning for perfection—the consolation of the life out of self?' By holiness do we not mean something different from virtue? It is not the same as duty; still less is it the same as religious belief. It is a name for an inner grace of nature, an instinct of the soul, by which, though knowing of earthly appetites and worldly passions, the spirit, purifying itself of these, and independent of all reason, argument, and the fierce struggles of the will, dwells in living, patient and confident communion with the seen and the unseen good. In this region, not in ethics, moves the *imitatis*'".

As Mr. Lilley puts it in the *Fortnightly Review*, "a man who could write thus was never far from the Kingdom of God."

IN POLITICS.

In politics it need not be said that Morley was a staunch Liberal. That this radical journalist should be translated straight from the editorial office of the *Fortnightly Review* and *Pall Mall Gazette* to the Cabinet as Irish Secretary was one of the surprises which the Grand Old Man was fond of springing on a long-suffering generation of Victorians. There were not wanting political wiseacres who confidently prophesied that parliamentary life would injure Mr. Morley's reputation, the instances of Gibbon and Mill were quoted. But both in his public utterances and in his office notes, he fully maintained the best traditions of British public life without forgetting that he was also a political seer. When in the early years of the Irish Secretaryship a deputation waited on Morley, he said, referring to the

*Collected Works of Lord Morley in 12 Vols. 75. 6d. a volume. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London, 1923.

way the French had amnestied the Communards and the Americans the Secessionists, "Are the only people in the world for whom there is to be no amnesty, no act of oblivion, to be Irishmen whose only fault has been that they have used their talents for the benefit of their countrymen, and done the best they could to raise up the miserable, oppressed and down-trodden people of their own country?" That was a new note to be heard for the first time from official and responsible lips, and Lord Morley ever remembered, during long years of office, General Gordon's noble word that the sovereign duty was to try to creep under men's skins. His sympathy, active and sincere, always went to the peoples whom he was called upon to govern. He was always a good party man, but he never forgot to be gentleman. Matthew Arnold was right when he said, "Morley is, when he writes, a bitter political partisan ; when you meet him in society, he is the gentlest and most charming of men." We have said above that he seldom sacrificed his cherished political theories. As Secretary of State for India, he had to deal with proposals for repressive legislation, and this is how he wrote to Lord Minto: "The former proposal to pass a general press law to be put in force exclusively on the initiative of the military authorities, was, I should guess, about as stiff a dose as ever was preferred to a British Minister within a hundred years. But this notion of turning a private meeting into a public one almost beats it! And the notion of giving the lieutenant-governor or any other authority the right of forbidding a speaker whose views he dislikes to open his mouth in a given area!"

The testimony to his honesty and straightforwardness is unanimous and comes from all parties. When Mr. Gladstone finally retired from politics, and Sir William Harcourt was passed over in favour of Lord Rosebery, Morley was on the whole inclined to side with the latter. And yet Harcourt recognised his sincerity when he wrote to Chamberlain: "No newspaper correspondence or lobby gossip will induce me to suspect J. Morley of any underhand proceedings either towards myself or any one else. His good faith is transparent and he appears to me always to be the soul of honour. If he has any defect in the high position he occupies in the party, it appears to me to be a somewhat excessive distrust of his own powers and claims and I never saw a man less disposed to be jealous of others or egotistically eager to urge his own

pretensions." After Rosebery's short-lived ministry, the liberals went into the wilderness, disunited and mutually wrangling. Lord Rosebery indulged, says the brilliant biographer of Harcourt, in a gibe about a party disheartened "by a superfluity of retired leaders," "disembodied spirits" who hovered over the scene, while Mr. Morley retorted with his famous description of Lord Rosebery as "a dark horse in a loose box."

The next circle of the wheel found the liberals once again in office and on Asquith's appointment as Premier, Morley could have had any office he liked. On that incident, this is what a usually reliable chronicler has to say: "Whilst the public voice with one accord designates Lloyd George for the post of the Chancellor of the Exchequer vacated by Asquith, temporary embarrassment arises consequent on the predilection for the post of an esteemed colleague. Oddly enough, John Morley 'fancies himself' for the Treasury appointment. To the outsider it would seem to be the last field a man of letters, though in later life trained to ministerial duties, would hanker after. The heart knoweth its own strength as well as its own weakness. Possibly had Morley, in the prime of bodily and intellectual power, taken to the Treasury instead of the Irish office, he might have rivalled Gladstone in the record of Chancellors of the Exchequer. One almost insuperable difficulty in existing circumstances is that, notably during the present session, his voice woefully fails him in sustained effort at speech-making. The prospect of his having to occupy two or three hours on expounding a Budget Scheme would be in a degree appalling." (Sir Henry Lucy's *Diary of A Journalist*, Vol. II) Lord Morley's own record is as follows: "It was on one afternoon at this time that Asquith came to my official room at the House of Commons and told me that he understood the king, then at Biarritz, would send for him to kiss hands as the new head of the Government. 'Yes, of course,' I said, 'there could be no thought of anything else, that is quite certain.' He would like to know if I had any views for myself. 'I am engaged', I said, 'on an extremely important and interesting piece of work. As you know my heart is much in it, and I should be sorry to break off. So if you approve I will stay at the India office and go to the House of Lords.' 'Why on earth should you go there?' 'Because though my eye is not dim nor my natural

force abated, I have had a pretty industrious life, and I shall do my work all the better for the comparative leisure of the other place." (*Recollections*, Vol. II.)

And he continued at the India Office to see the conclusion of the reform proposals. Then he accepted the Presidentship of the Council. On the outbreak of the war, he felt it his duty to resign, writing as follows to the Prime Minister on August 3rd, 1914: "I have—as you wished—taken a night's reflection over my retirement. I have given earnest pains to reach a sensible conclusion. One thing is clear. Nothing can be so fatal in present circumstances as a cabinet with divided councils. Grey has pointed out the essential difference between two views of neutrality in our present case. Well, I deplore the fact that I incline one way and the three of my leading colleagues incline the other way. This being so, I could contribute nothing useful to your deliberations, and my presence would only hamper the concentrated energy—the zealous and convinced accord—that are indispensable. You remember the Peelites joining the Palmerston Cabinet in the Crimean War. They entered it, and resigned in two or three days. So, if we abandon neutrality, I fear that vital points might arise within two or three days that would make my presence a tiresome nuisance. I press you therefore to release me. I propose to come to the Cabinet to-day after the P. C. at the Palace. But I dare not hope to be much affected by what will pass there. You will believe that I write this with heartfelt pain."

Mr. Asquith, in his *Genesis of the War*, just published, says: "Two of my colleagues felt it their duty to resign, and my most insistent appeals failed to alter their determination. The one was Lord Morley, the *doyen* of the Cabinet, the only remaining personal link that bound us to the heroic age of the "men that strove with gods." He had been from the beginning of my

political life my mentor. Between 1885 and 1892 callow Liberals of that day—Grey, Haldane, Arthur Acland, S. Buxton, Tom Ellis and myself—used to meet periodically at his board, where he reasoned with us not only, like St. Paul, "of righteousness and temperance and judgment to come," but of all the things that it is useful for mettlesome and aspiring politicians to learn. I am not by any means certain that he thinks that all his pupils have done credit to his teaching. For myself I can truly say that, as time went on, and we were exposed during long years to the testing ordeals of colleague-ship, I became more and more closely attached to him by the ties of personal affection and gratitude. I felt, as did all his colleagues, that his severance from our counsels left a gap that no one else could fill"

It was only a year or two ago, that a venerable figure, bent low, thin and ascetic-like came slowly to the House of Peers that had not seen him for some years. The irony of politics had brought Lord Morley from his learned retirement to bless Irish Home Rule, in achieving which his noblest efforts were put forth. To a shrill generation of much talk and little achievement, this last public appearance of the great Liberal was at once an inspiration and a stimulus. Even Lord Curzon said it was a great moment and Lord Carson bitterly reminded the House that the whirlgig of time had brought George Curzon to invoke the blessing of John Morley. For coming generations, that memorable scene will remain vivid on the glowing canvas of Sargent. And thus he faded from active life, and well might he have sung *nunc dimittis*, at the realisation of his long-cherished dreams. As they wander over Elysian fields, Gladstone, Chamberlain, Bright and Harcourt, Parnell, and Randolph Churchill, forgetting old dissensions, will warmly welcome this companion of theirs and listen eagerly to his words of mellow wisdom and to tales of recent happenings on the scene they long adorned.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

ANNUALS.

Official Year-Book of the Union of South Africa. No. 5. Edited by C. W. Cousins, Director of Census. (Superintendent, Government Printing and Stationery Office, Pretoria; South Africa). 1923.

In noticing the last edition (No. 4) of the *Official Year-Book of the Union of South Africa*, we commended it as a most valuable compendium of statistical data relating to the South African Commonwealth and as a model book of reference. The new issue (No. 5, dealing mainly with the year 1922) gives, for purposes of collation and comparison, the figures for the years 1910 to 1921. The book supplies information—mostly of a statistical character—on history and description of the various states and colonies, constitution and government, population, vital statistics, public health and hospitals, education, labour and industrial conditions, prices and cost of living, social condition, administration of justice, police and protection, electorate, native affairs, land survey, tenure and occupation, irrigation and water conservation, agriculture and fisheries, mines, manufacturing industries, commerce, harbours and shipping, railways and land transportation, posts, telegraphs and telephones, finance and local government. These are but the major headings—each of them being sub-divided into many minor ones. The contents list condensed above would enable the reader to appreciate better the comprehensive scope of the book, than any description of it. Statistics were defined by an irate politician as “d—d lies”, and so perhaps they are as often as not. But the work of administration in these days of storm and stress can not be carried on without the aid of statistics and in its application to the South African Commonwealth, the official Year-Book issued annually by the Government of that country is a monument of industry and public spirit. We wish there were an equally instructive and interesting work of reference dealing, every year, with India.

Statistical Abstract for British India. First Issue (Superintendent, Government Printing, India, Hastings Street, Calcutta).

For years past the Government of India used to issue (revised from time to time) a series of five volumes called *Statistics of British India*. The India Office in London also used to publish every year—

based on the Government of India's publication mentioned above—a work of reference in one volume called *Statistical Abstract Relating to British India*. The last number issued of the latter—which was in 1922—was the fifty-fifth. The two publications have now been replaced by the first issue of the work under notice, called *Statistical Abstract for British India*. It will appear—presumably every year—in India, the London publication being permanently suspended. The first issue of the new series gives the figures from 1911-12 to 1920-21. It is practically a reproduction (in one large but compact volume) of the contents of the five parts in foolscap size of the *Statistics of British India*, and is in, so far, an improvement on the old series for purposes of reference and carrying about. But it comprises statistics and statistics alone—one prodigious mass of figures grouped under various headings. As you open the book columns after columns of figures stare you in the face—with no saving grace or redeeming feature about them of any analytical statements bringing out the significance of the figures—such as you find so helpful in the *South African Year-Book* noticed above. The *Statistical Abstract for British India* is undoubtedly an indispensable reference book for the worker in India, but its value would be appreciably enhanced if it were modelled upon the official year-book issued by the Government of South Africa.

Whitaker's Almanac 1924. (J. Whitaker & Sons, Ltd., 12, Warwick Lane, London, E. C. 4.) 1924.

Inaugurated in 1868, *Whitaker's Almanac* for the current year is the fifty-sixth yearly edition of this most famous annual reference work of the English-knowing world. It is too well-known and too well-established in popular estimation as the most useful and most comprehensive repertory of information—to need the reviewer's commendation; and the *Hindustan Review* has now for nearly a quarter of a century noticed in terms of high appreciation the recurring annual publications of this highly meritorious book of reference, which not only—as its title implies—contains an account of the astronomical and other phenomena, but also gives a vast amount of sound and accurate information respecting the government, finances, population, commerce and

general statistics of the various nations and states, with special reference to the British Commonwealth and the United States of America. The edition under notice has been carefully and judiciously revised and brought up-to-date and it is fully abreast of the latest important events and incidents. All matters of general interest and questions of the day are fully dealt with and the statistical data are, on the whole, wonderfully accurate. The current edition of *Whitaker's Almanac* is indispensable to public men and publicists, it being the most up-to-date and complete compendium of facts and events of the world to-day. The new British Parliament is presented in the form of a separate supplement.

Who's Who in the new Parliament. Edited by T. W. Walding. (Philip Gee, 40, King Street, Covent Garden, W. C. 2, London) 1924.

Mr. Walding's *Who's Who in the New Parliament* is a new and useful addition to the ranks of works of reference. It not only comprises a complete alphabetical list of the members of the House of Commons elected in the general election of 1923, but gives in the case of each of them their parliamentary history, industrial interests, policy and pledges to constituents—the last excerpted from their election addresses, manifestoes or speeches. In the list of the members' profession one finds, amongst others, auctioneers, bookbinders, bootmakers, engine drivers, hairdressers, showmen and underwriters—but fortunately no undertakers! Altogether the new publication would be useful to journalists in quest of accurate information about the new members of the House of Commons. We trust that favourable reception will be accorded to the publisher's enterprise so that the work may appear yearly, and be kept up-to-date. A publication on the same lines dealing with the members of the Central and Provincial legislatures in India would be very useful and we commend the idea to some enterprising publisher in this country.

The Daily Mail Year-Book 1924. (Associated Newspapers, Ltd., London, E. C.)

Of the many political year-books that one is familiar with, that associated in name with the *Daily Mail* is unique in its being the cheapest and yet the most comprehensive. Unlike several other annuals of its class and kind—which are only revised and brought up-to-date—the *Daily Mail Year-Book* is completely rewritten for each succeeding edition. Its contents cover a very large ground and traverse almost the

whole of current political and economic affairs of the British Commonwealth. In fact, the little red book is a most marvellous compendium of general knowledge on the public affairs of the day and is a most informative work of reference. The edition under notice is fully abreast of the latest incidents and events, and deserves an extensive circulation in India, alike for its cheapness—it costs but a shilling—and general utility as a meritorious work of reference, which covers within a small compass a very large range of statistical and other useful data.

Whitaker's Peerage 1924. (J. Whitaker & Sons, Ltd., 12, Warwick Lane, London, E. C. 4.) 1924.

There are several well-known annual directories dealing with the Peers, Baronets, Knights and Companions in the British Commonwealth, but *Whitaker's Peerage* (which is the youngest of its class) is not only perhaps the cheapest but the most convenient for reference. The current edition contains complete list of the Peers, Baronets, Knights and Companions, including full list of the last new year's honours. The careful and accurate compilation and arrangement which has always characterised the work is still fully maintained, while for ease of reference it can hardly be surpassed. The inclusion of Officers of the Order of the British Empire in the Alphabetical Companionage makes the section the most complete on the subject. The preface rightly calls attention to the very remarkable increase to the Peerage and Baronetage during the last few years. The obituary for the last year is very full and complete. *Whitaker's Peerage* is—as stated above—the cheapest now before the public, while its convenient shape and handy size add very materially to its value and usefulness as an indispensable work of ready reference for all who seek for information concerning the higher ranks of the aristocracy of the British Empire. Of the books of its class and kind, it should, therefore, have a large circulation in India.

The Investor's India Year-Book 1923. Eleventh edition. (Place, Siddons & Gough, 1, Commercial Buildings, Calcutta) 1924. Rs. 15/-.

The *Investor's India Year-Book* is a highly useful work for those interested in the growing expansion of industrialism in this country. That ten editions have preceded the present issue is a proof conclusive of the value and utility of this highly informative work of reference. It deals with all those industrial concerns the capital of which has been raised mainly

in India and the registered offices of which are situated in this country—banks, coal, cotton, tea and jute companies, railways and other business associations. Full details are given—historical and statistical—about these concerns with tabular statements of the analysis of their working. A work of so much accurate information (which is revised from year to year and kept up-to-date) is bound to be very useful to all seekers after knowledge about the industrial concerns of the Indian Empire. The get-up, format, printing and mechanical execution of the work under review are creditable to the firm responsible for this publication.

The Anglo-American Year-Book 1923. (American Chamber of Commerce in London, 8, Waterloo Place, London, S. W. 1.) 1923.

Though not likely to be of much use to residents in India, the *Anglo-American Year-Book* is none the less a reference work which would be indispensable to Americans resident in Great Britain. Besides containing useful directories, it includes a residential, professional and commercial lists of Americans and American business houses and their agents in Great Britain and British houses and their agents in America; also an Anglo-American "who's who". It contains much useful information on British and American trade relations.

Who's Who 1924. (Adam and Charles Black, Ltd. Soho Square, London) 1923.

Of the current books of reference, perhaps none is more useful to the journalist than that well-known work—*Who's Who*, an annual biographical dictionary with which is incorporated "Men and Women of the Time." This is the seventy-sixth year of issue, and is correct down to last June. So great is the labour of compiling and printing this vast work, which comprises over three thousand pages of close double-column type, that printing has to begin as early as June. The work opens with a useful obituary for the preceding year. This is followed by an account of the Royal Family, and then come 30,000 biographies. The biographies, though generally exceedingly condensed, are accurate and informative. They give, besides, useful and interesting information about the habits, tastes and hobbies of the large number of persons whose careers are sketched. The book is indispensable to a journalist.

The Libraries, Museums and Art Galleries Year-book 1924. Edited by Miss J. P. Tilley and H. Alderton. (Alex. J. Philip, Gravesend) 1923.

The new edition of Miss Tilley and Mr. Alderton's yearbook of British libraries, museums and art galleries—which has been compiled under the direction of Mr. Philip, the publisher of the book—is a valuable work of reference on the subjects it deals with. It has been completely revised, rewritten and recast and in its improved form it will be found highly useful on the librarian's shelves. Its size should be reduced in later editions, as it is inconvenient to handle.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

The Best Books. Part III. By William Swan Sonnenschein. (George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., London) 1923.

Mr. W. S. Sonnenschein's *Best Books* appeared in a bulky volume so far back as 1887 and it was at once acknowledged as an ideal work of reference in the domain of select bibliography. It re-appeared—overhauled and enlarged—in a bulkier tome in 1891. In course of time a new edition was called for, which began to appear in parts. Parts I and II were issued before 1914 and the publication of the subsequent parts has been delayed by the outbreak of the great war and the development of the post-war conditions. At last part III. has seen the light and is lying before us, and it is expected that the fourth and concluding part—which will complete the new edition of the whole work—would be brought out before long. The '*Best Books*' gives a choice of the best available books in every department of Science, Art, and Literature, with the dates of the first and last editions, and the price, size, and publisher's name (both English and American) of each book. Like the two parts previously issued, that under notice—Part III with notes and characterisations, on books contains a choice of the best books on History and Historical Biography under class F, while under class G are listed books on Archæology and Historical Collaterals. Mr. Sonnenschein's enterprise and industry deserve appreciation. The work displays not only unusual thoroughness, but is calculated to be of immense value to those who may desire a comprehensive and authoritative guide to the best books in every department of knowledge. The present reviewer—after having used the book daily since 1887—can testify to its extreme value and usefulness and every student owes

a deep debt of gratitude for this invaluable work of reference, which the labours, industry, enterprise and resourcefulness of Mr. Sonnenschein have made available. We congratulate the author and the publishers on the completion of their monumental work, which is a most valuable and meritorious contribution to select bibliography.

A Classified Guide to Annuals, Directories, Calendars and Year-Books. Compiled by H. G. T. Cannons. (Grafton & Co., Coptic House, London, W. C. 1.) 1923.

There are about two thousand annual periodicals issued in the British Empire—of which by far the larger number appear in Great Britain and Ireland. Of these no less than seventeen hundred are chronicled, arranged, tabulated, and systematized in Mr. H. G. T. Cannons' *Classified Guide to Annuals, Directories, Calendars and Year-Books*. The book is divided into various sections, each dealing with the periodicals concerned with a particular group. Besides there are a subject-index, an alphabetical title-index, and also a list of the material grouped under the month of publication. There are notes and characterizations where required, and full information is supplied about the publishers and prices. On the whole, the work is accurate, which is very creditable to a work of this nature in its first edition. To improve the second edition—which is to appear early in 1926—we may note that on p. 31, the *South and East African Year-book and Guide* appears twice, and on p. 130, there appears in the section devoted to India, McCluskie's *Directory and Guide*, which we believe to be a defunct publication, no new edition of it having been issued for some years. For the rest Mr. Cannons' *Classified Guide* is a highly useful bibliography of annual works of reference and richly merits a wide circulation.

A Bibliography of English Language and Literature in 1922. Edited by A. C. Panes. (Bowes & Bowes, Cambridge, England) 1923.

Mr. A. C. Panes has brought out (under the auspices of the Modern Humanities Research Association) an excellent classified bibliography of the publications issued from the press in 1922, dealing mainly with the subjects of English language and literature. The publication first appeared in 1921 dealing with the works issued in 1920 and that which came out in 1922 dealt with the works of 1921. Though there are some other annual publications covering more or less the same grounds, they are

primarily intended for publishers and booksellers and not for scholars, as is the case with the work edited by Mr. Panes. It will be found a very useful book of reference by men of letters.

What to Read: A Guide for Worker Students. (Plebs League, 162A, Buckingham Palace Road, London, S. W. 1.) 1923.

This is a short bibliographical guide for the use of students at various Labour Colleges, but it will be found of great utility even by others. The books suggested are on such subjects as History, Economics, Current Problems, Economic Geography—in other words with all those subjects which can be broadly grouped under the general head of Sociology. The selections are judicious and the suggestions for the courses of study are commendable. The notes on and characterizations of books are fair, and accurate and altogether *What to Read* should be very useful to a large circle of students.

Books that Count. By Forbes Gray. Second edition (Adam and Charles Black Ltd., Soho Square, London) 1923.

Mr. Forbes Gray's *Books that Count* is welcome in a second and revised edition. It aims at giving within the covers of a handy volume the best modern works on almost every subject. It would be easy to pick holes in a work of this kind, which is not the result of co-operative labour. But making allowance for the very vast range of literature dealt with, and the inevitable limitations proceeding therefrom, we may commend this book as a useful contribution to the literature of select bibliography, which will be serviceable to those in search of guidance in the selection of modern works.

Bibliography of Economic Books Relating to India. By Jagdish Prasad, M.A. (University of Allahabad, Department of Economics) 1923.

Mr. Jagdish Prasad's *Bibliography of Economic Books Relating to India* is a notable acquisition to bibliographical literature. Professor H. Stanley Jevons justly commends the book as "an interesting survey of the character of the literature relating to economics in India". The book is suitably classified, well-arranged and is fairly comprehensive and accurate. As a pioneer work it is worthy of acknowledgment. It will be found highly useful by students of Indian economics.

Hoyt's New Cyclopedia of Practical Quotations. Completely revised and greatly enlarged by Kate Louise Roberts. (Funk and Wagnalls Company, New York, U. S. A.) 1923.

There are several excellent collections of choice extracts worth quoting, but there is none so comprehensive, so systematic and planned so scientifically as the new, revised and enlarged, edition of Hoyt's *Cyclopedia of Practical Quotations*. A big, bulky book—not quite comfortable or convenient to handle—of about 925 double-columned pages, enriched with full apparatus for ready reference including a concordance to the quotations, and a list of authors quoted with places and dates of their births and deaths and also brief characterizations, of their position in the world of letters, *Hoyt's Cyclopedia* is admittedly about the best example of a compilation of its class and kind. It will be found invaluable both for study and reference not only by scholars, students, men of letters and teachers, but also by journalists, publicists, public speakers and men of affairs and administrators, who may be called upon to make pronouncements on current problems and may like to draw inspiration from the legacy of ancient and modern wisdom as enshrined in literature. The compiler has pre-eminently succeeded in the laudable ambition of making the collection the most complete within the covers of a volume; while the alphabetical grouping of the subjects under which the extracts are arranged, the exhaustive concordance which serves as a word-index of the text of each quotation, the biographical index giving not only data on important topics but also brief character sketches of the authors quoted, and the topical index (furnished with cross-references) conduce materially to the usefulness of this highly meritorious work as *par excellence* an ideal reference book.

Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase and Fable. New edition. (Cassell & Company, Ltd., London) 1923.

The late Dr. Brewer's well-known *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable* has been a favourite work of reference for now about half a century. It has been revised, from time to time, since the author's death, but never before so thoroughly as for the new completely overhauled edition recently issued. It has been not only carefully revised and judiciously enlarged but fully brought up-to-date. Re-set, re-written in large parts, scrutinized and with dead matter excised, it is now a highly meritorious work of reference. The popularity of this most useful, accurate and readable literary reference book, already

an old favourite in every corner of the English-speaking world, is thus bound to be greatly increased, and it will be invaluable to Authors, Clergymen, Politicians, Journalists, Litterateurs, Teachers, Students, Lovers of the English Tongue, and all that large "General Public" which nowadays takes an increasing interest in affairs. In its new shape and form *Brewer's Dictionary* will continue to hold its own as an indispensable and standard work of reference.

The John Bull Treasure-Book of Knowledge
Edited by A. Emil Davies, L.C.C. (The Syndicate Publishing Company, Ltd., 13, Waterloo Place, London, S. W. 1.) 1923.

The John Bull Treasure-Book of Knowledge is a most excellent work conceived and edited on a plan which makes it equally useful for purposes of study and reference. Edited by Mr. A. E. Davies, with the assistance of specialists and experts in various branches of knowledge, embellished with forty full-page illustrations in colour and monochrome and also numerous insets in the text, and the essays arranged (not on alphabetical plan) on various topics subdivided into smaller groups, the *John Bull Treasure Book* is a highly useful compendium of general knowledge dealing with general, physical and economic geography, also political economy, law and legislation, science, literature, art and music, as also with many of the questions of the day. The contributors write on their subjects as masters of the subjects they survey and the result is a reference book which is remarkable for accuracy, soundness, and information.

Klassischer Journalismus. Edited by E. E. Kisch. (Rudolf Kaemmerer, Berlin) 1923.

Herr Kisch's novel and excellent compilation is an anthology of journalism—the first of its class and kind, to our knowledge. It comprises—grouped under such familiar headings as leading articles, news reports, foreign correspondence, law reports, criticisms of drama, music and literature—judiciously chosen extracts from well-known writers on these subjects. Its scope—as befitting a work "made in Germany" is fairly comprehensive, ranging as the selections do from the writings of Pliny the younger to those of almost contemporary publicists. The reader would be interested in knowing that it is Pliny's letter to Tacitus describing the eruption of the Vesuvius, in which Pliny the elder perished, which is reproduced as a sample of ancient classical journalism

—presumably as a descriptive sketch. We find represented in the collection the many British and Irish names familiar to us—from Addison to Dickens. The book should interest a large circle of readers—quite apart from those connected with the newspaper press—as it offers an intellectual treat of no mean order.

A Short Handbook of Literary Terms. By George Loane. (T. Fisher Unwin, Ltd., 1, Adelphi Terrace, London) 1923.

It is a very useful work of reference that Mr. George Loane has put together, called *A Short Handbook of Literary Terms*. The compiler defines and describes the contents of a large number of terms used frequently in literature. Outside dictionaries and lexicons, explanations of such terms were not readily available and Mr. Loane has placed to his credit a work of great utility by bringing together (in a handy, little volume) a fairly complete collection of literary terms with their interpretations and examples. Teachers, students, and all others interested in the study of English literature will find Mr. Loane's *Hand-book of Literary Terms* not only instructive but also interesting.

Enquire Within Upon Everything. One hundred and thirteenth edition. (Herbert Jenkins, Ltd., 3, York Street, London, S. W. 1.) 1923.

When a book has reached its one hundred and thirteenth edition—making the total issue to date one million and five hundred thousand copies—it scarcely needs a reviewer's commendation. *Enquire Within* has an answer for most questions one may put to it. It is intended to assist one as a guide to cookery, health and medical treatment, as also legal relations and rights and duties. This edition has been carefully revised by experts, who have brought it completely up-to-date. In fact, everything has been done to enhance the value of a work which is already prized by hundreds of thousands of readers. It deserves a very large circulation, as a useful compendium of domestic economy

TRAVEL GUIDES.

Baedeker's London and its Environs: A Hand-book for Travellers. By Karl Baedeker. Eighteenth revised edition. (Karl Baedeker, Publisher, Leipzig, Germany), 1923.

The German publisher, Karl Baedeker, of Coblenz—where he died in 1859 at the age of 58—has given,

in his name, a new word to English, which has long been synonymous with tourist's ideal guide-book. Originator in 1839 of a series of guides to various countries—published at first in German but subsequently rendered into English—his name has become identified with super-excellence in the compilation of up-to-date and well-digested hand-books for travellers. The business was removed from Coblenz to Leipzig in 1872, where it is still carried on by the descendants of the founder, who was born in 1801. The firm have thus by now nearly a century's experience to their credit in the art of guide-book-making, and then stamp on the cover of a guide is a guarantee of accuracy and up-to-date-ness. The books—though made and printed in Germany—are excellently got up, being marked by neatness in printing and typography. Their handy size is an additional recommendation. The eighteenth edition of their *London and its environs* is beyond all doubt the most comprehensive, the most systematic, the most accurate and the most abreast-of-time hand-book to the hub of the British Commonwealth. The forty-five maps and plans which it contains, enhance materially the value of the letter-press. Two of the volumes in the series—those of India and the Far East and Constantinople and Asia Minor—are still available in German only. It would be well if they too were made accessible in English. The volume on India—originally issued in 1914—would be a highly useful acquisition to literature dealing with this country, if it were overhauled and made available in English. We welcome this post-war edition of *Baedeker's London*.

Muirhead's Switzerland: with Chamonix and the Italian Lakes. "The Blue Guides" Series. Edited by Findlay Muirhead. (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London, W. C. 2.) 1923.

"The Blue Guides," edited by Mr. Findlay Muirhead—who was for many years the editor of English editions of Baedeker—is the great post-war rival to the enterprise in Guide-book compilation of the German firm at Leipzig. And it must be admitted to be a formidable rival. Edited by the gentleman who was responsible for the English editions of Baedeker, backed up by the resources of so distinguished and influential a publishing firm as that of Macmillans, intended for those (most of whom, at any rate) have at present a prejudice against things made in Germany, the "Blue Guides" have much in their favour and the result is that they are admirable, trustworthy, and informative. Eight volumes have appeared so far:—*London and its Environs*, *Paris and its Environs*, *England*, *Belgium*

and the Western Front, Wales, North-Eastern France, The French Alps and Switzerland. Each of these volumes is handy, well-printed, up-to-date, and thoroughly sound in its statements of facts as well as opinions. Each of them is provided with a number of maps and plans, those included in the picturesque—occasionally over-done. But his statements to the playground of Europe may do worse than provide themselves with Mr. Muirhead's *Switzerland*. The series when completed will be a valuable addition to the traveller's literature. We wonder whether the editor and the publishers will ever turn their attention to India! At present, *Murray's India* alone holds the field. It would be all the better for a competitive rival.

Cook's Traveller's Handbook to Constantinople, Gallipoli and Asia Minor. By Roy Elston. (Thomas Cook & Son, Ludgate Circus, London, E. C. 4.) 1923.

Yet another excellent series of traveller's handbooks—in which the latest edition deals with post-war Turkey—is that issued for many years past by Messrs. Thomas Cook and Son, the greatest and the best-known caterers for travellers all over the world. Messrs. Cook have experience of tourist's intellectual requirements since 1841, when the firm was established and they justly claim to their credit more than eighty years' experience of tourist's literature. Their Guide-books cover a wide range, and some of them—like, for instance, the volume dealing with Egypt—are about the best of their class and kind. The volume under notice—which deals with modern Turkey as reconstituted after the latest post-war treaty—is exceedingly well-written and is not only informative but interesting. It is not a mere "practical" guide-book, but tries to convey to the reader's mind some idea of the spirit and atmosphere of the various places described. Apart from its utility as a guide-book, it will be found useful by stay-at-home readers in gaining a correct and vivid impression of Turkey as it is, and it is a notable addition to the series of admirable guide-books bearing the stamp of the premier firm of tourist's caterers.

The Overseas Visitor's Guide to London and the British Isles. By Alwyn Pride. (Foster, Groom & Co., Ltd., 15, Charing Cross, London, S. W. 1) Second edition, 1923.

We noticed last year the first edition of Mr. Alwyn Pride's *Overseas Visitor's Guide to London and the British Isles* in terms of appreciation and commended

it to visitors to Great Britain not only as a compact, correct and carefully-compiled *vade macum*, but one that is pre-eminently practical in its character. The new (annual?) edition for 1923 has been thoroughly revised and in parts rewritten and it is in its present form informative, instructive and absolutely up-to-date. No overseas visitor to Great Britain who wants to know where to go about, the places to stay at, what places to shop at and, above all, what scenes and sights to see and enjoy, can do without this indispensable publication—which, let us hope, would be issued annually.

The Handy Reference Atlas of the World. By John Bartholomew. (John Bartholomew & Son, Ltd., The Geographical Institute, Edinburgh) Tenth edition 1923.

Bartholomew's *Handy Reference Atlas*—now in its tenth edition—is too well-known alike to students and travellers to need the reviewer's commendation. It has stood successfully the test of time and trial at the bar of criticism and has long held the field as the one handy, compact, convenient, neatly got-up and well-bound, popular atlas, which is frequently revised and kept up-to-date. The last edition, under notice, is overhauled till December, 1922 and gives the political boundaries, statistics, and geographical data as they stood at the end of that year. Designed to serve as a constant companion, it serves its purpose admirably and has no rival in the field. It deserves a large circulation as an ideal reference atlas.

Bartholomew's Pocket Atlas and Guide to London 1923. (Publishers as above).

Another excellent publication of Messrs. Bartholomew is their *Pocket Atlas and Guide to London*. Apart from the many excellent maps and plans, the two striking features of this excellent book are the alphabetical guide and gazetteer to places of interest and amusement in London and its environs, and a comprehensive general index to streets and stations. Altogether a capital, little work of reference.

RECENT LITERATURE OF TRAVEL.

Angkor: Ruins in Cambodia. By P. Jeannerat de Beerski. (Grant Richards, Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London) 1923.

The architectural remains of Angkor in Cambodia—

a territory of the French empire in Asia—are justly regarded as one of the wonders of the world. It is not only that they are stupendous but there is something in them that is peculiarly magnetic. It is strange that no popular account of these antiquarian ruins has been hitherto available in English. Angkor is to French India what Fatehpur-Sikri is to British India. It is, therefore, with great pleasure that we welcome the exceedingly-well illustrated account that is now available in the book under notice. The author has produced an exhaustive and enthusiastic Baedeker, embellished with sixty-five admirable illustrations and the descriptions of the scenes and sights are so vivid and graphic as to strike imagination. Facts, historic data, architectural sketches, are interspersed with travel impressions, descriptions of sensations on the spot, legends, romantic details, and instructive reflections. The author's style is picturesque occasionally over-done. But his statements about the Khmers (originally Hindu emigrants) who founded Angkor are accurate and his word-pictures—for such they are—of the gigantic ruins of their capital will appeal to students of ancient civilizations. As a fair sample of the author's style we cannot do better than reproduce the following account of a boat journey which is a piece of convincing impressionistic prose:—

"Night on the Tonle-Sap (the lake) is as frightful as day; the lessened heat is still too crushing to allow you to sleep and always gives an impression of something impending. The warmth, weighing on your chest, pervades everything and weakens everything. A smell fills your nostrils; not the smell of closed flowers that makes summer nights so perfumed, not the smell of nature at rest when all is quiet . . . it is more like the smell brought by the wind from the battle-fields after a deadly slaughter, a smell that makes your head ache; created by rotting flesh, by pools of stagnant blood. A dog on the far shore howls to the unseen moon, sound to stop the bravest in the depths of a wood; the long, even yell resounds piercingly in the stillness. Real fear creeps into your veins, born of dampness and of darkness, born of the mists of the forest, caused by all that is black, all that is ghastly, the same fear through which armies fly, confronted by no enemies. At last, worn out, you sleep, and in the morning you discover the source of your horror: you had become feverish under the sun's rays, and at night you had been floating among a lot of decomposed fish, for this is the period when they are captured in thousands and when the fishermen throw away their entrails."

Tales of Travel. By Lord Curzon. (Hodder and Stoughton, Ltd., London) 1923.

Lord Curzon has done well to bring together in one compact and handy volume his various travel sketches of scenes and sights in several continents. The book makes interesting reading. To us in India the one that will probably appeal most is the description of the author's visit to the late Amir of Afghanistan—Abdur Rahman. Of him says Lord Curzon—by implication taking as his motto a text from Voltaire—"he civilized his people and himself remained a savage". The falls of the Zambesi and the great waterfalls of the world are most graphically described and make wonderfully good reading. There are also various other sketches which will interest readers. Whatever the value of Lord Curzon's politics, there can be no two opinions about the charm of his style, the wide range of his knowledge of or his deep interest in natural scenery in various parts of the world. He has travelled much and seen a good deal of the famous scenes and sights in the old world and the new. It was a happy idea that his descriptions of some of the wonders of the world should be brought together and made accessible to the general reader, and his *Tales of Travel* is an exceedingly good collection of descriptive sketches which will interest a large circle of admirers of good books.

Constantinople To-day. By C. R. Johnson. (The Macmillan Company, New York, U.S.A.) 1923.

Mr. C. R. Johnson's *Constantinople To-day* is a survey of oriental social life, made by an American Council of Fifteen and the field staff of investigators, who succeeded in gathering valuable and not easily accessible information in spite of such handicaps as differences of language and customs and a deplorable lack of statistics. There are chapters on civic administration, community organization, industrial life, refugees, orphanages, recreation, schools, widowhood and adult delinquency. Professor Johnson modestly explains that the survey is by no means complete or adequate. But unquestionably it will, like the Peking Survey conducted three years ago, pave the way for a saner study of oriental conditions and problems. This book ought to have a large circulation amongst social reformers in India, who are interested in the well-being of the proletariat in our metropolitan cities. The excellent illustrations materially enhance the value of the letter-press.

The Southlands of Siva. By A. Butterworth. (John Lane, the Bodley Head, Ltd., Vigo Street, London, W.) 1923.

Mr. Butterworth's *Southlands of Siva* is a book of reminiscences of life in the Madras Presidency, Burmah, Ceylon, the Bombay Presidency and other parts of India, written by an Anglo-Indian civilian of standing. The author has an inexhaustible fund of good anecdotes and stories to tell, and his sense of humour, his quick eye for the picturesque and his fluent easy style make his book extremely readable. The book, in fact, is so entertaining that it should appeal not only to those who are acquainted with India, but also to all those who do not know the scenes of his racy and amusing stories. But it is a pity that there is scarcely anything in the book which may be called serious. With all his desire to avoid politics or other controversial topics, the author could have offered something—as the result of his long experience—which might have proved of advantage in the solution of our current problems. But those who care for good anecdotes and stories will not be disappointed.

Trifles and Travels. By A. Keyser. (John Murray, Albemarle Street, London, W.), 1923.

Last year we noticed in terms of appreciation Mr. Arthur Keyser's *People and Places*—which was published anonymously. The favourable reception accorded to that work by the press and the public has encouraged the author to offer another book of reminiscences. In his *Trifles and Travels*, he has put together further glimpses of 'the English'; more experiences in Australia and Malaya, and most entertaining recollections of his life in Spain, and of the many interesting and well-known people whom he came across during his official career in that country. Mr. Keyser's life has been a varied and adventurous one—the very best material for a really entertaining volume of reminiscences and his two volumes should interest a large circle of readers.

The Lands of Three Faiths. By Philip Graves. (Jonathan Cape, 11, Gower Street, London), 1923.

In his *Land of Three Faiths*, Mr. Philip Graves has attempted to give as impartial an account as possible, in brief compass, of the recent history of Palestine and of the present situation in the country, with special reference to the relations between Jew and Arab. He has laid especial stress on the politico-geographical importance of Palestine as one of the key points on

the line of communications between West and East and between North and South, an aspect of the subject which—he contends—has too often been neglected by writers, who have failed to explain why the country has been the prey or the prize of so many invaders and why its Jewish and other kingdoms and principalities had so short and troubled a life. Dr. D. G. Hogarth—a most qualified orientalist—contributes a short introduction, in which he justly describes Mr. Graves' book as "lucid, even-tempered and well-documented". After a careful perusal of the book, we readily endorse Dr. Hogarth's appreciation. If read with the excellent official *Hand-book of Palestine*, Mr. Graves' *Land of Three Faiths* will give all the information worth having about the holy land of Christianity.

Into the East. By Richard Curle. (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London), 1923.

Mr. Richard Curle's *Into the East* comprises what the author himself calls "notes on Burma and Malaya". Mr. Joseph Conrad—the well-known novelist—contributes a long preface, but though it makes good reading, there is very little in it about the book under consideration. Mr. Curle's book is the result of a ten month's wanderings and stay in "the East"—Burma and Malaya, in the present case—and describes vividly the many familiar scenes and sights in these two countries. Though the only distinctive touch about these sketches is literary, they are likely to appeal to readers interested in the fortunes of the countries of the Far East.

Here and There in the Historic Near East. By R. Martin Pope. (The Epworth Press, London), 1923.

Mr. Martin Pope's impressions of and reflections on his tour in 1918-19 in what he calls "the historic Near East", is a distinctly good book of travel. Though exceedingly short—comprising but just over 150 pages—it is well written and the author has brought to bear upon his wanderings an inquisitive mind, a trained eye and a remarkable facility in descriptive writing. The author graphically portrays "Olympus," Macedonia, the Aegean, Troy, Gallipoli, Constantinople, Angora and other places, and the book is embellished with excellent photographic reproductions. Altogether Mr. Pope's book is a notable addition to the literature of the "Near East", in Europe.

Fascinating India. By Jane Ray (A. H. Stockwell, 29, Ludgate Hill, London, E. C. 4.), 1923.

The experience gained by the author of *Fascinating India* seems to have been almost entirely in Sindh, and the various readable sketches brought together in the volume under notice seem to be based on impressions of Indian life in that province. Perhaps the book is all the better for it. But in reading it, it would be well to keep it in mind. The sketches deal with the everyday life of the people and are written sympathetically, on the whole. *Fascinating India* is likely to appeal to English-knowing Indians.

A Vision of Morocco. By V. C. Scott O'Connor. (Thornton Butterworth Ltd., 15, Bedford Street, London, W. C. 2.) 1923.

Mr. V. C. Scott O'Connor—who retired some years back as the Accountant-General of Behar and Orissa—has long since made his mark as a picturesque word-painter of scenes and sights, natural and historical. He first came into prominence as the author of the *Silken East*—two sumptuous volumes—in which he presented glowing word-pictures of the life of the Burmans and their environment. This was followed by another work on Burma on the same lines, called *Mandalay and other Old Cities of Burma*. After producing two vivid descriptions of Europe—one as seen by the author during the war—he turned to India and offered us that superbly illustrated work—*The Charm of Kashmir*. It is now succeeded by *A Vision of Morocco*, of which the sub-title is “The Far West of Islam”. Mr. O'Connor is no dry-as-dust chronicler, and no dealer in statistics. Like his previous works of travel dealing with Burma, Kashmir and some European countries, his impressions of Morocco are also a series of graphic sketches of the scenes and sights of that country, which are characterized principally by word-painting of a high order. The charm of the letter-press is set off by its being embellished with many excellent photographic reproductions. The result is a charming book of travel, which is bound to interest a large circle of cultured readers.

Canadian Cities of Romance. By Mrs. Garvin. (McClelland and Stewart, Toronto, Canada) 1923.

Mrs. Garvin's *Canadian Cities of Romance* contains delightful realistic impressions of some of the famous cities of Canada. They breathe the atmosphere, the soul, and the romance of Canadian cities. With deft,

clear strokes the writer etches boldly a comprehensive view of each. Briefly, yet alluringly, their fascinating past is unrolled before us. “Moats and cannon, subterranean casements hidden tunnels and secret defences. . . . Here something crouches ready to spring forward at a word. . . .”—this reads like a description of the mediaeval period, but is just a glimpse of the ever fresh attraction that may be found in tracing up historic landmarks of towns and cities in Canada. Young as some of these Canadian cities are, they are rich in literary tradition and literary associations; these have been gathered with discernment and effectively and pleasingly presented by Mrs. Garvin, whose book deserves appreciation alike for the eminently readable letterpress and the many excellent drawings by Dorothy Stevens.

POETRY.

The Temple and other Poems translated by Arthur Waley (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London, 1923) 6s.

Mr. Arthur Waley is a recognised authority on Chinese Poetry. His renderings almost always succeed in interpreting the genius and the individual flair of the Chinese poets, just because he himself possesses a poetical temperament and a sensitive receptive faculty. The monosyllabic Chinese poetry must be very difficult to translate: the intonations and the peculiar wording are great obstacles. That is one reason why Mr. Waley advises us to read these pieces aloud. We trace also to this peculiar characteristic the common belief that China has not produced any great poetry of considerable length. The author refutes this belief in the present volume which contains a number of long narrative poems of high order and ballads possessed of delicate charm. These are known as *fu* and are quite different in conception from the delicately wrought, fragile stanzas which had hitherto passed current as the only specimens of Chinese poetical literature.

Mr. Waley has written a very learned Introduction, mainly historical, about the origins of the *fu*. He has amply substantiated his claim to regard these poems as powerful and realistic representations of the life and thought of the Ancient Empire. There is in these poems a directness of appeal and simplicity of narration which we do not find in the smaller pieces. ‘The Temple’ is a poetical description of a visit to the shrine of Wu-Chen, neatly executed with the touch of an artist. Similarly lines addressed to ‘The Lychee-Tree’ and ‘Hot Cake’ are expressive of great emotional power. Mr. Waley's selection is an admirable reading and throws an instructive light on the old Chinese poetry.

From the Song of France edited by Grace Warrack (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1923) 6s.

A beautiful Christmas gift for the lovers of French religious poetry. Miss Grace Warrack has happily placed the original text alongside English translations rendered by herself. She was inspired with the idea of compiling this anthology by the presentation made to the city of Edinburgh of a collection of French books which formed the nucleus of the now portentous La Bibliotheque Francaise d'Ecosse. Four illustrations in colour and eight in black and white enhance the value of the gift. Music of a few old French Noels is also given. The selection comprises mostly of devotional songs and religious verse. A long excerpt from Andre' Lafon's *La Maison Pauvre* is appreciatively rendered.

Haunted Islands. Part I. by J. Redwood Anderson (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1923) 2s. 6d.

"The Adventurers All" series was launched by the enterprising Oxford publishers for the benefit of the new and untried poets unknown to fame. If Mr. Anderson's *Haunted Islands* is a sample of the fare to be presented, the success and the value of the series is assured. These slight poems voice the peaceful and tempered fancy of a keen observer. There are no thrills, no sensational airs. A quietness pervades all the lines, quietness born of the sense of content, a little weary but never flagging in interest or appeal. Mr. Anderson makes real for us whatever he sees and whatever fancies crowd his imagination. We like his 'Island of the Stones' for its quaint optimism and shrewd idealistic appeal.

"What though its strife
Be but a futile tilting against time?
Has it not lifted up, alone,
For the first sacred majesties of life,
A throne
Built sublime
On everlasting stone?"

Autumn Midnight. By Frances Cornford. (The Poetry Bookshop, London, 1923) 2s. 6d.

Autumn Midnight is a slender sheaf of melodious lines, quaint yet fanciful, at times whimsical but always appealing and replete with a delicate charm. Mrs. Cornford reaches the heights of real, genuine inspiration in emotional poems like 'The Old Nurse', where pathos added to simplicity of diction renders the entire piece an almost perfect gem. 'The Hills'

is a beautiful poem blessing the mounds of earth which lie in the cold and let

"The cows come cropping on their bosoms wet,
And even tolerate that such as I
Should wander by
With paltry leathern heel which cannot harm
Their bodies calm;
And, with a heart they cannot know, to bless
The enormous power of their peacefulness."

Selected Poems. By Francis Coultts (John Lane The Bodley Head Limited, London, 1923) 7s. 6d.

Mr. Coultts has succeeded in establishing a name for himself among the philosophic poets of the age. His muse is always touched by those fine thoughts which give substance to a poet's message. He possesses besides the gift of epigram and of finely-wrought satire. These qualities combined with a contemplative nature give to Mr. Coultts' poems an individuality and a strength that mark great poetry. The poet is often subtle, frequently deep and scholarly, but never dull or prosaic. He never loses touch with the poetic faculty of rendering his poems pleasing to the ear. His mastery of rhythm is almost perfect, his genius for inventing new metrical cadences a marvel. In the present *Selected Poems* we find Mr. Coultts at his best. If there be any doubt of his gifts of vision and inspiration we have only to read his wonderful quatrains. We welcome this collection of Mr. Coultts' work.

The Marriage of Nausicaa and other Poems. By L. M. Crump C.I.E., (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1923) 5s.

The cruise of Odysseus provides Mr. Crump with an inspiration to read the souls of the faery goddesses whom Odysseus encountered in his long voyagings. Nausicaa, Chryseis, Andromache, Circe and Calypso, in turn, lay bare their hearts' desires and anguishes. Odysseus also takes a turn and muses upon Nausicaa's temptations: "Spear-straight, blade-bright, and perfect in her poise." Mr. Crump has rendered the monologues in blank verse of a very high order. The reading is delightful, particularly Circe's apology. On very few occasions the author has been tempted to achieve false effects by rhetorics, witness for instance Andromache's plea for freedom for woman in the choice of mate:

"We are the mines that breed in secret depths
The jewels of the future. All mankind
Is of our making. Then be ours the choice
What father we shall take to sow the seed.
And if we choose amiss, then set us free
To choose again....."

On the whole it is a successful version, delightful and pleasing to the ear.

Oxford Poetry 1923 edited by D. C. Thomson and F. W. Bateson (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1923) 2s.

There is nothing very audacious in the 1923 Annual either in design or in technique. The young poets, although they talk in somewhat difficult metaphors, do not altogether break away from the discipline of harmony and unity of thought and verse. One departure may be noticed in the inclusion of three poems in French from the pen of M. Jean de Manasse. Young representatives of the Cecil family, the Asquiths and Harmsworths also appear. The quality of verse included in the selection is encouraging. A M. Clark and F. W. Bateson contribute some really good lines. D. C. Thomson gives us an earnest of a promising future.

In Flanders Fields. By John McCrae, M.D. (Hodder & Stoughton, Ltd., London, 1923) 3s. 6d.

It is good to see a selection from the pen of the soldier-author of the famous lines "In Flanders Fields" which, when first published in *Punch* in 1915, conveyed a far greater appeal to the people than did the resonant eloquence of statesmen and politicians. Dr. McCrae's was a sensitive soul, and now that we know the genesis of the famous poem 'born of fire and blood' we no longer wonder at the universal appeal of its simple but haunting words:

"Take up our quarrel with the foe:
To you from failing hands we throw
The torch; be yours to hold it high.
If ye break faith with us who die
We shall not sleep, though poppies grow
In Flanders fields."

In the present volume are reprinted Dr. McCrae's earlier pieces, which, though not approaching his great poem in appeal or dignity, possess charm and a delicacy of design and will serve "to keep his memory alive, if only because there is among them that one which is part of the imperishable story of the great war."

The Three Dreams and other Poems. By Wm Luther Longstaff (T. Werner Laurie, London, 1923) 5s.

A selection mainly of little love poems after the fashion of Rosetti and Swinburne. There is an exuberance of passion unrequited, love with longing, lingering looks talking through a language understood of all the world of lovers. The emotions that faded flowers rouse in the poet's heart find expression in a succession of brilliant imaginings and picturesque phantasies. Mr. Longstaff succeeds in invoking the

elemental passions but he possesses no soothing balm for shaken nerves.

Poems. By Camilla Doyle (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1923) 3s. 6d.

Poems should really be renamed 'Muses by the Canalside'. The author has been intrigued by the quiet, idling ways of these man-made rivers, the easy-going traffic that crowds the waterway, the swinging harmony of the barges. No conscious effort is made to achieve a particular effect but gradual progress is made towards harmonising the lowly commonplaces of a bargee's life with things of romantic import. The fine delicacy of some of these pieces cannot be denied for the poet has successfully contrived to convey the emotions that lie unexpressed as we idly lounge about the green sloping sward of the canalside.

The Kiss in English Poetry selected by W. G. Hartog, M.A., Litt.D. (A. M. Philpot Ltd., London, 1923) 5s.

Here are presented to us most of the well-known poems in English poetry on the delicate subject of kisses. The idea is to invoke the renaissance of the cult of tenderer passions in poetry. The selection is representative. Mr. Simpson's Foreword is delightful. Many mistakes have however crept in which a second edition would do well in rectifying.

FICTION.

Flaming Youth. By "Warner Fabian" (Stanley Paul & Co., London, 1923) 7s. 6d.

Flaming Youth will perhaps be characterised in the conventionally respectable circles as a bad, bold book, perhaps as a loud, perverse book. Evil there is and lots of it in the majority of novels which the conventionally respectable society reads, but there the good and the goody-goody almost always emerge triumphant toward the climax, providing a smug and self-complacent solace to the soul of the reader. *Flaming Youth* does not even attempt to temper the glorified immoralities of the modern maiden with any pretense of indignation. There are no turning points, no excuses of ignorance of the primeval passions, no hysterics over innocence seduced. It is a boldly frank exposition of the modern woman as she is.

In matters of sex particularly it can be emphatically stated that "those who know will not tell; those who tell do not know." Inspired with

this truth a distinguished American writer sees through the eyes of the family physician the modern Woman, seeing through the body to the soul. He constructs for us the story of a modern mother and her three young daughters. Mona Fentriss is not the solitary mother in the world who has continued to dream, even after marriage and children, of 'affairs' and 'side-shows'. Dee is not the only young woman who has contracted a marriage *de covenance* and allowed her heart to romp with flames, old and new. Pat is not the only rebellious child who gives herself body and soul unconditionally where supreme passion is concerned. *Flaming Youth* tells us all this and more. Pat's vigorous and passionate maidenhood, critical of sin and of the wages of sin, yet wholly un-moral in outlook, bold and unrestrained by any fear of consequences—symbolises correctly the tendencies of the modern sex-relations. It all seems a bit strange to us in India where woman remains tied still to a very large extent to the age-old traditions of absolute dependence and undivided trust upon man. The emancipated woman of Europe and America, while she has succeeded in breaking the fetters that bound her, has not forged new traditions and rules of conduct necessary for preserving for herself the essential attributes that are the glory of femininity. "Warner Fabian" 's book is an absorbing study of the conflict of sex-passions, an extraordinarily fascinating reading and a courageous analytical commentary on modern social life in the West.

One of Ours. By Willa Cather (Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1922) \$ 2.50.

Miss Cather has come to be recognised as one of the foremost writers of American fiction. Her latest book *One of Ours* shows her in her best style. She depicts for us the life story of a gifted son of the farmer, who is cramped and confined within a limited horizon in his earlier years, and often finds himself wondering at the unfathomable bursts of energy and passion which occasionally disturb his calm and placid field life. In his search for a legitimate sphere for the working out of his puzzled destiny Claude Wheeler contracts a still more puzzling marriage, only to be disillusioned and leaving him more dissatisfied with his broken lot in life. Then comes the Big Adventure, the European War, the desertion of his wife, American intervention and Claude sails for France. The drama of this narrow self-centric individuality now flowers in vast spaces and reaches the climax in the pathetic anguish of the battlefield camaraderie and the tragic fate which encompasses Claude and his associates. Miss Cather has given us a beautiful tale, told in an engaging spirited manner and

rich with vivid characterisation, animated by a true understanding of the raging conflicts which make or mar man's destiny. *One of Ours* is decidedly a fine work of fiction, with a haunting charm and interest of its own.

Babel. By John Cournos (William Heinemann, London, 1923) 7s. 6d.

Fiction has never been considered as a fitting instrument for the expression of the strange and the fantastic in literature. For popular success it is almost essential that the plot and the *metier* be pleasing in taste and mundane to the point of being commonplace. Only few writers have risen above this earthy touch. Of such John Cournos is certainly one. In his series of pen-pictures in *The Mask* and *The Wall* the author has developed a new and singularly interesting phase of the art of fiction. The theme is continued in the present volume which is appropriately named *Babel*, for it speaks largely of the multi-coloured soul of London. We do not find the complacency of an ordinary love story here. There are no thrills unless they be the tribulations of the soul in conflict. *Babel* is an essay on the psychological development of a youthful temperament, and in its analytical phases is a literary treat of a very high order. Mr. Cournos deserves to be complimented on the new line he has struck and with such distinguished success. We will look forward with avidity to further instalments from his facile pen.

Ancient Tales From Many Lands. By R. M. Fleming. (Benn Brothers, London, 1922) 10s. 6d.

Ancient Tales is an attempt and a successfully brilliant attempt to link up history and geography through the medium of folk tales gathered from various climes. Miss Fleming combines the rare distinction of academic scholarship with profound belief in simple and direct methodology. Prof. Fleure of the Welsh University College has rendered her a just tribute when he says in the Preface that "there is behind this book, in spite of its simplicity of form and directness of appeal, a long course of reading and thought, a weight of learning, and an almost unique successful teaching experience." All persons interested in the education of the young will agree with Miss Fleming's appeal to recognise the value of traditions that lie behind legends and folk tales. Her plea is the more impressive as she lays emphasis on the international character of such instruction, and in her own eloquent words "it would surely be a fine

thing to give our children an opportunity to share the best traditions of the whole world, so that they might be inspired with a love for and an appreciation of the varied ideals of humanity as a whole.

The Road. By Lady Dorothy Mills (Duckworth and Co., London, 1923) 7s. 6d.

"Some jewels have souls, rubies, sapphires, emeralds, and even pearls. A diamond alone has not. That is why it is so difficult to cut, and that is why it is the most valuable of all." Lady Dorothy Mills takes such a diamond and sets out in quest of a craftsman skilful enough to cut her and reveal the soul within. It is a fascinating story with a singular charm, endearing and loveable. Lisbeth of the barren cliffs of Eastcliffe, who has sold herself to an ill-tempered, habitually drunk husband, revolts against her destiny of a humdrum housewife. Chance favours her, and after a whirlwind life of gaiety at Paris and Tunis her fateful star leads her on to the steps of the Great South which contains her craftsman. Lady Mills idealises for us the consuming passion of the Arab in one such Lord of the Desert, and in a fascinating chain of events links up the diamond and the cutter. The call of the wild, mysterious music stirs up the most engaging and insistent of Lisbeth's instincts. And when the curtain is finally rung down she resigns herself with a longing, endearing content. Altogether a delightful narrative.

Lonely Furrow. By Maud Diver (John Murray, London, 1923) 7s. 6d.

Mrs. Maud Diver is a quick-change artist and writer of Anglo-Indian fiction. The charm of her diction is always unailing even though her plots and incidents get stale by constant repetition. In her latest volume *Lonely Furrow* she catches the latest sensation of the Frontier and reflects in her story the dangers of life on the Outposts, a veritable No Man's land where fierce passions and personal feuds render human life very cheap. There are the usual flings in this book at the political temper of the 'natives' the sedition of non-co-operation and the revolt of Gandhi. But we are glad to note that for once her interest is chiefly non-political in this volume. Ian Challoner is a lovely, lonely figure, honestly upright and careful of honour and duty; there is Vanessa Vane, the typical modern young woman with ideas and possessed of a cynical *bonhomme* and yet wholly feminine and then there is Edyth Challoner, the symbol of conventional British womanhood in the East, self-centered, egotistic and entirely unappreciative of the glories around her.

Lonely Furrow is a vivid tale written with power and insight.

The Road to Delhi. By R. J. Minney (John Lane The Bodley Head, London, 1923). 7s. 6d.

Mr. Minney of the Calcutta *Englishman* presents in this volume his maturing opinions of Indian life. While *Maki* depicted the narrow regionalism of Hindu social society, *The Road to Delhi* delves into more controversial topics. Our author's portrayal of the young Motihari's chequered career as a 'boy', a beggar or as the son of an egg-seller is vivid and bright and reminiscent of the poverty of life that is the lot of so many in India. But when our young hero is sent to school and tumbles into politics, Mr. Minney feels as if he were on shifting sands and borrows the conventional homilies of the Anglo-Indian press to air his views on political themes. There is the gross, comprehensive un-understanding of the average Britisher resident in India, at once the despair and the hope of the Indian nationalist. We wish Mr. Minney had left Motihari in the purlieus of the New Market, succeeding to his foster-father's business, and working out his own limited destiny in some less exciting and heroic style. We perceive however that Mr. Minney possesses the gifts of interpretation; with years he will mature and perhaps understand.

Manon Lescaut. By L'abbé Prévost (Brentano's London, 1923). 5s.

The Abbe Prevost is a famous name in French fiction. His story of Manon Lescaut is a masterpiece of feminine charm and power. No more intriguing character has been built than this unique creature—"completely, entirely woman, frankly *rouée*; perfidious, loving; distracting, *spirituelle*, formidable and charming"—in the words of Guy de Maupassant, that inimitable romancer, who contributes a foreword. We are indebted to Brentano's House for giving us in their World Fiction Series an English translation of this fascinating tale. What subtle power Love possesses, how the "simple contagion of a feminine soul" turns a chivalrous, young gentleman of parts into a "cheat, a blackguard, the almost conscience-less partner of a charming, conscience-less *gredine*," is vividly told in these absorbing pages. And yet we like Manon, we submit to her fascinating graces and to the unsolvable mystery of her infinite charm. Abbe Prevost's creation lives to this day because of his intimate touch with the realities of human complex and his profound understanding of the all-consuming passion that is Love.

Judith of the Godless Valley. By Honoré Willsie (Hodder & Stoughton, Ltd., London, 1923). 7s. 6d.

We published in a previous issue a long appreciative notice of Mrs. Willsie's art. Another volume from the same gifted pen is now before us. For the magnificently still and sublime atmosphere of the *Enchanted Canyon* we have in *Judith* the tempestuous conflict of wild passions in a cattle country. The author draws her best inspiration from the open air, and it is good to know that behind her new story lies the personal experiences of an ardent admirer of the vast spaces and the golden hues. Judith, wild, reckless Judith, is the product of a law-less social group, fond of sharing the wildest adventure with the wild boys, yet remaining characteristically feminine in her love for dogs and horses. Doug Spencer remains the ideal youth where love is concerned despite his nerve-wrecking exploits in a typical cow country. The charm of the narrative lies in the sympathy and the understanding which Mrs. Willsie bestows on her interpretation of a phase of pioneer American life. It is an eminently readable story touched with a fine spirit of idealism.

The Angel of the Chimes. By Fortuné du Boisgobey.

The Convict Colonel. By Fortuné du Boisgobey.

The Prussian Terror. By Alexandre Dumas.

The Decameron from the Italian of Boccaccio. (The International Library: Stanley Paul & Co., London, 1923). 2s. 6d. each.

Messrs. Stanley Paul & Co., the well-known publishers of first class fiction have launched an ambitious series of translations of standard novels. The above first four volumes to hand give an earnest of the success which the International Library amply deserves. The volumes are neatly printed, of handy size to form a pleasant companion on a journey, and cheaply priced.

Of the four volumes before us two are by the French writer M. Boisgobey. *The Angel of the Chimes* is a pleasant tale full of thrills and sensations leading to an exciting climax. Considered as one of the finest of all French murder stories, the *Angel* delineates the heroic emergence of innocent Love triumphant over intrigue and scandal. The *flair* of the original French is preserved in the translation. The other tale by M. Boisgobey depicts in a series of delightful sketches the adventurous life of a French Cavalier, who during his amazing career never forgot that he was a gentleman and a man of honour. It is a story of the French Revolution when life was held cheap, and friend and foe changed sides within the

hour. Pierre Coignard remains a delightful figure for all his adventurous backslides and romantic mishaps.

Alexandre Dumas, the doyen of French fiction, is well-known to English readers. Almost all his works have been translated, but in *Prussian Terror* we are given one of his best works and the first and only English translation. The story turns round the Prusso-Austrian War of 1866 and relates in a forceful style the conflicting passions of love for the individual and hatred for his country in Dumas' own masterly style.

Who doesn't know Boccaccio's *Decameron* and calls himself a lover? In a very representative selection we are presented here with the best of Boccaccio's stories. Written in a charming style these love tales of ages long ago are a constant reminder and the ardent wish of every lover to-day and to-morrow.

Frozen Justice. By Ejnar Mikkelsen (Glyndendal, London, 1923). 7s. 6d.

A story of Alaska from the pen of a distinguished Danish novelist. The crudities and immoralities of life amid privation and hunger, the advent of the white man with the sword and the gin bottle, the fierce struggle for possession and mastery—all these find a vivid portrayal. The naked vulgarity of the white civilisation in contact with the primitive instincts of the Eskimo is baldly narrated. It is to the infinite credit of the author that he has not contrived to veil the bestiality of exploitation. The chivalric figure of Sakhawachiak stands out prominently amid the babel of fierce passions in tempestuous conflict.

The Soldier and Death. By Arthur Ransome (B. W. Huebsch, Inc. New York, 1923). 75 cents.

Mr. Ransome has been fascinated by the tumultuous revolutionary upheaval in Russia and for years now he has devoted himself to the task of understanding the spirit that moves that mighty land. He has told a vividly interesting story of the Revolution; in *The Soldier and Death* he turns his facile pen to interpret for us one of the many beautiful Russian folk tales which form the chief amusement and instruction for the vast peasantry of Russia. This one is a merry tale with an haunting appeal both for the children and the grown-ups. Mr. Ransome should give us more of these tales.

Zion. By D. L. Adler (Jarrolds Publishers, Ltd., London, 1923) 6s.

Dr. Adler is a famous exponent of Zionism—the movement for resuscitating the Jewish Palestine. In

the form of a love story of a pair of Anglo-Jewish lovers he presents the differing appeals which the ideal of a National Home for the Jews make to divergent temperaments. Singularly sympathetic and free from narrow racial outlook *Zion* presents the struggle and sacrifice which reconstruction demands from the pioneers in an idealistic light.

The Case and the Girl. By Randall Parrish (Stanley Paul & Co., Ltd., London, 1923) 7s. 6d.

Of the latest stories of adventures and thrills and mystery Randall Parrish's *The Case and the Girl* is perhaps the most intriguing. The very first pages with the mysterious advertisement grip the attention and keep the reader thrilled right to the very end. The events and incidents narrated during the unfolding of the tale and the mildly insinuating manners of Natalie set in relief against the background of black-mail will satisfy the most exacting of the sensational readers. The charming love tale with its sweetly satisfying ending will disarm the critic.

POLITICAL ECONOMY.

Costs and Profits. Their Relation to Business Cycles by Hudson Bridge Hastings (Houghton Mifflin Company, New York, 1923) *Pollak Foundation for Economic Research Publication* \$2.50.

The present study in the Pollak Foundation Series is marked Number Three, and immediately follows Mr. W. T. Foster's *Money*, which volume we appreciatively noticed at length in our last issue. *Costs and Profits* is indeed a companion volume to *Money* and applies the admirable analytical discussion given in the latter book to the specific problem of business cycles. The alternation of 'booms' and 'slumps' is perhaps the most tricky problem in applied Economics. There are as many explanations as there are people who devote serious attention to its study. American Economists have of late taken an increasing interest in understanding the true nature of the serious *malaise* in economic harmonies. Wesley C. Mitchell and W. I. King have led the way and the new school of distinguished scholars under the aegis of the Pollak Foundation are grappling with this problem in a thorough manner. Mr. Hastings' book is a brilliant contribution and a very learned study of the causes which operate to bring about the cyclical fluctuations in trade and prosperity.

Economists generally agree that speculation and forward buying and selling are the primary causes of

a commercial crisis; they also agree that monetary influences complicate the phenomenon. What they are unable to tell us is a coherent marshalling of the various causes in their logical series: they can not build up a causal relationship between the different stages and epochs which mark the progress of a crisis. Mr. Hastings follows up the thesis (outlined in *Money*) that the circuit flow of purchasing power does not keep a steady jet and it is through defective or unequal diffusion that disturbances occur. After a careful and lucid survey of the distribution of costs and profits of a representative business Mr. Hastings concludes that "the current business practice with respect to the handling of costs during a period of activity is such that the flow of purchasing power into the hands of the ultimate buyer in each successive period is not equal to the value of the various things produced for his satisfaction. The result is in part responsible for a constant accumulation of unsold goods on such a scale as to provide the cause of, or at least the proper setting for, a commercial crisis." Mr. Hastings may not be quite convincing to an exacting Cost Accountant, but his analysis is clear and logical. He recognises the difficulties of accurate estimation of costs or profits, but he does not lay much value upon the obstacles and impediments which to a Cost Accountant are very real and live problems. Then again our author ignores the psychological factors behind business moves and commercial operations. Notwithstanding these small criticisms we consider *Costs and Profits* to be an original and highly instructive contribution to the literature of business cycles. We commend this extremely lucid and admirable study to the attention of economists and businessmen alike.

Social Aspects of Industrial Problems. By Mrs. Gertrude Williams, B.A., (P. S. King and Son, Ltd. London, 1923) 6s.

This is one of those bright, highly illuminating and provocative books to which the younger generation of economists look forward with avidity and interest. The problems which Mrs. Williams critically surveys are problems real and live for every member of the community; the difficulties and conflicts which she has admirably visualised bear an uncommonly familiar appeal; the ways and means discussed in her book are of vital significance to us. Social Economics is simply economics with a purpose. The measuring rod of social welfare is held as a decisive test of the utility of an economic organisation. With this powerful rod in her hand Mrs. Williams surveys the vast field of

present day industrial activities. Her analysis is shrewd and penetrating, her arguments ably marshalled, her conclusions decisive and clear. Extremely lucid as is her survey of the Industrial organisation, both from the Capitalistic and the Labour points of view, more valuable appears to us the powerful plea entered for democratisation of the actual work of management, her emphasis on the recognition of the value of Works Committees and her insistence upon a fair and just treatment for women workers. Mrs. Williams deserves to be congratulated on her able book.

Capital's Duty to the Wage-Earner. By John Calder (Longmans, Green and Co., London and New York, 1923) 10s. 6d.

Mr. John Calder substantiates his claim for an attentive hearing upon "a continuous and varied experience in industry extending over nearly 40 years" A firm believer in the private capitalistic organisation of industry the author perceives danger in the growing conflicts between employers and labourers and recognising the unbidden tragedies that follow in the wake of such conflicts appeals to his fellow-businessmen "to glimpse a worthier capitalism and to substitute statesmanship for skilful opportunism, economic strategy and militancy". The book deals with American conditions primarily but is of vital interest to countries where labour is still in the un-informed, unorganised stage. It is refreshing to see how far the enlightened capitalistic employer has travelled in his ideas about the true and rightful place of labour in his organisation. Mr. Calder is open-minded enough to concede some sort of a 'home rule' in the shop, but he believes in distinct shop-committees for each management rather than collective control by a craft union. He insists rightly therefore upon the proper selection and training of the Foremen-class: they should not merely "just happen" but should be selected for their understanding of human values, their tact in handling labour and their ability to interpret the requirements of the management. Mr. Calder has very many interesting things to say on the organisation of joint committees of the management and the employees. He enters a forcible plea for encouraging the self-expression of the great mass of workers through organised unions and shop committees. Very thoughtful and suggestive arguments are adduced in favour of a better understanding between capital and labour, than which no nobler task awaits the future captain of industry. Indian employers would do well to grasp the import of Mr. Calder's valuable advice.

Industrial Government. By John R. Commons and Others (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1921) \$. 3.00.

This volume is the result of sympathetic collaboration toward which American economic thought is steadily tending as the ideal method for achieving sound and careful judgements. A group of teachers and professors headed by the distinguished economist, Prof. J. R. Commons, were deputed by four businessmen to investigate labour conditions in representative establishments and thus find out the best practices in dealing with labour. They visited some thirty establishments consisting of as large a variety of types as possible, "from industrial autocracy to the farthest left wing of revolutionary democracy". In the present volume they present the careful results of their valuable survey. By allotting the study of detailed aspects of the problem in individual hands Prof. Commons has succeeded in collating in a handy form the comprehensive issues which they set out to analyse. The task has been carried out in a strictly scientific spirit, and it does credit to the level-headedness of the members of the commission that recognising the experimental nature of the problem they have hesitated at drawing definite conclusions. They sum up their "inferences" in five lucid chapters which form very instructive reading. It is an admirably planned book and should be of interest to all businessmen and labour leaders.

Income in the United States. By W. C. Mitchell, W. I. King, F. R. Macaulay & O. W. Knauth (Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1921) *National Bureau of Economic Research Publication* \$. 1.50.

It is an encouraging sign of the times that an increasing attention is being paid to the value of staff work in research. Recently in America two influential organisations have been formed with the object of advancing the knowledge of social sciences by means of grouped research work. We have had occasion to notice with commendation the Pollak Foundation Series of publications. The volume under notice is published under the auspices of the National Bureau of Economic Research, a corporate body composed of very distinguished economists who have clubbed together to work out their belief that "social programmes of whatever sort should rest whenever possible on objective knowledge of facts and not on subjective impressions." Their first study appropriately deals with the Income in U. S. A. The book under notice furnishes an exhaustive statistical analysis of

the income of the people, the fluctuations in their money-income, its distribution among wage-earners and others, the changes in the per capita earnings and finally an instructive comparison with incomes in other countries. To ensure accuracy estimates of the national income were made by two members of the staff working independently and on different lines. Mr. King compiled his figures from a study of the income from sources of production; Mr. Knauth computed from the amounts of Income Received. It is a tribute to the careful judgement and exhaustive investigation of the two eminent scholars that the "maximum discrepancy in any year between the two sets of preliminary totals was 7.0 per cent" only. The distributional aspects of the problem have been impartially and critically treated. We accord a hearty welcome to this valuable study which should prove of great use and value in the proper understanding of social problems.

Trade, Tariffs and Transport in India. By Prof. K. T. Shah, (National Book Depot, New Bhatwadi, Bombay, and P. S. King & Son, Ltd., London, 1923) Rs. 10/-.

The University of Bombay is to be congratulated on its possession of an extremely able and active occupant of the chair of Economics. Valuable series of books on diverse questions of Indian polity have already appeared from the department of economics. Prof. Shah's *Sixty Years of Indian Finance* opened a new line of investigation of supreme interest for the welfare of India. His present voluminous book on *Trade, Tariffs and Transport* bears a similarly close relation to the finances and prosperity of the country. The learned Professor does not intend to present to us in this volume a comprehensive survey of the economics of transport, nor does he aim at any mere theoretic discussion of the economic principles that govern transport policy. His purpose is more circumspect. He analyses the present tendencies of Indian commerce, the influences which certain policies have borne on the volume and quality of trade, the motives and desires which lay behind such policies, and finally their effect on the welfare and the prosperity of the country. In the domain of tariffs Prof. Shah is an avowed Protectionist and his criticism of the Fiscal Commission Report is merciless, though essentially sound if his premises are granted. The author does not sacrifice enthusiasm to discretion where the question of building up a national independent system of Economy is concerned. Under Transport Prof. Shah discusses the viciousness of the Government Railway policy that has hitherto been followed in providing

for military security rather than for developing the industries of the country or the convenience and welfare of the people. The author does not mince matters in respect of a national mercantile marine: he believes that the need of such a service is urgent and the scheme quite feasible and practicable. These are some of the most important problems facing India, and Prof. Shah's analysis, at once refreshing and thought-provoking, demands earnest consideration. We heartily commend this book to the attention of publicists and scholars, as well as members of legislatures and businessmen.

A Critique of Economics. By Prof. O. Fred Boucke (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1922).

In noticing Prof. Boucke's *Development of Economics* in an earlier issue we had the occasion to remark that the learned author was too learned for easy comprehension. He provided us with a knotty, highly subtle argument none too easy to grasp or understand with all its implications. The same general remark applies to *A Critique of Economics*, a logical supplement to and a continuation of his earlier work. From a historical survey of the branches of human thought most allied to Economics as outlined in the *Development* he has now proceeded to demolish the present day conceptions about the theoretic bases and affinities of economics. After demonstrating that the imposing structure was crumbling to pieces he offers for the purposes of reconstruction a fresh amalgam of economic tendencies as tested by modern psychological thought. Prof. Boucke is a very difficult writer. His work is marked throughout by extensive learning and industry, a learning whose burden is perhaps too heavy for lucid and plain statements. The present volume is sharply divided into two parts: the first acridly critical of the four posts of modern economics, viz., Value, Price Distribution and Production; the second part discusses the methods of psychology, the logic of inductive and deductive principles, law and causation and finally an outline of a methodology for economic science. Although the argument is too heavy and elusive for precise summary, it is nevertheless a work of erudition, incisive and provocative, demanding serious and careful attention of all scholars.

Philosophy and Political Economy. By James Bonar, M.A., LL.D., *Third Edition* (George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1923) 16s.

Dr. Bonar's *Philosophy and Political Economy* has been a classic on the relationship of economics and

philosophical thought. First published in 1893 it has deservedly gained recognition as a work of great learning and scholarship. In the present edition Dr. Bonar has completely revised the text and added on a few notes and a short supplement. The author has set out to answer the question "how far men's thoughts about the world and human life in general, have affected their thoughts about the economical element of human life in particular, and how far this influence of thoughts upon thoughts may have been mutual." During the course of an exhaustive historical survey commencing from Plato and down to the neo-Marxism of the Russian Bolshevik, he has never lost sight of his fundamental purpose, namely, the linking up of the divergent streams of thought which in course of time have become compartmented. Dr. Bonar's work remains a classic for it is written with great care and judgement and is an impartial and complete survey. An invaluable book for students of philosophy and economics.

England's Foreign Trade in the Nineteenth Century.

By Arthur L. Bowley, M.A. (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1923).

Mr. Bowley's Cobden Prize thesis, originally published in 1893 and revised in 1905 possesses considerable interest in view of the commanding position which Mr. Bowley now occupies amongst the leading statisticians of the world. His first monograph treats of British commerce in 19th century in a chronological sequence. It is interesting to record that the book should have been reprinted on two occasions on the eve of the great fiscal battles in English domestic politics (1905 and 1923), appropriately so because the import of the free-trade doctrine can not be fully comprehended without a thorough study of the trend of commerce in 19th century. The value of Mr. Bowley's book consists largely in an able analytical summary of trade statistics with a discussion of the causes and effects of the growth in foreign trade. It is a welcome reprint.

Essays in Applied Economics. By Prof. A. C. Pigou, M.A. (P. S. King and Son, Ltd., 1923) 10s. 6d.

Prof. A. C. Pigou, the distinguished Professor of Political Economy at Cambridge, has been well advised in collecting together his varied contributions to periodicals and magazines. The considered thoughts of an eminent economist of the rank and calibre of Prof. Pigou are too valuable to be allowed to lie scattered amongst the pages of the ephemeral press. We welcome therefore *Essays in Applied Economics*

as a book of current topical interest written by a scholar and a true scientist. Prof. Pigou has not included his essays on financial or other problems arising out of the war, for these have already been embodied in a separate publication, *The Political Economy of War*. The papers included here cover a large ground and with the exception of two essays on the Foreign Exchange and the Exchange Value of Money all are designed to be of easy comprehension and meant for laymen interested in socio-economic problems.

A Study in National Finance. By T. J. Kiernan M.A., (P. S. King and Son, Ltd., London, 1923) 2s. 6d.

Mr. Kiernan considers taxation to be mainly a subjective study in the sense that each individual nation offers a distinctive economy which should govern her system of national finance. Mr. Kiernan is also a spirited Irishman. In this little monograph he studies the problem of Irish Finance from the point of view of Irish interests. His plea for building up a distinct Gaelic economy is forcible. During his analysis he devotes considerable space to the problem of Double Taxation in recognition of the fact that the British economic system penetrates to a very large extent Irish commercial life. Mr. Kiernan's little essay is not closely argued, but it indicates the lines along which a distinctive Irish economy may be built up.

The Great Industrial Problem. By Walter Howard, F.C.A., (P. S. King & Son, Ltd., London, 1922) 6d.

This little pamphlet is designed to show the labour the 'way of the craftsman'. Mr. Howard is of opinion that the existence of great capitalists is not the cause of poverty, rather they are the assurance for the people of maintenance. Workers should be content to do their share of the work in the great organism of industry and "if the results are not sufficient it will be because the education of the country is not perfect."

LAW.

The Law of Impartible Property (Vol. I) and The Law of Hindu Endowments and Religious Institutions (Vol. II). By Rai Bahadur Jogendra Chunder Ghose. Second edition of Tagore Law Lectures 1904. (R. Cambray & Co., 10, Hastings Street, Calcutta).

Rai Bahadur Jogendra Chunder Ghose's Tagore Law Lectures on the Hindu law of impartible property including endowments were delivered in 1904 and

issued, in a single volume, in 1906. It soon went out of print. In 1916 the learned author issued separately in one volume an amplified and revised text (of the first part dealt with in the original lectures) as *The Law of Impartible Property*. He has now, after a lapse of seven years, been able to issue the second and concluding volume as *The Law of Hindu Endowments and Religious Institutions*. The latter—like the former—has had practically to be rewritten to be brought up-to-date. The work is now a comprehensive statement of the various branches of Hindu Law dealt within it and the author is entitled to an appreciation of his services at the hands of the profession. The case-law has been exceedingly well digested and discussions of the points raised is fully abreast of the reported decisions. The first volume is, however, obviously behind the time and it would be well, if it were overhauled. Taken together, the two volumes constitute a notable addition to the literature of Anglo-Hindu Law and deserve a wide circulation in our legal world.

Law of Guardianship and Procedure, and The Law of Minors in British India. By P. Ramanatha Aiyar, B.L.

Sales in Execution: Principles and Practice. By M. Swaminatha Iyer, B.L., second edition. (The Madras Law Journal Office).

Madras is—we had almost said notorious—famous for having developed law compilation into a fine art. Various publishing firms in Madras—mostly Indian—have rendered meritorious service in the cause of the exposition and interpretation of Anglo-Indian law, and to the ranks of these must now be added the Madras Law Journal Office, which of late has been enterprising enough to issue several highly useful publications. The three books under notice are examples of the highest class of law-book making. Mr. Ramanatha Aiyar's two works, taken together, constitute a most complete work on the law of guardians and wards in force in British India. Mr. Swaminatha Iyer's *Sales in Execution*—which has already reached a second edition in less than five years—is an almost exhaustive exposition of the principles and practice governing the subject. All the three works are comprehensive in their design and scope and are systematic and sound commentaries on the statute law and case law on the subjects dealt with. They will be found highly useful by the bench and the bar alike and should secure wide distribution.

The Indian Administration. Fifth edition. By Prof. V. G. Kale, M.A. (Aryabhushan Press, Poona City), 1923.

The latest—fifth—edition of Professor Kale's book—which was appreciatively noticed by us on its first appearance—is thoroughly revised and brought up-to-date. In preparing this edition, the Author has rearranged and expanded his exposition of the constitutional and administrative changes, inaugurated by the Reforms Act of 1919. The developments in the Indian Government, have been dealt with chronologically and an effort has been made to bring out prominently, the peculiarities of the new organisation and to give an insight into the working of the Central, Provincial and Local Administrations. As the economic, social and political bearings of various administrative problems have been instructively dealt with in the book, University students will find the present edition a very helpful guide in studies. To the general reader, the present edition will be very useful, as it gives full information regarding the Government.

The Expert Witness. By C. A. Mitchell, M.A. (W. Heffer and Sons, Ltd., Cambridge), 1923.

Mr. Mitchell's latest work—*The Expert Witness*—is practically a sequel to his *Science and the Criminal*. It deals with the application of Science and of Art to human identification, criminal investigation and civil actions. The author is admittedly an authority on wrtings, inks, and finger prints and his book, dealing in a masterly way with these and connected subjects, ought to interest judges, magistrates, lawyers and police officers, throughout the English-knowing world.

Dramatic Days at the Old Bailey. By C. Kingston. (Stanley Paul & Co., London), 1923.

Mr. Charles Kingston's latest anecdotal compilation is as interesting as its predecessors. His *Dramatic Days at the Old Bailey*, is practically an anecdotal history of the greatest Criminal Court in the world, and should prove particularly interesting. There are many stories of famous judges and counsel, including that of the daring and ingenious barrister who ate poisoned cake to save his client. Special chapters are devoted to the adventures of American criminals in Europe, sensational prison escapes, and histories of some of the most notable adventurers and adventuresses of Great Britain and America.

A Concise Digest of the Rulings of the Patna High Court (criminal). By C. M. Agarwala, Bar-at-Law. (Khadgavilas Press, Patna), 1923.

Mr. Agarwala (junior) is pursuing the even tenor of his law-book making and his latest contribution would be useful for reference to Criminal Court Officers and practitioners.

The Law of Private Defence. By A. C. Moitra, M.A., B.L. (Butterworth & Co., India, Ltd., 6, Hastings Street, Calcutta), 1923.

As Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri justly points out in his foreword to Mr. Anukul Chandra Moitra's book under notice, "a special treatise on the law of private defence has long been overdue". This is the more surprising as it is admittedly the most important branch of criminal jurisprudence. We, therefore, the more gladly welcome Mr. Moitra's *Law of Private Defence* which deals ably and lucidly with the various intricate and interesting questions connected with the subject. Apart from commenting upon the sections of the Penal Code embodying the Law of Private Defence, the author presents a critical and analytical study of the rulings of the highest judicial tribunals, from which he has quoted freely and at length to expound the principles involved in the consideration of the right of private defence. The book is systematic, elucidative and well up-to-date and it will be found exceedingly useful by Magistrates, Judges and Criminal Court practitioners. We commend this meritorious publication as an indispensable work of reference.

The Law of the Car. Edited by W. Gordon Aston. (Percival Marshall & Co., 66, Farringdon Street, London, E. C. 4) 1923.

At last an authoritative and helpful work called the *Law of the Car and Every Motorist's Own Lawyer*, which is compiled by qualified lawyers and edited by a practical motorist and expert in motorcraft literature—Captain W. Gordon Aston—is available for the use of all persons interested in motoring. This is a book needed by drivers, and deals with every stage of the use of the vehicle from manufacture to export. How few motorists know their legal position and how few know the liberties the police may and may not take. *The Law of the Car* will answer every question accurately. Revised, as it will be, from year to year, it is destined to become the practical motorist's *vade mecum*, and it should find a place on every motorist's bookshelf as the one indispensable book of reference on the law dealing with automobiles.

Fletcher Moulton's Abridgment for 1924. By H. Fletcher Moulton. (Ernest Benn, Ltd., 8, Bouverie Street, London) 1924.

Fletcher Moulton's Abridgment—a new annual—is an excellent book of reference bringing every year up-to-date the new growth of the law as embodied in statutes and judicial decisions. It is intended to enable lawyers and business men to ascertain at a glance the extent to which the year's legal happenings may have affected their affairs. It offers in a highly compressed form the gist of the year's laws and rulings systematized and arranged under convenient headings. The publication, if kept up, will be found highly useful by the legal world in Great Britain and also where English and Scotch laws are studied.

NORTH INDIAN VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

Marasi Anees. Volume one. (Nizami Press, Budaon) 1922.

Meer Babbar Ali of Lucknow—better known under his pen-name (**takhalus**) as "Anees"—is not only the greatest elegiac poet in Urdu literature, but is regarded by many competent critics as the greatest of the poets, who have wielded the resources of the Urdu dialect. Admittedly he occupies a most prominent position in Upper Indian literature and, as such, it was pre-eminently desirable that a complete text of his works—at any rate, of his elegiac poems, which constitute the great bulk of them—should be easily accessible to admirers of his poetry. We welcome, therefore, the first volume of the collected edition of his numerous elegies, issued in a well-got-up edition, through the commendable zeal and enterprise of the proprietor of the Nizami Press of Budaon. The text seems to have been printed after careful collection and is accurate and sound. The printing is neat and the mechanical execution reflects credit on the press responsible for its publication. We trust the remaining volumes will soon appear. The proprietor of the Nizami Press has the ambition to publish the texts—in a series of volumes of uniform size—of the chief Urdu classics from Wali downwards. It is a most laudable desire and it deserves appreciation and encouragement at the hands of the patrons of Urdu learning and literature. We have much pleasure in drawing the attention of the lovers of Urdu to the commendable enterprise of the proprietor of the Nizami Press, Budaon.

Vinay Patrika. Edited by Pandit Mahabir Prasad Malaviya. (Belvedere Press, Allahabad) 1923.

Next to his *Ramayana*, the *Vinay Patrika* is the

most popular work of that greatest poet in Hindi—Goswami Tulsi Das. In our last issue we noticed in terms of appreciation the excellent edition of the *Ramayana* issued by the Belvedere Press of Allahabad, with commentaries by Pandit Mahabir Prasad Malaviya. The same scholar has also issued, with commentaries, through the same press, an excellent edition of the *Vinay Patrika*. As in the printing and get-up of the *Ramayana*, so in that of the book under notice, the text is available in an excellent format; while the scholarly rendering of the classic into easy prose, in the current literary speech of the Hindoos of Upper India, renders this book a most notable addition to the reprints recently made accessible of the works of the greatest Hindi poets. Lovers of the poems and songs of Tulsi Das—whom millions in Upper India acknowledge as the Master—can do worse than possess these two volumes containing his most popular works, which have been so ably edited by Pandit Mahabir Prasad Malaviya and turned out in such handsome get-up by the Belvedere Press of Allahabad, which has already achieved a high reputation for publishing carefully edited texts of the masters of Hindi literature.

Waza Istellahat. By Syed Wahiduddin Salim. (Anjuman Taraqui Urduo, Aurangabad, Deccan), 1922.

Maulvi Syed Wahiduddin Salim is a Professor in the Osmania College at Hyderabad (Deccan). His work—*Waza Istellahat*—is a serious contribution to the subject of the coining of words to enrich the Urduo speech and render it capable of giving expression to the most abstruse ideas in the realm of knowledge. There can be no doubt that the most crucial problem before those who desire to develop our current Indian vernaculars and enable them to express ideas which at present are foreign to the vast bulk of the speakers of these dialects is to hit upon some sound basis on which to form new words and absorb them in the vernaculars. In the case of Hindi, for instance, such a source can be tapped only in Sanskrit, but Urduo can avail itself the resources of Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic. Nor is there any reason why the classical languages of Europe and English also should not be utilized for the purpose. But literary opinion has not yet focussed itself on the subject, though some valuable work in this direction has been done by the Nagri Pracharini Sabha, Benares, in so far as the development of Hindi is concerned. The book under notice is likely to serve a very useful purpose in evoking interest in the expansion and development of the Urduo dialect.

A Voice from the East: The Poetry of Iqbal. Edited by Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan, Kt., C.S.I. (Messrs. Rama Krishna and Sons, Anarkali, Lahore), 1922.

Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal is regarded by many in Upper India as the greatest living poet in Urduo. Some of his poems—notably *Hindustan hamara*—have attained very wide popularity. But he has written many others which though not popular—in fact, caviare to the general—are appreciated by a small circle of scholars for their mysticism and metaphysical sublimity. His mystic poems in Persian—in which language also he composes with remarkable felicity—have already had the distinction of having been translated into English and introduced to the English-knowing world by publication in London. The Hon'ble Sir Zulfiqar Ali of Malerkotla has now contributed his quota to a better understanding of Iqbal's philosophic poems in Urduo and a truer appreciation of them by translating them into English and interpreting them according to his lights. It would be easy to criticise Sir Zulfiqar's work both for omission and commission, but we forbear. His desire to popularize Iqbal's Urduo poetry amongst non-Urdoo-knowing people is a commendable one and his renderings of the poems into English are, on the whole, very good and interesting. Though Sir Zulfiqar does not attempt to deal with Iqbal's language, rhetoric and general expression, his book nonetheless is bound to appeal to a large circle of readers.

REPRINTS OF CLASSICAL AND CURRENT LITERATURE.

In 1921 Messrs. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., (of St. Martin's Street, London) issued the definitive edition *de luxe* of Lord Morley's works. The text was specially and finally revised for it by Viscount Morley and it was issued in twelve handsome but expensive volumes, the price of the each being, we believe, two guineas. It was meant for the choice collector but was obviously too costly for the average admirer of the writings of "John Morley". We are, therefore, glad to find that the publishers have now issued a cheaper reprint in twelve volumes of the definitive text in an excellent get-up and pleasing format at seven shillings and six pence a volume. The series—as now arranged recasting the subject-matter of some of the old volumes—comprises *Politics and History*, *Critical Miscellanies*, *Biographical Studies*, *Oliver Cromwell*, *Burke*, *Voltaire*, *Rousseau and his Era* (in two volumes), *Diderot and the Encyclopedists* (in two volumes), *Oracles on Man and Government* and

On Compromise. It would be well if Lord Morely's famous *Recollections* were also added to the series in a couple of volumes. However that be, the present reprint—which is fairly inexpensive—should appeal to a large circle of readers. In India the writings of Viscount Morley have for years past deservedly enjoyed a high reputation and it was desirable that an edition of the final text as revised by the author should be accessible to those who can not afford to purchase that issued in 1921. The publishers have laid the reading public in India under an obligation by bringing out the popular edition of the collected works of Lord Morley.

Messrs. Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd., (of London and Edinburgh) have just embarked upon a notable enterprise in the way of popularizing the classical British poets. The series—which may be known as **Nelson's Poets**—comprises excellent selections judiciously chosen and edited by Sir Henry Newbolt. This in itself is no small recommendation for few living critics in Great Britain are better qualified than Sir Henry to introduce to the reading public the great poets who have enriched English with their verses. The first six volumes issued contain well-chosen selections—both the longer and the shorter poems—of Herrick, Keats, Shelley, Browning, Mathew Arnold and William Morris. Each volume is ushered in with an excellent biographical and critical introduction, a perusal of which is bound to contribute to a keener enjoyment of the selections which follow. The size of the volumes is handy, the printing is neat, the get-up is pleasing, and altogether *Nelson's Poets* bids fair to be the favourite series for those who are not specialists or students and do not, therefore, require full texts of the poets, but would prefer well-edited, choice selections made by so competent an adviser and guide as Sir Henry Newbolt. We have much pleasure in commending "*Nelson's Poets*" to the reading public in this country.

In a recent issue of the *Hindustan Review* we published a long, critical appreciation of the abridged edition of Sir James Fraser's famous book—*The Golden Bough*—from the pen of that very qualified writer on Anthropology, Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy. We have now before us an abridgment of another well-known work of his. Sir James Fraser is following the great success of his abridged edition of *The Golden Bough* by a similar edition of his **Folk Lore in the Old Testament** originally published in three volumes. The work ranks next in popularity to

The Golden Bough and the one-volume edition is assured of a warm welcome from the growing body of readers interested in Folk-Lore. As readers interested in the subject are aware the aim of the author has been to trace some of the beliefs and institutions of ancient Israel backward to earlier and cruder stages of thought and practice which have their analogies in the faiths and customs of existing savages. If he has in any measure succeeded in the attempt, it should henceforth be possible to view the history of Israel in a truer, if less romantic, light as that of a people not miraculously differentiated from all other races by divine revelation, but evolved like them by a slow process of natural selection from an embryonic condition of ignorance and savagery. In fact, recent studies in Folk-Lore have made it clear that all peoples now deemed civilized have emerged into their present condition from the lowest beginnings and most primitive *origines* and Sir James Fraser has illustrated and expounded this view by ransacking the history of ancient Israel. In its present shape and form the book ought to make a wide appeal to students of Folk-Lore and Anthropology. Messrs. Macmillan & Co. (of St. Martin's Street, London) are the publishers.

Mr. Ralph Stock's **Confessions of a Tenderfoot** appeared some years back. It has now come out in a cheaper reprint, embellished with numerous, excellent illustrations. "All this book pretends to be," writes the author in his preface, "is a narrative of personal experience, and if it gives glimpses of life in distant lands that cannot be otherwise obtained, then its purpose is served." In his usual vivid and racy manner Mr. Stock tells of his days as a cattle-rancher in the far West, of odd jobs among the Rockies, of life in lumber camps, of hard times in the South Sea Islands with their "numbing influence on one's sense of responsibility," and of fruit farming in Queensland. The reprint should bring the book before a large public and particularly the readers for whom it was primarily intended—the youth who from necessity or choice contemplate seeking a living in the far places of the earth. But it will prove equally interesting to lovers of good books of travel.

The Travels of Fa-h-sien—also known as the "Records of the Buddhistic Kingdoms"—is a classic in Indo-Chinese literature. The famous Chinese pilgrim toured in India between 399 to 414 A.D. and the record of his pilgrimage is a valuable contribution to ancient Indian history. Its transla-

tion into English appeared in 1869 by Beal, in 1877 by Dr. Giles, in 1886 by Legge and now comes a final rendering by Dr. Giles, which is the nearest approach to a perfect translation from the Chinese into English. By issuing this edition the Cambridge University Press has made a valuable contribution to the study of ancient Indian history.

Lamb's literary criticisms—scattered through many volumes and periodicals—are now made accessible to a large section of the reading public in Mr. E. M. W. Tillyard's useful, little book called *Lamb's Criticism* (University Press, Cambridge). The selections which have been carefully edited, annotated and judiciously made, cover a large range and will be found highly useful by students of Charles Lamb.

The Confessions of Saint Augustine is a classic in the autobiographical literature of the world. Messrs. Burns Oates and Washbourne, Ltd. (of London) have rendered a service to the reading public by placing before it an excellent pocket edition of Sir Robie Matthew's translation, revised and amended by Mr. D. R. Hudleston, who has also prefixed an introduction. The book should achieve popularity.

The late Mrs. Dyer's *Life of Pandita Ramabai*—which first appeared more than twenty years back—has just been issued, bringing down the record to the death of the Pandita (Pickering and Inglis, 14, Paternoster Row, London, E. C. 4). It would be found useful and instructive by social reformers and leaders of women's movement.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE: MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE.

The latest addition to the "World's Classics"—which is very welcome—is an excellent translation in three volumes of *Tolstoy's War and Peace* (Oxford University Press, 1, Garstin Place, Calcutta). Mr. Aylmer Maude—an admitted authority on Tolstoy—contributes an inspiring introduction. Lovers of Russian classic fiction must possess themselves of this fine rendering into English.

Mr. Charles Billson's rendering into English of the *Aeneid of Virgil*—originally issued some seventeen years back—has just appeared in a revised edition (Basil Blackwell, Broad Street, Oxford). No less an authority than the late Mr. Frederic Harrison declared it to be "far the best of all versions", and he was by no means wrong in his view. The new edition just issued should be able to secure for itself a large circulation.

Mr. Horace Kephart's *Camp Cookery* (The Macmillan Company, New York, U.S.A.), though adapted mainly to American conditions of life, will be found useful even in other countries, not excluding India. It is the work of a master of the subject and the value of the letter-press is enhanced by reason of the numerous pen drawings of camp utensils and outfits which embellish it.

The Cambridge University Press (Fetter Lane, London, E. C.) have issued reprints of two of their excellent anthologies. These are *Life in Shakespeare's England*, which is a collection of extracts of Elizabethan prose and *The Poetry of the Age of Shakespeare*, which covers the poetical literature of the same period. Intended for the general reader, the selections are judiciously made and the anthologies offer much riches in short compass.

Mr. L. A. Morrison's *Appreciation of English* (J. W. Arrowsmith, Ltd., 6, Upper Bedford Place, London) is an instructive treatise on reading, speaking and writing the language of Shakespeare and Milton. It also deals with essay-writing and contains a collection of judiciously chosen passages from the classics for study. Students of the English language will find it an exceedingly useful book.

In Mind and Work (University of London Press Ltd., 6s.) Prof. Charles S. Myers, Sc.D., F.R.S., of the University of Cambridge treats of the very difficult subject of industrial psychology in a language at once lucid, simple and non-technical. Of late years, particularly during and since the great war, the problem of the "relation of psychology to the well-being and efficiency of industrial and commercial workers," has received increasing attention from expert psychologists and physicians. After an interesting survey of the new scientific methods in motion and fatigue studies, Dr. Myers explores the avenues of betterment of present conditions and emphasises the need of vocational guidance and selection. He is a thorough advocate of scientific management applied in the light of results obtained from industrial psychology and pleads for careful research work under the direction of a National Institute of Applied Psychology and Physiology. A good bibliography is appended and enhances the value of the work.

Who doesn't believe in mascots? The age of superstition may have passed but mascots remain with us and a good thing too that they are increasingly popular, for the gladsome assurance that their possession gives proves a solace and a consolation in

these hard and weary times. Miss Elizabeth Villiers has given us **The Mascot Book** (T. Werner Laurie, Ltd., London, 1923, 5s.)—a book which, in her own words, “deals with mascots, with fortune-telling, with lucky charms, and colours and numbers—also anecdotes of ancient peoples, stories of old religions, history, mythology, and folklore, so that its pages should interest the agnostic and the frank unbeliever as well as those who have faith in the occult.” The claim is amply justified. The immense amount of labour and industry necessary for compiling a work of this nature, the first of its kind, deserves recognition. The author tells us that the inspiration for writing the book came from India. Her sparse description of a few Indian mascots is not however complete and we suggest an Indian collaboration for a revised edition. We congratulate Miss Villiers on her novel and successfully-planned book.

Voltaire is one of the greatest figures of history. In French Literature and Criticism his pre-eminent place is undisputed. The great debt which rationalism owes to Voltaire is not fully recognised yet among the English-speaking people. It is well therefore that a new and refreshing study of Voltaire should appear from the pen of Mr. J. M. Robertson: **Voltaire** (Watts and Co., London, 1923, 2s.). To write of the “voice that was mighty among the ages” is not easy. That Mr. Robertson has succeeded in presenting a well-balanced estimate of the Master is a tribute to his critical acumen and deep scholarship.

In **New Mathematical Pastimes** (Cambridge University Press, 1922, 12s.) Major P. A. Macmahon, R.A., F.R.S., gives us a new, original treatise on the art of permutations and combinations. He takes various geometrical shapes and figures and contrives by ingenious arrangements to show a variety of highly instructive results. Major Macmahon possesses a sharp analytical mind and his thesis in this volume has achieved success. His object was to introduce “what he believes to be a pleasant by-path of mathematics which has almost entirely escaped the attention of the well-known writers upon mathematical recreations and amusements.” We have only one criticism to make: that the treatment is too abstract and does not give fuller details for ordinary lay reading. We hope Major Macmahon will remedy this defect in a succeeding edition.

The Groundwork of Social Reconstruction (Cambridge University Press, 1922, 2s.) by Mr. William

Glover is a commendable little book recapitulating in an easy and readable manner the principles that should govern a scheme of reconstruction. Mr. Glover treats of economics and ethics, egoism and prudentialism, of social science and religion, in chapters of engaging interest. Believing in the “self-realisation and self-development of individual citizens” as the concrete in the foundations of the social edifice, Mr. Glover yet pleads for the doctrine of ethical idealism, “the doctrine that the self-realisation of each trade unit, each economic factor, must be attained through the service of the organic life of society as a whole.” Mr. Glover’s plea for the simplification of religious creeds, the socialisation of religion and the spiritualisation of service is eloquent.

In **Number one Joy Street: A medley of Prose and Verse** (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1923, 6s.) we find the very best writers of stories for children co-operating to produce a work that is indeed a delight and a joy. Walter de la Mare, Edith Sitwell and Laurence Houseman have been co-opted to tell the children of their fanciful dreams and gossamer-like fairies. Eleanor Farjeon and Rose Fyleman are represented by their best stories. H. Belloc and Hugh Chesterton contribute some delightful verse. Admirable woodcuts and half-a-dozen coloured plates enhance the attraction of the volume. It is a book that will give delight to all children and even the grown-ups will feel disposed to “tread the measure” they have long since forgotten.

Pear’s Book of Health (Thornton Butterworth, Ltd., 15, Bedford Street, London, W. C. 2), which is edited by Mr. Max Rittenberg, contains contributions from eminent doctors and specialists. It deals with body and mind in relation to health and epitomises the common sense point of view for the care of the body both of adults and children. The book deserves to be on the bookshelf of all those—and who does not?—who care for a sound mind in a sound body.

Mr. P. G. Fillard’s **How to Avoid All Diseases** (C. W. Daniel Co., Tudor Street, London) attempts to show that the blood can be kept pure, and consequently all disease avoided, by means of a sufficiency of vitamins and natural mineral salts, by proper mastication at the right times; by giving the digestive apparatus a complete rest daily; by avoiding adulterated and preserved foods, drugs and poisons; and by living and working contentedly in hygienic conditions.

It will be found very useful by those interested in preserving health.

We welcome the second (revised and enlarged) edition of Mr. John McFarlane's **Economic Geography** (Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, Ltd., Parker Street, Kingsway, London, W. C. 2). This important work will appeal with special force to all those who have recognized the necessity of organizing teaching, on a more rational and scientific basis. Unfortunately for our students, it has long been considered that a mere enumeration of countries and towns, a scanty knowledge of exports and imports, and a scrappy acquaintance with what has been termed "Mathematical Geography" have been a sufficient equipment for the commercial side of schools. This new work gives an outline of the principles of economic geography in a readable form. The scope of the subject is liberally interpreted, and, for this reason, several matters are touched on which are frequently considered beyond its limit. Statistical matter, as far as possible, has been avoided as being out of keeping with the aim of the book. Taking the book as a whole, it can be safely commended as a well-arranged, comprehensive and systematic text-book on the subject it deals with.

Chapters in Norwegian Literature by two scholars—evidently natives of Norway—is a valuable acquisition to the histories of literatures. The authors have produced a book which appeals equally to the student of literature and to the general reader who desires to look beyond his own country. These "Chapters," after an introduction designed to assist the reader's point of view, trace the development of literature in Norway during the nineteenth century to its culmination in Ibsen and Bjornson, making it clear that these are not isolated peaks, but the most conspicuous summits of a continuous chain, of which we do not yet see the end. A final chapter, by no means the least interesting, deals with the writers of the present day. The book, which is throughout designed for those unacquainted with Norwegian, is furnished with a bibliography of the English translations available, which will be welcome to students of the subject. The book is issued by Messrs. Gylendal of 11, Hanover Square, London.

Mr. John Buchan's **History of English Literature** (Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd., London and Edinburgh), which is introduced by Sir Henry Newbolt, is an excellent piece of literary workmanship. Profusely illustrated, enriched by select bibliographies, marked

by striking characterizations of the authors and their works, Mr. Buchan's *History of English Literature* is by no means a superfluous book. On the contrary as occupying a middle place between the summarized text-book and the elaborate compendiums (some in several volumes) it is an excellent work alike for the student and the general reader. It is accurate and comprehensive.

Mr. J. T. Hackett's **My Commonplace Book** was originally issued in Australia. The reprint before us is the fourth English edition. The book contains a large number of extracts from ancient and modern authors of various countries—in English renderings. Many of these are annotated by the compiler. Though the selections are not arranged on any definite plan, they are chosen with taste and critical acumen and the book is alike useful and interesting. Messrs. Macmillans of London are the publishers.

Unwieldy in size and difficult, therefore, to handle, Mr. L. P. Dana's **Arab-Asia** (American Press, Beirut, Syria) is an almost exhaustive geographical gazetteer and cyclopedia of the four countries of Syria, Palestine, Irak and Arabia. All phases and aspects of information (which can find a place in a geographical treatise) are brought together with care and arranged with skill. There are excellent maps and—except for its inconvenient size—the book deserves high praise.

Greta Gray's **House and Home** (J. B. Lippincott Company, London and Philadelphia, U.S.A.) is an American manual and text-book of practical house planning. It is embellished with about two hundred illustrations in the text. Like most American works of its class and kind, it is adapted to the conditions of life in the New World; but there is much in it which will interest students of the subject in Europe and Asia as well. It is a highly informative book on house planning.

The International Institute of Agriculture, Rome (Italy) is responsible for an exceedingly useful work called **The Cotton-growing Countries: Production and Trade**. It is a complete and detailed survey of the present position of cotton production and trade. A comprehensive work, full of accurate statistical data, it offers an instructive synopsis of the prevailing conditions of each cotton-growing country and will be invaluable as a work of reference. The Institute of Agriculture deserves congratulation on the production of this very useful monograph.

Readings in English Social History (Cambridge University Press, Fetter Lane, London) edited by Mr. R. B. Morgan is alike interesting and instructive. It contains well-chosen extracts from contemporary writers, which depict life in England from Pre-Roman days down to 1837: the food and clothing; the games, feastings and burials; the methods of fighting on land and sea; the laws and customs; the education and trade; the joys and sorrows; in fact, all that goes to make what is called "life." A perusal of this book will give the reader a keener insight into the realities of English life through the ages than that of many a

text-book of history. We strongly commend this excellent book to students and general readers.

Mr. F. S. Davies' **Cochin: British and Indian** (Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., Ltd., London) is a well-digested compendium of accurate and useful information—geographical, economic, ethnological, historical and administrative—about an important tract of Southern India. It brings together in a short compass a mass of useful information about British and Indian Cochin which is not easily available—being scattered in a number of more or less inaccessible volumes. As such it deserves appreciation.

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GEORGE GORDON, LORD BYRON.

Died April 19, 1824.

By PROFESSOR AMAR NATH JHA, M.A.

It is to-day a hundred years since Byron died. Of a life so tempestuous as his, a character so complex, a nature so full of bewildering contradictions, a poet whose work has been alternately extolled as the pathetic outpouring of a lacerated heart and as the hypocritical effusion of a self-deceived egotist, 'half-archangel, half-devil', the past hundred years have not been able to settle the final estimate. Writing in 1881, Mathew Arnold said: "When the year 1900 is turned, and our nation comes to recount her poetic glories in the century which has then just ended, the first names will be Wordsworth and Byron". "What care I for the wreathes that can only give glory"?, Byron had cried in one of his most sincere lyrics. Of glory he had a plentiful share while he lived, and for many years thereafter; but has he received his fair meed of all he thirsted for, of love, of understanding, of appreciation? During the past few years several books have appeared which revive once again the old controversies about his private life. In our arrogance we venture to sit in judgment over one who while he lived strove with the immortals. It is true of course that there is no poet whose life is so intimately connected with his art; but that need not make us pry irreverently into the sad details of an unhappy tragedy.

A great critic, who died a few months ago writing of Byron, said: 'Bare rebellion cannot endure, and no succession of generations can

continue nourishing themselves on the poetry of complaint and the idealisation of revolt'. Now a statement like this savours too much of the self-complacency of the Victorian era. Surely it is no exaggeration to say that, in English literature at least all the great lyric poets have in one respect or another been rebels, some more so than others. Contentment is only a synonym for stagnation. Byron does typify the spirit of revolt, of antagonism, of denial. But there is also a subtler, more attractive element in his art, and it is beyond doubt that there are thousands who find their thoughts and emotions wonderfully well expressed in the words of this 'grand Napoleon of the realms of rhyme'. No one has laid his soul more bare; no one exposed himself more to the gibes of the irreverent. In that as in other ways he was a pioneer. The abysmal depths of personality are plumbed, the soul is analysed, self-reflection finds for the first time an adequate place in English poetry. This, as Sainte-Beuve so truly points out, was the predominant note in the prevailing atmosphere: Werther, Obermann and René are all echoes of Childe Harold. 'The world is too much with us', Wordsworth had complained and retired into the placid solitude of the lakes; Byron's spirit was more rebellious, less contented, and he unfurled high the banner of revolt and rebellion. Inevitably he had to reveal his own self. The intensely emotional artist speaks because he

That heavy chill has frozen o'er the fountain of
our tears,
 And though the eye may sparkle still, 'tis where
the ice appears
 Though wit may flash from fluent lips, and mirth
distract the breast,
 Through midnight hours that yield no more their
former hope of rest;
 'Tis but as ivy-leaves around the ruin'd turret wreath,
 All green and wildly fresh without, but worn and
grey beneath.
 Oh could I feel as I have felt,—or be what I have been,
 Or weep as I could once have wept o'er many a
vanished scene;
 As springs in desert found seem sweet, all brackish
though they be,
 So, midst the wither'd waste of life those tears
would flow to me'.

A year later, in 1816, Byron wrote to Power :
 "Do you remember the lines I sent you early last
 year? I don't wish to claim the character of
 Fates, but were they not a little prophetic? I
 mean those beginning 'There's not a joy'—on
 which I pique myself as being the truest, though
 the most melancholy I ever wrote". But the
 intense misery of his existence he expresses
 even more powerfully in a letter which he wrote
 in 1819. He says; 'Upon what grounds the
 public formed their opinion I am not aware;
 but it was general and it was decisive. Of
 me and mine they knew little, except that I
 had written poetry, was a nobleman, had
 married, became a father and was involved in
 differences with my wife and her relatives—no
 one knew why, because the persons complaining
 refused to state their grievances. The press was
 active and scurrilous;—my name—which
 had been a knightly or a noble one since my
 fathers helped to conquer the kingdom for
 William the Norman—was tainted.....I with-
 drew from England; but this was not enough.
 in other countries—in Switzerland, in the shadow
 of the Alps, and by the blue depth of the lakes,
 —I was pursued and breathed upon by the same
 blight. I crossed the mountains, but it was the
 same, so I went a little farther and settled myself
 by the waves of the Adriatic like the stag at
 bay, who betakes himself to the waters.' Surely
 this is not pose; this is not the complaint of the
 thin-skinned sinner who likes to imagine him-
 self ill-used by a prudish, unappreciative world.
 If these words do not breathe truth, there is no
 truth in words. Apart from Byron's exceeding-

ly vain nature, Lady Byron's malice is largely
 responsible for the traditional estimate of his
 character. 'Byron can write anything, but he
 does not feel it', she said. If no man is a hero
 to his valet, very few husbands are regarded as
 perfect by their wives, and in Lady Byron's
 case there was some shadow of a justification;
 she had been cruelly used, but in return she did
 all she could to throw dirt over the fair name of
 her husband and his half-sister Lady Augusta.
 Of this relationship a great many unsavoury
 details have been published. To one who is
 neither a partisan of Lady Byron, such as her
 grandson, Lord Lovelace, nor a violent vindic-
 ator of Byron's character, such as Mr.
 Edgumbe, and who is content to be guided by
 Byron's own unmistakable words, the truth
 seems to be that there was nothing impure or
 unworthy or incestuous in his relations with
 Lady Augusta. But his was such an intensely
 emotional temperament, he had led such a love-
 starved life, that his affection for her was more
 warm, more fervid, more demonstrative, more
 vocal than such affections usually are. Such
 natures are rare but they are by no means sinful.
 William Johnson Cory was such a one; Oscar
 Browning was another—and these two distin-
 guished teachers felt for their pupils a warm
 interest, warmer than is commonly felt or
 expressed by a modern teacher who shrinks from
 all exhibition of emotion. The present writer
 knows of some who feel for younger persons a
 romantic affection which is completely whole-
 some, as pure as morning air, and as bright as
 the morning sun. Byron merely felt more than
 usually warmly for his sister. To an impartial
 reader Byron's words ought to be conclusive.
 He sent to his sister in 1812 an early copy of
Childe Harold with this inscription: To
 Augusta my dearest sister and my best friend,
 who has ever loved me much better than I
 'deserved, this volume is presented by her father's
 son and most affectionate brother'. Or read
 next the stanzas to Augusta:

Though human, thou didst not deceive me,
 Though woman, thou didst not forsake,
 Though loved, thou forbores to grieve me,
 Though slandered, thou never couldst shake,
 Though trusted, thou didst not disclaim me,—
 Though parted, it was not to fly,
 Though watchful, 'twas not to deceive me,
 Nor mute, that the world might belie.

And next the last stanzas of the *Epistle to*

Augusta, which is only slightly more fervid than Wordsworth's lines on his sister Dorothy ;

For thee, my own sweet sister, in thy heart
I know myself secure, as thou in mine ;
We were and are—I am, even as thou art—
Beings who ne'er each other can resign ;
It is the same, together or apart,
From life's commencement to its slow decline
We are entwined—let death come slow or fast,
The tie which bound the first endures the last.

One word may be written on his last days. Since his earliest year Byron was fired with an intense love for Greece and a corresponding pity for its fallen condition. He had exclaimed in ecstasy ;

The isles of Greece! the isles of Greece!
Where burning Sappho loved and sung,
Where grew the arts of war and peace,
Where Delos rose and Phoebus sprung.
Eternal summer gilds them yet,
But all, except their sun, is set.
The mountains look on Marathon,
And Marathon looks on the sea,
And musing there an hour alone,
I dream'd that Greece might still be free;
For standing on the Persians' grave,
I could not deem myself a slave.
'Tis something in the dearth of fame,
Though link'd among a fetter'd race,
To feel at least a patriot's shame,
Even as I sing, suffuse my face,
For what is left the poet here?
For Greeks a blush—for Greece a tear.

Greece was ever to him "a living presence not to be put by". In *Giaour*, we find the following brilliant passage :

Cline of the unforgotten brave!
Whose land from plain to mountain-cave
Was Freedom's home or Glory's grave!
Shrine of the mighty! can it be
That this is all remains of thee?

These scenes, their story not unknown,
Arise, and make again your own;
Snatch from the ashes of your sires
The embers of their former fires;
And he who in the strife expires
Will add to theirs a name of fear
That Tyranny shall quake to hear,
And leave his sons a hope, a fame,
And they too will rather die than shame:
For Freedom's battle once begun,

Bequeath'd by bleeding sire to son,
Though baffled oft is ever won.

His sympathy and admiration for Greece assumed a very practical shape. In November 1823, he advanced £4,000 for the putting out to sea of a Greek squadron. He settled in Greece and actively assisted the Greeks. The treacherous treason of Carioscachi rendered him supremely unhappy however and partly because of this and partly because of his failing health, his spirits drooped, he became a prey to hypochondria, and nervous and irritable. On April 10, 1824, he and the faithful Gamba were caught in a heavy downpour of rain. Byron was seized with a shuddering on his return home, and he complained of fever and rheumatic pains. The doctor proposed to bleed him. Declining the proposal, Byron said: 'Have you no other remedy than bleeding? There are many more who die of the lancet than the life'. The next day he resolved to ride, and talked to his companions in good spirits. On April 15, the fever was still there, but Parry says that the doctors thought there was no danger and said so, openly. Parry continues: 'Lord Byron spoke of death with great composure, and though he did not think that his end was so very near, there was something about him so serious and so firm, so resigned and composed, so different from anything I had ever before seen in him that my mind misgave me.' On April 16, he became seriously ill and on the 17th was wildly delirious, and fancied himself at the head of his Suliotes, assailing the walls of Leponto. The next day the doctors were seriously alarmed by inflammation of the brain; in the afternoon, says Gamba, a fit of delirium again ensued, and he began to talk wildly, as if he were mounting a breach in an assault. He called out, half in English, half in Italian: 'Forwards—forwards—courage—follow my example—don't be afraid'. He swooned, and remained unconscious for twenty-four hours. He once opened his eyes, only to shut them immediately. The doctors felt his pulse; he had expired.

Just one hundred years have lapsed since Byron gave up his life, an exile, fighting for a country not his own. More justice is now done to his genius than was shown by Carlyle, the whole burden of whose sermons was: 'Open thy Goethe: close thy Byron', and yet Carlyle's master, Goethe himself, was never tired of saying about Byron: 'nocturna versate manu,

versate diurna'. Scott, a more generous critic than Carlyle spoke enthusiastically of Byron, mentioning him in the same breath as his hero Burns and referring to their evergushing and perennial fountain of natural waters. Shelley wrote :

The sense that he was greater than his kind
Had struck methinks his eagle spirit blind,
By gazing on its own exceeding light.

We have spoken of the many-sidedness of Byron's nature. There is the Byron, the spoilt child of fortune, the darling of Society whom society made an exile ; there is the chivalrous Byron fighting for liberty for down-trodden Greece ; there is the adventurous Byron ever in quest of excitement and sensation ; there is the versatile Byron, in range like the Roman Empire, *magnitudo laborat sua*. With much that repels, there is mingled a great deal strangely attractive and arresting. Prudes and prigs are never tired of ranting against his heresies and his immorality, but again and again generations of healthy, full-blooded youths and grey-haired persons for whom life still retains some enchantment will go to Byron and find in him much food for meditation, plenty of intellectual nourishment and stimulus, priceless self-revelation of a spirit of rare charm and force.

Tennyson uttered a word of profound significance when he said of Byron and Shelley that they gave the world another heart and a new pulse and so we are kept going.

Byron was a great poet whose genius has emerged triumphant and blazing through the cloud of scandal and misrepresentation—great in the wealth of imagery, great in the exuberance of his fancy, great in the melody and rhythm and grace and lightness of touch, and the numerous other qualities of the lyric, great in the brilliance and variety and range of his subjects. Of the man estimates may differ. Pity and sympathy from strangers he would have spurned at with scorn. But a sense of the unfairness of things forces itself as one reads the following and recollects the early blight that settled on the promise of so much happiness and renown and contentment :

With false ambition what had I to do?
Little with love, and least of all with fame;
And yet they came unsought and with me grew,
And made me all which they can make—a name.
Yet this was not the end I did pursue;
Surely I once beheld a nobler aim.
But all is over—I am one the more
To baffled millions which have gone before.

PROBLEMS OF INDUSTRIAL LABOUR IN INDIA.

By DR. RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE.

The rise of the landless class.

The social evils which the Industrial Revolution brought in its train in England and then in other countries in Western Europe, have led many writers to the advocacy of drastic measures of reform which are as old as industrialism itself. Among these evils the most important seems to be the unequal distribution of wealth and opportunities inevitable in the capitalistic system. The use of large machinery, which the workers cannot own or manage has meant the rise of a strong entrepreneur class. Wages have increased, the hours of labour have

been curtailed, the standard of comfort has risen but there is still a large amount of misery, while unemployment during times of industrial depression means starvation. Thus the Socialists condemn capitalism as class rule in industry and social life which keeps the mass of the people starved in all those qualities that are needed for culture and good citizenship. Another evil of industrialism is the break-up of organised village life and production, as a result of which society is moulded after a uniform pattern, the standards of which come from a few big cities. Thus the great industry like the centralised state has proved an enemy to local

life and creativeness without which culture tends to become dull and barren. The decline of agriculture and village industries has proceeded everywhere with capitalistic development and concentration. Throughout the East village collectivism and peasant farming are however most characteristic features of economic life. Industrialism, which is now on a tour round the world, has touched only the fringe of Eastern life in the ports and commercial centres and in the mining districts. But the competition with Western manufactures has ruined many of the domestic and village arts and handicrafts which served formerly as industries, supplementary to the main occupation, *viz.*, agriculture. The economic position of the peasant has further deteriorated as a result of disruption of joint families and village communities due to Western legal influences. Thus households have split up down to modern times when they have reached the size—different in different conditions—which has made communal life difficult. Industrialism and the urban type are thus dominant though very recent but the habits of Eastern life are both agricultural and communal. The disruption of village communalism which has accompanied the introduction of industrial and capitalistic interests in every society has now given rise to a class of landless wage-earners. These recruit the industrial population or crowd miserably in towns, or emigrate in large numbers. These have brought to light in our society slum-life, family breakdown, unemployment and labour unrest, evils commonly associated with capitalistic production in the West. In Japan the pace of industrialism is much greater than anywhere in the East. Forty years ago everything was made under the domestic system. Thus the development of Japanese industry is rather recent and rapid. The factories are obliged to start with absolutely unskilled labour. This oversupply of unskilled labour together with other industrial and social conditions has increased the manufacture of cheap goods and led to the payment of low wages. A feature of Japanese industry is the predominance of women and girls which has told against the time-honoured domesticity. In textiles there are five times as many women as men operatives. Of the total number of operatives women and girls represent more than 58 per cent. At the end of 1917 there were 99,000 girl operatives under 15 years of age and 2,400 under twelve. Of this large mass of

shifting, immigrant girl labour a small percentage go back to domestic life; the great majority fall victims to disease and vice or are absorbed in dubious walks of city life never to return to their village homes.*

The mill workers in the Tokyo prefecture come from remote parts of Japan, and the girls—and three-quarters of the employees of the woollen industry are girls—are merely on a three-year's contract. The girls arrive absolutely inexperienced. Even in England it is considered that it takes two or three years to make a worker skilful. Within the three years' period for which the Japanese mill girls or their parents contract, as many as 30 per cent. leave the mills and, appalling fact, from 20 to 25 per cent. die. Not more than 10 per cent. renew their three-year's contract. Therefore there is at present at any rate little real skilled labour in the factories. Another difficulty is the absence of skilful wool sorters. Even before the War a good wool sorter commanded in England from £3 to £4 a week. Experts suggest that it takes half a dozen of the unskilled girls to do the work of an English mill girl. It is much the same with male labour. An English worker may be expected to produce work equal to the output of 4 Japanese hands. In a pre-war publication of the United States Department of Commerce it was stated that the cost of cotton mills per spindle is in England 32s., in the United States 44s., in Germany 52s., and in Japan 100s. One of the things which also hampers the Japanese woollen industry is the prevalence of illness at the factories. They must have in consequence about 25 per cent. more labour than is needed. It is alleged by competent authorities that 50 per cent. of the employees in the mills suffer from consumption. Dormitories are in defiance of hygienic rules. Many girls sleep ten in a room of only ten mat size. In most cases only half to one tsubo (four sq. yards) are allotted to one person. The girls have weakened constitutions as the result of their factory life, and when they marry have fewer than the normal number of children. The general result of factory life is degeneration. The industrial development of China has been much slower than that of Japan, but of recent years it has been remarkably rapid. On the human side, the situation has therefore raised similar urgent problems.

*Report on Japanese Labour—White (Cmd 511).

Long hours of labour.

It is seldom realized that industrial fatigue is not only a health hazard of the first magnitude and a cause of accidents but also leads to a reduction of output. Apart from the social conditions of factory life which are directly conducive to the deterioration of the people, the severe strain of long periods of work tells heavily on the health of the operatives and leads to accidents as well as diminution of output. The long hours of labour mean fewer opportunities for rest and recreation, monotonous work and unwholesome employment as well as low standards of living. The hours a man works, indeed, frequently determine the character of his home and domestic life, his pleasures as well as his capacity to resist exploitation.

The weekly hours of work in factories as fixed by law in various countries are :—

48 hours—Great Britain (textile mills) ;
Norway, Germany, Australia, Russia.

54 hours—Assam Tea Plantations for
women up to 18 years.

60 hours—India (72 hours till July 1922).

98 hours—Japan (men and women workers)

The 12 hours day is in force in Japan as well as in the textile factories of the East Indies (in the other factories 11 hours). The women in the factories work in two shifts of 10 to 12 hours each. Though night work for women and girls is prescribed by law, spinning mills are exempted till 1931.

The Indian Factory Act allows a working day of 10 hours full work, the only stipulation being that there must be an interval of half an hour, in the course of the day's work, during which the machines are not to be used. The Indian mills run for 60 hours per week, the mills in England and America run between 42 and 48 hours per week, the mills in Japan run between 98 and 112 hours per week. The Indian Mines Act as amended in 1923 restricts the term of labour to 60 hours per week for above ground and 54 for below ground workers. raises the age of children employed from 12 to 13 years, prohibiting the employment of young persons and children below ground and prescribes a weekly day of rest. In some of the Indian mines men and women labourers are, however, known to live underground for 22 to 24 hours a day, or 132 to 144 hours per week, food being brought to them in coal pits. In some of the old-fashioned small scale collieries

of Bengal the tendency to work long hours is due to the difficulty of entering and leaving the mines. In actual practice, men and women work from 16 to 20 hours, the men cutting the coal and the women filling the tubs. In the case of textile workers it is provided that no child (defined as a person below the age of 15) may be employed for more than six hours in any one day. The employment of women and children, and also of adult males in factories where the shift system is not in force has been prohibited except between 5-30 a.m. and 7 p.m. Overtime work in the mills, mines and plantations, which is avoided by employers in the West so far as practicable, is the usual rule in India. Short time work is also by no means rare. In Bengal the jute mills are only open four days a week in order to keep down production to the detriment of the workers who have to be without wages in enforced idleness. The Indian holidays which are connected with seasonal facts and feasts and inter-woven with the whole texture of social life in India, are not recognised as free days for working men. In America, woman works not more than 9 hours a day. In India, the limit is 10 hours. But very often overseers encourage both men and women workers to work in additional shifts, for which they receive extra pay. Multiple shifts, indeed, lead to many abuses. Under this system, halftimers are found to work in more than one mill on the same day. This abuse prevails chiefly in areas where two or more mills are adjacent. It is impossible for outside inspection to cope with the abuse because of the complexity of shifts under the multiple shift system. In the jute mill industry of Bengal, the mill hands are obliged to work a complicated system of shifts of 3, 4 or 5 hours instead of 6 continuous hours. According to an official report, the present complicated system of shifts permits of no home life and is not conducive to health, and education if introduced would for that reason have little success under the present arrangement. The poverty of parents and the dishonesty of Sardars or overseers lead in many cases to the employment of children and other abuses. Not merely the Sardars but also the time-keepers through whom labourers, adult or young get employment, exploit them. Halftimers, both boys and girls also lead to trouble especially when they work near one another. The girls play about while the older boys show restlessness. Under the new Factories Act, the

day's work for a half-timer is limited to six hours, and the minimum and maximum age raised to 12 and 15 years respectively. But this rule does not apply to children already employed in the mills before 1922. Curjel observes: "The work undertaken by half-timers as winders involves spurts of great activity and also the carrying of loads of fairly heavy bobbins. The majority of child-workers show evidence of malnutrition and physical strain". The children of both sexes under 14 years old number 140 per 1000 adults in Indian industries and establishment. About 61 per cent. of the total number of children employed in organised industries are boys and the girls almost equal the boys on the plantations and in the mines and form about one-fifth of the child labour in the textile industries. In the last decade children have decreased in the plantations and textiles and increased in the mines.

As no children may now be employed under 12 years age, attempts are made in a few of the mills to provide small schools for children of industrial workers as well as for half-timers. Indeed, the object of raising the minimum age of factory children to twelve in the Factories Amendment Act of 1922 will be largely frustrated if provision is not made for their education during the free hours. Here and there mill owners have set up schools for children who are connected with the mills either directly or through their parents. Attendance is, however, slack and the instruction given not much sought. In Bombay the municipalities other than the city of Bombay have set themselves to the task of imparting compulsory education with certain safeguards. Difficulty will, however, be felt on account of the poverty of the workers. In many mills the sewing department is partitioned off from the factory, and it is the usual rule to allow young children who are under 12 years to sew alongside of parents or relatives to whose account the work is credited.

Work and Wages.

The long periods of work are particularly irksome in certain seasons in the different provinces, and there is as yet no attempt to adjust the time-table to different seasonal conditions in different parts of India. The moist heat in the jute mills of Bengal and the cotton mills of Madras is most trying for the women and children and fainting is a matter of almost daily occurrence. In many mills there is no provision

for even through ventilation or change of air. The lighting arrangement is as a rule inadequate. Sometimes the lighting is insufficient or the glare considerable. Northern India with its dry climate is a dusty place under the best conditions; in ginning mills, wool and brush factories in Cawnpore, in cotton mills in Indore and Gwalior, and in railway workshops in Lucknow and Lahore it tends to be intolerable. Eyesores during the hot season are most frequent while debility and dysentery are fairly common. Thus there is loss of efficiency of the workers from many preventible causes. The provision of guards for machinery is inadequate and this is responsible for a large number of preventible accidents especially in the case of women and children. The relation of industrial fatigue to the number of accidents towards the end of the day's work and to output has not been investigated in India. The 'safety-first campaign', which is already an institution in Japan will be of considerable value in this country. In many cases, again, the output would improve by arrangements for seats. In the jute mills, for instance, it is only in the hand-sewing department that the operatives sit at their work. There is also no provision with regard to the taking of meals by workers. In many cases workers have to go back home to a long distance during the mid-day interval. Where there are multiple shifts, they have to bring their food with them and eat it in the mill premises for which there are no special conveniences. Most of the mills have grain shops on the premises or in the immediate neighbourhood. The shopkeepers give credit until the next pay day. Here and there co-operative stores have been established in which reasonable rates are charged for grain, cloth and other necessities, but usually the grain dealers exploit the operatives who have to live an almost hand-to-mouth existence as soon as the pay-day is over. Nor are the wages sufficient to cover more than the bare minimum of subsistence. The scanty wages are hardly adequate for the consumption of meat and fish, the protein foods necessary during strenuous work. In Bombay, Ahmedabad and other centres, the majority of men workers earn between 12 annas and Re. 1/8/- per diem. Half the number of men in Sholapur earn under 12 annas. Nearly half the number of women workers in Bombay and Ahmedabad earn between 12 annas and Re. 1/- a day, and in

Sholapur over nine-tenths earn only 8 annas a day. About 45 per cent. of the big lads and children in Bombay earn between 12 annas and Re. 1/-; in Ahmedabad more than 60 per cent. between 4 annas and 8 annas and nearly 58 per cent. in Sholapur earn less than 4 annas. In the Bengal Jute Mills, the average male worker earns between Rs. 3 and Rs. 4 and the average woman worker receives a weekly wage of Rs. 2-8-0. In many cases a small percentage is deducted by the Sardar. The enormous rise in the cost of living leaves little margin for comfort, while the absence of family life under dreary and unwholesome conditions increases the nervous strain, and makes dissipation almost inevitable. In the plantations the wages are still lower. The monthly rates in Sylhet Tea Gardens for a Hazira (attendance) consisting of 27 working days are Rs. 6, Rs. 5 and Rs. 3. In Assam they are Rs. 8, Rs. 6 and Rs. 4 a month, though the planters make certain concessions *e.g.*, for housing, medical attendance, cheap rice and clothing, grants of land for cultivation, which would be worth Re. 1 a month to each worker. In many cases a single contractor has a partial monopoly of labour supply to a given plantation and he has the men very much in his power. Sub-contracting occurs and the labourer is fleeced every time an intermediary is introduced. Though these workers are mainly recruited by the contractors from semi-aboriginal communities and their standard of living is low yet it is obvious that 4 as. per diem is hardly sufficient to keep them from starvation, during a period of high prices which has been synchronous with the depression of the tea trade.

It is estimated that an Indian miner works on an average 118.8 tons of coal per year, whereas a Japanese miner raises only 66 tons, a Belgian, noted for his mining skill does 130 tons a year, and a British miner raises something like 196 tons a year. These figures give some idea of the efficiency of an Indian miner as far as his working days are concerned. An Indian miner's wages are, however, very low, taking piece work as the basis of remuneration. He is paid about Re. 1 per ton, calculated on 10 as. or rod. per tub of coal cut and raised above ground. A Belgian is paid at least eight times, a Japanese five times, and a British miner at least fifteen times as much. The small collieries often recruit direct, sending out sardars for the purpose as necessity arises. But the larger

collieries recruit through contractors. The contractor as a rule contracts not to supply labour but to cut coal and deliver it on the surface at a fixed price, which allows him a profit of about 4 as. a ton on large contracts and 6 as. a ton on smaller ones. The contractor has often to make advances to the labourers of as much as Rs. 30/- (representing 20 or 30 days' earnings) and has to take the risk of their bolting before the advances are paid off. A committee appointed in 1917 by the Local Government to enquire into the housing of labourers on the collieries of Bihar and Orissa was of opinion that "there are no amenities in the coal-field. The *dhauras* (lodgings) are neither beautiful nor healthful. The labourer enjoys no privacy in his domestic life. He has to carry his personal belongings about with him (even down the mine) for fear of theft. His only pleasure is that which is to be purchased at the liquor shop. There is no inducement for him to remain at the colliery for a minute longer than he can help."

Alcoholism

Prolonged work in darkness sometimes under knee-deep water and the atmospheric pressure and the fume of kerosine oil lamp all round tells more heavily on the health and spirits of the miners in India than in the temperate countries. The liquor shops are also too near and the miner drinks on an empty stomach and being tired and disinclined for exertion is apt to remain there drinking. The total number of licenses for sale of country spirit and Pachwai in the sub-division of Asansol (the largest mining centre in Bengal) were recently as follows:—25 Country spirit shops and 120 Pachwai shops, which represented a value of Rs. 3,36,403 in the case of country spirit shops, and Rs. 12,17,611 for Pachwai. The population of miners under the Asansol Mines Board of Health is 48,642. Assuming that about 90 per cent. of the total value of liquor is consumed by actual miners, a miner spends about Rs. 30/- a year on his drink, or Rs. 2/8/- a month. His wages are Rs. 1½ per day for himself and his wife, who helps him as a carrier. This works out at 12 as. per head per working day; he works at present about 16 days a month and therefore receives Rs. 12 a month. Owing to the recently increased price of country liquor a miner's drink bill is between 2 and 3 annas a day which is practically half of the wages he receives. Prostitution is another

crying evil in the collieries, while the general insanitation and pollution of water during summer leads to epidemics. There is no serious attempt to tackle the housing question because the original Bengal Settlement Act does not provide for dealing with housing on collieries. Altogether the subjection and degradation of labour in the mining industry are most serious evil, yet the industry is one of the most important in India. 190,000 miners are employed in Bengal, Behar and elsewhere, while the output is 21 million tons, as against Belgium's 22½ millions and Japan's 28 millions.

The denial of the primary conditions of health, leisure and comfort both in mines and in factories depresses the spirit and it is to forget the inevitable loss of what is due to humanity that men drink and become brutes. In the Report on the Administration of the Excise Department we find that the consumption per head in drams (London Proof) of country spirit in Bombay increased by 47 per cent. in 1920, 51 per cent. in 1921 and by 32 per cent. in 1922 as compared with the pre-war year (1914). The Commissioner adds: "it is clear that there is a very definite connection between the conditions of labour and consumption of alcohol. This may very probably be due in great measure to the conditions under which the working classes live in Bombay. There seems reason to suspect that it is the influence of Bombay City which has produced an increase of consumption in the adjacent districts and in Ratnagiri." In another place in the same report he points out that, "while the policy of government in keeping up prices of liquor and reducing the number of places at which it is sold has succeeded in actually reducing consumption among the agricultural classes there is a distinct increase in drinking noticeable among the industrial classes. The higher consumption in urban areas may no doubt be ascribed in part to the nature of the occupation of the working classes and the conditions under which they live." For the year ending 31st March 1921, 4½ million people in Bombay City and the four neighbouring districts, which are the main source of Bombay's labour, consumed about 1¼ times as much country spirit as the 11½ millions in the rest of the Presidency excluding Sind. It is estimated that for those families whose members drink the average expenditure amounts to at least from 8 to 10 per cent. of the income. Not less than 47 per cent. of the families of labourers investigated in

Bombay are in debt paying interest usually at 75 per cent. per annum and in a few cases at 150 per cent. The indebtedness of the family extends ordinarily to the equivalent of 22½ months' earnings. The average expenditure for interest amounts to nearly 3 per cent. of the total monthly expenditure. Drink, indebtedness and lack of bargaining power constitute a vicious circle from which there is no escape. Thus the development of industrialism in different centres has been associated with the rise in alcoholism as has been the case in England and Germany.

Welfare Work.

Industrial employment is breaking up the home which is becoming a place of hurried meals and relaxation following over-work for the whole family including the boys. Nor do the workers find meals ready at home when they return from work. The meals are hastily prepared by the women before they go or after their return from the factory. In many mills under-age children and infants are brought by their mothers to the mill-premises. Very often regular doses of opium are administered to stop their crying. Here and there creches or day nurseries are established in charge of trained nurses who look after under-age children. This not only benefits the young children but improves the efficiency of women workers when they are relieved of the care of their children. In some mills a varying amount is given to workers who are off duty through illness. Some collieries allow Re. 1 to the worker's nearest relative in case of an adult or infant death, to provide the funeral cloth. Certain factories and mines give a small sum to workers on the birth of a child. There is, however, no legal protection for women about to be confined. Women are known to give birth to children while at work in the mills. It has been estimated that a mother who is not given rest for 3 months before her confinement, brings into the world a child less than 6 lbs. in weight. Some of the larger works are known to give several day's pay as maternity benefit to women workers on condition that the mother does not work during that time. In the total number of establishments, just over a quarter of the workers (including children) are females, all but 8 per cent. of them being unskilled labourers. The adult women (unskilled) number 508 per 1,000 adult men. By far the majority of women labourers, viz., 322 out of 540 per thousand, are on the plantations, where their proportion per

100 men is as high as 94. Women are also numerous in the textile and mining industries and in the former there are 408 adult women (unskilled) per 1,000 men and in the latter 521.

In some of the estates and plantations medical relief is given as the cost entailed by recruitment of each worker represents a considerable outlay. Managers insist on regular visits to the worker's houses by their doctor and give allowance to workers on the doctor's sick list. Thus wherever the recruitment involves some outlay and labour is scarce, the value of an industrial worker is recognised by the provision of sanitary conveniences, medical relief, sickness allowance and even of maternity benefit for women workers. The establishment of hospitals and dispensaries, co-operative societies and grain stores, the employment of health visitors, nurses and supervising medical officers, the provision of healthy recreations and of educational facilities for the children of industrial workers and of creches or day nurseries for infants ought to occupy the attention of social workers in the industrial centres.

In 1922 the Workmen's Compensation Bill became law by which compensation is to be given, as in English Act, for personal injury by accident arising out of and in course of employment. It is also to be given for such diseases as anthrax, lead-poisoning and phosphorus poisoning, etc. There have been initiated also the humanistic activities which are regarded as Welfare Work and which may be classed as efficiency work because they have such a direct reaction on the physical contentment and efficiency of the operatives. Much yet remains to be done and a good deal depends upon the co-operation of the employers with it which not only inconveniences and hazards to health but also irregularities and abuses continue to exist notwithstanding the stray precautions instituted year after year. Whether in the segregation of sexes in different departments of the factory or in the provision for creches and hospitals for babies whose mothers are at work, whether in the careful planning of the recess intervals during the working period or in the arrangement for conveniences for meals, washing, etc., adapted to Indian habits of life, whether in a scheme of promotion and bonuses or in the provision for education and opportunities of social life and recreations, the employers ought not to ignore public opinion.

A New Industrial Conscience.

Scientific thought and a social conscience in these matters are, however, not yet aroused. Meanwhile epidemics of strikes involving sometimes more than two lakhs of workers have been frequent. Such strikes are often declared without notice and are not accompanied by any systematic demands of the workers nor are these guided by chosen or tried leaders, who can always clear the economic issues at stake. On the other hand Unions are not yet recognised by law nor registered so that there is great difficulty in collective initiative and expenditure. In many industrial centres caste panchayats act as Trade Unions, but they are very limited in their scope and activity. Meanwhile the spread of the strike epidemic has caused grave anxiety and led to a discussion of the methods of securing industrial peace. Proposals for establishing arbitration councils for the prevention and early settlement of labour disputes or industrial boards for the determination of a minimum wage have been formulated. Conciliation Boards have been brought into use in some provinces, while the question of popularising work committees on the lines of the Whitley Report has engaged attention. Large numbers of working men are now enfranchised, and their sufferings and troubles evoke ready sympathy from different classes of leaders but sagacious help and guidance are not easily available. We are now on the eve of a great industrial expansion but there is something dreadful in the expectation that mill labourers, men, women and too often children are over-worked under most inconvenient conditions, have no resource during unemployment and no organisation to articulate their legitimate grievances. Drink and vice are increasing in our industrial centres, being directly encouraged by unwholesome housing conditions and the striking excess of males over females, which means that most of our labourers nearly all of whom are married miss the restraints and comforts of the family life and are ambitious only to earn enough wages to take them home. Nor are the prospects of agricultural labour in the villages sufficiently attractive to keep them long on the scanty wages and casual employment that field work now offers. Only a newly aroused industrial conscience, an effective leadership and a strong public opinion can hope to grapple these problems with which is connected the whole industrial future of India.

TOLSTOY AND HIS CONCEPT OF FREEDOM.

By MR. W. G. RAFFE, F.R.S.A., F.I.B.D., A.R.C.A.

It is erroneously thought by many of his readers, that Tolstoy as an artist and Tolstoy as a thinker are almost as two different men. The period at which Tolstoy's "Confession" was written (1881), meant, however, no real break in his general view of life. At that time the essential and fundamental characteristics of Tolstoy's personality simply found a strong and clearer expression than before. Some consideration of his development will make it abundantly clear that Tolstoy the artist and Tolstoy the thinker, the boy and the grey-headed old man, the soldier and the revolutionary idealist are expressions of one and the same powerful individuality.

The essential feature of Tolstoy's mind is his longing for truth and righteousness, which in him focalises a characteristic of the Russian people throughout their history. Their national epic poetry—the last expression of the soul of a people—bears witness to their reverence for the moral foundations of life. It is in this, perhaps, that the difference between the psychology of the Russian people and that of many other nations is marked. The favourite hero of the Greeks was the crafty, cruel and resourceful Odysseus. The Heroes of the Nieblungs in the German epic are covered with blood; they are full of hatred, and thirst for vengeance. The favourite Russian hero is a peasant's son, the mighty warrior, Ilya Maromets, who in the words of the legend "not even against a Tartar bears any ill-will", though the Tartars in their day have done much harm to the Russian people. The favourite hero of Russian folk-lore, Ivanushka the Fool, is far from being stupid. He is a dreamer and idealist; in the fields he listens "how the grass grows" as he lays down and gazes at the sky. He has none of the self-seeking greed of his elder brothers, their parents' favourite children, who are practical and selfish men, determined to get on in the world. And the fairy tale, cherished in the poor hearts of half-starving peasants, rewards the fool with all the good things of life. In his fairy tale, the world of his dreams, the Russian peasant sides with the idealist, the

"fool" who has grasped the reality of the true wisdom of life.

Just as in Russian folk-lore the heroes give proof of their strength while still in their babyhood, so Tolstoy indicated the course of his life while yet in his infancy. He writes that he remembers "how cramped he felt in the swaddling clothes; he wanted freedom but was unable to get free; he knew that there was no need for it, but kept laughing with a laugh that was repulsive to himself, and they (his parents) failed to understand him." There is an epic and symbolical beauty in these reminiscences. Tolstoy's whole life was a heroic attempt to get free from swaddling clothes, from the fetters of social, political, class and religious prejudices; and he always thought that he knew what freedom meant and where it was to be found. He succeeded in shaking off many fetters though not by any means all of them—but he did not know things as he thought and was often mistaken, for he often confused cause and effect.

But he has given us another great artistic joy. He was writing till the end of his life, and his talent shines both in *Resurrection* and *The Power of Darkness*, and in his later works, *Father Sergius* and *The Living Corpse*. He never sinned against artistic and poetic truth for the sake of theory; this is his great merit and our good fortune. Even though his theory as expressed in his *What is Art?* does not agree with his practice.

Mr. Rozanov, a literary critic, tells of a young girl who exclaimed as he was reading *War and Peace*: "What happiness it is to live when one can read such things as Tolstoy's books."

We are often ready to repeat these words when reading Tolstoy as we realise what a pure soul was his, and what moral rectitude, artistic truth and beauty there is in his writings! Few books have had a nobler or more elevating and stirring influence upon the world than the books of Tolstoy. Artistic and moral beauty are harmoniously combined in them. In Tolstoy's novels there is something akin to the English novels of the old type. There is a Puritanical

element in them probably due indirectly to the moral influence of English literature upon the Russian. This fact is one of the causes of Tolstoy's popularity in England, and it justifies us in looking with confidence to the strengthening of the moral bond between the two great nations.

As can be seen from Tolstoy's *Childhood and Youth* and his other early stories, the "awkward, shy and plain" boy Tolstoy arrived, at the tender age of twelve years, at his idea of striving for moral perfection. At the same time the fundamental characteristic of his whole personality asserted itself—the craving, to pass from thought to action, to give creative expression to abstract morality. Even at that early age Tolstoy thought, together with the friend, whom in the story he calls Nehindoy, that if men would only understand what evil means and word and desire to reform themselves, everything would arrange itself in the best possible way. Here was Tolstoy the artist struggling with the first realised bounds to his vast ideas of liberty.

While Tolstoy was at the University of Kazan the three lines of reflection characteristic of his life and theory assumed definite shape. He writes in his diary that of all the things he had read up to the age of eighteen the books made most impression upon him were: the Beatitudes in the Gospel, the works of J. J. Rousseau, and the stories of Turgenev and Grigorovitch dealing with peasant life. Evangelism, anarchism in its pure sense and a feeling for the land and the peasants are the fundamental features both of Tolstoy's artistic work and of his theories. The essence of his religion is very clearly defined in a passage in his diary, dated March 5th, 1862; "Talking about death has suggested to me a tremendous idea, to which I want to devote my whole life—to create a new religion, a religion of Christ which would not contradict science and be free from miracles, a religion of the good which would make a paradise on earth." This remark written in his youth, contains the substance of his religious teaching.

Marriage and literature drew him away from the "tremendous idea", to which he could not return till the eighties. But before that period his theories found expression in other ways and in different forms. He opened on his estate at Yasnaya Poliana an interesting school for peasant children on purely anarchistic principles. It was noted for the entire absence of outwardly imposed discipline, of exterior orders,

compulsion of authority, free play being given to the children's initiative, thought, feeling and imagination. The teacher did not guide the children, but followed the thought of the child.

In his two great novels, *War and Peace* and *Anna Karenian* the three lines of thought indicated above can also be detected. Tolstoy rejects the theory of the superior State and its so-called "order", ridiculing it in the remarkably subtle and vivid scene of the murder of Vereshchagin. He despises bureaucracy even in the person of so great a statesman as the famous Speransky. He denies the significance of the human will, ascribing all action solely to the power of Providence, hence his contemptuous attitude towards Napoleon and his admiration for the peasant Karataev. The peasant is an idealised figure, but in fact is idealised in a very one-sided manner. Karataev is shown as meek and guileless; he is submissive to fate and does not repine at misfortune, detecting in all his experience the hand of God; he does not resist evil, but is always content and even joyful. *War and Peace* gives a clearly vivid picture of the old fashioned land-owning class, somewhat critical of Petersburg, now Leningrad, and its stupid bureaucracy—of that new power which drove away from the throne the best part of the gentry, those who valued most their dignity and independence. A gentleman of this type recognised no one but his own class and the peasant: The gentleman does his part when he serves the State; the peasant his when he works. To regulate their mutual relations no special laws, no European 'rights of man' are necessary. The official does nothing but harm, or even at his best is essentially useless. In *Anna Karenin* the same gentry are depicted at a period when all landowners have come to realise the evils of serfdom.

To many other new phenomena of the social life of Russia, Tolstoy could not become reconciled. He was in entire sympathy with the free peasant, but he completely ignored the "intelligentsia", the class of educated and professional people containing the merchant class and the bureaucracy. As before, right living was to be found in tilling the land with the help of the peasants and in improving relations with them. Levin in *Anna Karenin* no doubt stands for Tolstoy. In the person of Levin, Tolstoy depicts the sufferings of his own conscience, unable as yet to solve the contradictions between the actual social order, the Command-

ments of the Gospel, and the Russian Orthodox Church. Here were depicted the sharpest contrasts of the strange psychological contradictions of the mighty soul of Russia.

No less characteristic of the Russian soul are certain historical facts. Having accepted Christianity from Byzantium, Russians received from this source the Holy Writ and Christian literature. But of the many Church writers, Russians came to love those only whose main theme was Christian love and righteousness, such as St. Basil the Great and St. John Chrysostom. They displayed but little interest in the dogmatic theology and eschatological questions. Even at later times, Russians scarcely understood protestantism. In public libraries and private hands there have been preserved ten times as many books on moral subjects as on any other. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the problems of righteous living were the main interest of the famous Elders beyond the Volga and of the righteous man of the Russian land, Nil Sorsky, who was a direct forerunner and teacher of Tolstoy in his attitude towards the Church and the State. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Loeinian teaching that had a strictly evangelical tendency, gained some ground in Russia. The eighteenth century gave Russia a remarkable thinker and mystic, Skovaroda, whose moral teachings had a considerable influence. In the nineteenth century there was contemporary with industrial and military influences, a great wave of sectarianism, still characterised by the same seeking for a higher morality. Tolstoy, according to his own testimony, accepted his doctrine of non-resistance to evil from the sectarian teachers, Sutaev and Bondyrev. He was a true disciple of his time, and he did but apply, as a creative artist, the old morality to the newer circumstances.

Problems of conscience, of truth and love find a place in Russian artistic literature also. Tolstoy's work is the culminating point of that school of literature with which is associated such names as those of Pushkin, Gogol, Turgeniev, and Goutcharov. At the same time Tolstoy is the best representative of the most independent and cultured section of the old Russian landed gentry. He is undoubtedly the central figure in the life of the Russian people.

Like all men of genius, Tolstoy belongs to all mankind; but he has grown naturally out of the depths of the mind of the Russian people,

and thus inevitably embodies both its greatness and its weaknesses. Great men do not fall from heaven, but reach up to heaven from earth. A great artist and a noble man, lashed to profound indignation by the wrongs of life, Tolstoy was led in the end to frame a doctrine which brought peace at least to his own conscience. This doctrine is extremely characteristic of Tolstoy's personality and, to a certain extent, of the whole Russian culture which grew through rather than from his teachings. Tolstoy is the prophet voice rather than the father and originator of the Russian revolutions.

Having created a strong State, the Russian people, during their constant struggle to maintain its power, had to sacrifice many of the blessings of culture and of freedom; wars necessitated the existence of a strong central authority exercising an autocratic will. But they dreamed still of a life in keeping with the truth of the Gospel, and both in their dreams and in practical life were ready to break with the stern regime of the distant State and to form anarchical communities. The limitless plains of Russia made it easy for those who were cramped by the restrictions of the centralised and bureaucratic State to seek personal freedom in the expanse of the great lands beyond the Volga, and, beyond the Caspian, where the State had no force and hence but little power. Instead of working with obstinate perseverance toward creating new and better conditions of civilised life within the narrow limits of the State as it existed at the time, many Russians sought to flee from this type of modern civilisation altogether. To stop this search for freedom it was found necessary in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to fasten the peasants to the land and bind them to the landed gentry. Tolstoy's flight from civilisation has its historical explanation in the fact that the political life of Russia was but imperfectly organised, and it was easily possible to escape from the regime of the State to the open country. This national instinct was combined in Tolstoy's mind with the peculiarities of his strong, passionate nature, uncompromising and heedless of obstacles in the environment of his life and time.

It is at this period that the tragic element in Tolstoy's life begins to be apparent. This theory is harmonious and consistent but it is nothing other than an extreme form of anarchism. Each man was to be a law unto himself under only the unifying law of God.

"All or nothing" is the motto of Brandt, the fanatical pastor in Ibsen's play. He wants to lead the poor fishermen of a small village away from the seashore where they caught herrings and to take them to the mountains, to a new church amid the snows, resplendent with the brilliance of glaciers. Brandt will have no compromise. When his mother bequeathes only nine-tenths of her property for charity and saves one-tenth for a rainy day, he refuses to come and say good-bye to the dying woman and to give her his last blessing. Brandt perishes and the poor fishermen return to their herrings cursing him and his wild fancies.

Extreme theories can lead to no other end. According to them there must be no compromise, no need for gradual evolution, no slow but certain approach to the ideal. Realisation must be swift. All or nothing! Live up to every point of ideals at once, or die, fighting for the absolute truth. Followers of these extreme theories do not understand that ideals, like stars on a dark night, do but indicate the right way, but remain themselves unattainable. Tolstoy was essentially an extremist.

God is in his view the principle of absolute love and of good. He is of the essence of the world and of human nature, and is the embodiment of the good. The least deviation from the good, from God, plunges man into the outer darkness. Evil is inadmissible even for a single moment; it defies the bright image of the Deity. The path to the good is through the good, without reservation, compromise or hesitation. Since love is the one principle of the world, do not cause evil either to animals or even to insects. Do not resist evil by evil.

If the State would compel the individual to evil or require him to do violence or to kill, then forsake the State, and go on strike against it in a peaceable but decisive strike, until the State ceases to exist. "Give the State no soldiers, no ministers, no judges", says Tolstoy, "do not pay it any taxes, whether direct or indirect, have nothing whatever to do with the State."

One of his heroes (all of whom represent Tolstoy himself), Father Sergius, forsakes the world in order to become a simple workman with a rich peasant in the far off land of Siberia. But a rich peasant is actually a mainstay of the State and of civilisation and, in serving him, Father Sergius merely supports the State in fact which he rejects in theory.

Tolstoy was a man of great conscience, pain-

fully sensitive to sin. In the world of evil amid the horrors of malice and selfishness, the noble artist and moralist reminded mankind in a vivid form of the great commandments of Christ. He did not indicate the path that leads to the good; but of the wrongs of life he spoke with such force, inspiration and truth, with such genuine suffering, that mankind looked upon its image wrought by the art of Tolstoy, and shuddered at its own unworthiness. "One cannot go on living like this", was the message of men heard in Tolstoy's preaching. The faith in the good is not lost—this was the consolation that Tolstoy's teaching has given us in this age of iron and of blood, of Nietzsche, Bismarck and Moltke, of Clemenceau, Grey or Ludendorff.

It was a comfort and a joy to hear the well-nigh forgotten teaching once more, to witness the great artist openly expressing his indignation against evil, hatred, religious and national intolerance, against violence and lying, against oppression and exploitation of one's neighbours. "I cannot remain silent" was the cry of his passionate soul—and he did not remain silent. This is his merit before humanity. Even though the animosity of the bureaucracy suppressed much of his word in Russia, he spoke to the world.

An unconditional fulfilment of the good and of love leads to complete self-renunciation and even death. One can understand it in the martyrs of old who believed in the eternal heavenly life beyond the grave and scorned the temporary sojourn in this world of sin. But Tolstoy as a Rationalist wants heaven here and now, on earth. His conception of the immortality of the soul is ambiguous—it is rather immortality in the race than the individual that he believes in. Here is a tragic impasse in Tolstoy's thought. A series of inconsistencies, agonising to the conscience, inevitably arise for him. To renounce the State means to renounce all the blessings of culture—education, public safety, law and order, railways, telegraphs, post, factories. Tolstoy insists upon this, but makes exception for agriculture; good machines are necessary for the peasants. He forgets that good machines cannot be manufactured apart from modern industrial culture with all its good and bad aspects. Even in his own life he was bound to be inconsistent at every step. In writing he had to use paper which is made in a factory; in publishing his works he was also making use of factories which exploit labour.



WGR

COUNT LEO TOLSTOY

From the Original Wood Engraving by

W. G. RAFFE

(Exhibited in the Royal Academy, London, 1920)

There was no way out, for one cannot easily escape completely from civilisation. Uncompromising, extreme theories lead at every step to irreconcilable opposition, to fruitless and unnecessary suffering, most of which is visited on the masses of the people. Tolstoy saw this with horror. One of his last works, the play *"The Light that Shines in Darkness"*—which suffered a good deal from the censorship of his friend Tchertkov—shows that he was beginning to realise that his counsels could lead to nothing but misery and could not change life. Could he have been mistaken? Was the terrible question which Tolstoy asked himself more than once and to which he found no answer. He was, like so many other fiercely sensitive artists, driven more and more inward, he could find no external satisfaction.

Tolstoy's leaving his family solved nothing and proved nothing. This sad story of the last days of his life calls for more special study than he gives here. He fled from his family, from his wife who had done so much for him (Countess S. A. Tolstoy copied out eight times the whole of *War and Peace*, helping her husband in his work), and whom he loved until he drew his last breath. He left them; but why? For what destination? With what object? That he did not know. In his soul raged the terrible conflict of the man whose tremendous will to create is foiled, of the artist whose ideal is shattered before it comes to fruition, of the builder whose structures have been destroyed by the quaking earth, by the hand of the very God he has worshipped.

What is there in the mind of the primitive peasant in Russia and of the educated peasant in Denmark which the leaders of thought in Modern England have lost? What is the essential difference between the peasant outlook and the outlook of the people who are bent on maintaining our present system with all its evils?

Why is it relatively easy to reconstruct agriculture and rural life in a remote province in White Russia, and why can we have great increase of production and every sort of educational facilities and interesting social life in Denmark, both poor countries, when it is so difficult to reconstruct rural life and have educational facilities and social life in rural England, an extremely rich country?

The difficulty that stops action is outlook. The Russian peasant is educated by religion and by life; he has a strong and vital faith in spiritual things, and he applies it to life and to material

things. In so far his Tolstoyan realism is an incentive to constructive toil.

To him a field of corn is the basic thing; it is food for his village. The forest gives him wood to build a house to live in, and firing to keep him warm and cook his food. His warm coat comes from the wool of the sheep; the sheep's skin provides his winter cloak and gloves. The flax gives the linen for his shirt and his wife's pretty summer robes. If his wife or daughter can get a little dyed silk or linen she can do beautiful embroidery for herself. Seeing such things vividly, the peasant settled down to create wealth, and in a couple of years a desolate district can be reconstructed.

But the typical English leader of thought has lost this peasant sense. He is educated by books. He lives largely in a world governed by abstract ideas derived largely from politicians, financiers, statisticians, and economists. He thinks in terms of money and figures. A field of corn is not to him food, but an item in a balance-sheet, and if it appears on the balance-sheet that it costs more to grow than it secures from the dealer, he passes into a world of illusion, and finally believes that the production of food is a loss to the country. He advises the farmer to grow less food and to keep accounts.

The Russian peasants make no such mistake. Their minds are trained in the lesson of facts; they may not keep accounts, but they set to work to produce wealth. The Danish educated peasant mind includes in his idea of wealth not only physical wealth, but wealth of the mind, education, and happy social life. He sets his face in the right direction; when he sees that the economic and financial system blocks the way, he realises that it is finance that is wrong and changes the system; he introduces an economic policy based on democratic control, co-operation, and standard prices. Thus he directs his policy to food production, and so he creates wealth, food and clothing, village halls and cottages, and education.

Russian culture, Russian art, and Russian social ideas have been almost exclusively spiritual and anarchist, largely because Russia did not exist as a national unit, and because 99 per cent. of Russians had been thrown overboard from the Ship of State by the rulers and their bureaucrats who held them down in ignorance.

But now, when those 99 per cent. are rulers of the State, there exists in Russia a great will

to create a materialistic culture, a materialistic power; a great will to make their own lives and the life of their State cultural in a material sense. But Russia is but slowly recovering from the century of dis-ease which caused its collapse. There are in Russia typhus and cholera, still short crops, and in the Russia of the peasants there is so little knowledge.

Yet, side by side with the will to make life better, there is a still greater desire to know, to learn, to understand, to know how to do things, rather than to talk or write about them. The whole of Russia is now learning in order to know how to do things—the whole of Russia is reading, in order to understand. 70 per cent. of the peasants are illiterate. How then can they read! The peasants in Russia do not live on farms but in villages of ten to fifteen households. Half the population of every village is illiterate. But in every village, though there may be no school, there is a reading hut to which the newspapers are brought, and read by the light of a small lamp and in some places by the light of a candle. The whole village gathers in this reading hut.

While some educated man reads the newspapers aloud, first the local paper, and then the Moscow "Bednots," the Russian peasants, listen, not losing a word, with their watching deep-set eyes and serious faces.

Again, see a Factory Settlement, on Saturday, when the hooter has sounded. An enormous queue of workmen, old and young, men and women, assemble near the factory library. The queue lasts till the evening, while they are changing their books.

The great majority of the "intellectuals", the chief harbingers of culture, deserted the revolution, and this together with economic collapse, has lowered the level of Russian culture for many years in a vertical direction. Universities, institutes, schools, have been badly hit, although even yet they are working regularly. But horizontally, culture is flowing abroad in wide streams—a hundred times wider than they were only fifteen years ago. There is no longer the bureaucratic interdictment of the power of the press, all Tolstoy works are available now.

And while the vertical culture covered Russia with a mesh much wider and more frail than the web of fashion, it is the horizontal culture that is moulding the fate of Russia to-day; and it is moulding it gradually to a magnificent future. But it will not be the ideal

of Tolstoy or of Lenin. Human nature has intervened.

Thus the Russians and the Danes march forward, while we go backward, and instead of altering our economic and financial system, we create poverty—material poverty and poverty of ideas.

An important duty of those who are interested in these questions is therefore to educate themselves. They have to learn what wealth is, and if our economic and financial system is preventing its creation, they must realise that it is the system that is wrong. They have to leave off thinking in terms of money and statistics. It is well to recognise that it is hard to gauge wealth by money or facts by figures.

When they have grasped that they will come back to the peasant sense, the learning now growing from the economics of Facts, which teaches us how to put the creation of wealth first and make money and credit the servant and not the master of production.

When England understands this there will be no difficulty in the way of reconstructing the countryside; our industrial system will be adjusted and our national policy will be directed to the creation of wealth, the homes, the food, the clothes, the education and the happiness of the people. The rest will be a matter of detail.

But this reconstruction of the disordered economics of the world can arise only in an ordered conception of the rationale of true freedom. A real ideal of liberty is that in which we engage to undertake no action repressive of any other man, which if mutually observed results in a system which can give the optimum of liberty consonant with the social growths. As there must be government by consent, so here can only be liberty by consent. Self rule is possible only to those who will allow that others may be right who have different ideas. This cannot occur for instance, with an aggressive people bent on altering the religious ideas of other people who are themselves quite satisfied with them. There are no more dangerous fanatics than those who believe themselves to be possessed of the whole truth, and who, not content with that, desire to impose their strange notions on others. No people of that stamp are fitted to rule themselves and certainly not others alien to themselves. The essence of liberty is toleration, while the essence of tyranny is dogmatism in the exercise of one's own freedom. Liberty is res-

pect for the ideas of others, when they are such as not to infringe on social rights.

The Tolstoyan concept of freedom and of liberty is one that is singularly impatient of facts, while its religious motive arose from a restricted conception of morality which denies that any other different conception can be valid. In the same way, the conception of art and its meaning is also restricted to its possibilities for forwarding Tolstoy's particular idea of life, in which, had they been consummated, all but the most elementary expressions would be impossible.

The peculiar interest that Tolstoyan teaching has lies in its vast sincerity and its immense psychological power. There is no doubt but that the emotional impetus and orientation which Tolstoy, above all other Russian writers, gave to the national consciousness, led to the successive revolutions which destroyed the bureaucracy he so much hated and who hated him and all he stood for. His love for the peasant was balanced, and even overbalanced, by his hate of the system which used them simply as a reservoir for supplies of food and wealth. To Tolstoy the peasants were no industrial machine, they were elementary and integral life in itself, the first and therefore the best expression of God in man. From this arose his peculiar idea of art, in that it was to be subjected to the judgment of the peasant for final approval. So he would sink bureaucratic culture in the ocean of the peasant masses, yet even in the distant future he expected no recession of the depths in a newer promise of future ages. His idea of freedom was thus mainly negative. Suffering like an animal under some strange unmerited punishment his tortured soul shrunk and fled. He could not stand and fight, but his inspiration led his kinsmen to stand and fight after his own time. In that appeal lay his greatness, in that his ideal and his force lived after him. The man could not fight the system except with all the people who suffered in it. The war did not cause the revolutions, it discovered forcibly the shortcoming of the rulers, and they almost broke under their own weight, like a ship lifted out of the water.

Tolstoy's ideas were not new, and he scarcely claimed that they had anything of his in them. Communalism had had its day in ancient China, it had been tried in peasant communities in ancient India, for it is an idea that occurs to all men when they begin to think politically. It is an earlier form biologically, and precedes the idea

of the great modern nation. The idea of the modern nation is an organised unity, armed for defence, which imposes the ideas of nationalism or imperialism on its members, and which carries out its intentions mainly through a trained bureaucracy. Bolshevism is the antithesis of imperialism, and is the forcible imposition of communalism. Both imperialism and bolshevism are therefore to be distinguished from the forces which would impose them on others. Both are limitations of freedom; both subject the individual to the group, the one aiming at the benefit of a different group of individuals within the nation than the other. Nevertheless, in all forms there are unavoidable restrictions on liberty, which all those who aim at a self rule, at a personal or national anarchism cannot avoid. No form can give liberty to those who are constitutionally incapable of receiving and using freedom, for it implies intelligence and responsibility. Both bolshevism and imperialism are inimical to the peace of the world, the one through civil war and the other through international war, each equally lawless, each murderous when opposed. Whichever force is in power calls any attempted subversion by the other as "sedition" just as fanatical devotees to some religions term all others as heretics or heathen. Such is the strange psychology of egotism when it is deluded with the idea that it possesses liberty, merely because it can say what its group likes. Never was there a greater slavery than the domination of the mass with dogma. Never are men more bound than when they deem themselves as truly free. Liberty, like love, is no thing bought for gold or even fair promises, but is a fine garment of the eager tenuous spirit, lacking which it lies not so much a prisoner as a force self-confined only because it is not yet ready to burst forth. For liberty is seated deep in the infinitesimal heart of each atom, regal in the power of Eros that binds the flowing universe in love, and holding the stars in their courses balances them on beams of light. And in her keeping are the most happy places of this swift revolving world.

Freedom from a definite oppression of the body is a cause that can be fought for; that may be died for, and even more terribly lived for. Indeed such vain oppression from some childish tyrant will oft do more to grip souls in the bond of brotherhood than all the dusty centuries that roll in merely selfish individual striving on paths self-chosen yet aimless. Yet mere freedom

from such oppression is not true liberty but only the first step, once this great desire of the soul is known. Freedom can be given but liberty cannot be thrust even by the mightiest upon the unready man, for he is like a slave confined for years in dark caverns suddenly faced with the exorbitant power of heavenly day, unable to see his new gained choice of movement, unable, while blind with excess of light, to safely move at all.

Yet liberty is no sole privilege of kings and princes, for many ceremonies bind them tighter to invisible prisons of the mind than his simple wants shackle some poor peasant youth. Nor do great riches confer this glorious liberty on each upheaving soul, for which other things and many dreams were well lost. For riches are fetters of separateness and a burden to the spirit; they are strong armour against the sun of righteousness. Unless the understanding be full and sober in their governance they are apt to prove a dull key to a freedom for vice that makes an ever growing prison for a blinded soul. Liberty is a thing of great beauty, but he who would serve and cherish liberty must first be sure to know her well and not to leave her for

some painted fraud who will never content him but who will slowly break his grieving heart.

Thus liberty is not of men but of angels; not easily known nor soon gained, for to gain true liberty is to gain something of heaven, a deed for a stalwart soul. For we must gain the kingdom of heaven by force,—not of arms, for that were a poor and ridiculous proceeding—even as to gain earthly peace by pursuing war—but by the divine force of that irresistible wisdom which overcomes all hindrances, and the priceless patience that waits unwearied through all delays. When the power of the emotions and the sweep of the intellect are fairly balanced in the true way of living, which desires not life but wisdom; when the scales cease to wildly kick at each alternate beam, and stay at rest, then we shall attain and enjoy that only liberty which is worthy of that great name, in the peace that is beyond understanding, and above the turmoil of the troubled world of men so that they can neither give nor steal away; the only true liberty that ever was on land or sea, on earth or in the starry firmament, the only liberty that will last when all else is dissolved in fire and the curtain of remembrance is rolled away; the liberty of the divine and immortal soul.

THE DISMAL DEVIL'S GLARE IN THE DARK.

How it affects the East and the West.

By MR. K. C. SEN.

In this article I intend to deal with the comparative psychology of the East and the West in regard to the problem of population. I make no apology for the quaintness of the title of the essay. The words 'dismal' and 'devil' are borrowed from the writings of two eminent writers of world-fame, who have used them with great effect in calling attention to the same object, whose incessant glare, now dull and again blazing into a flare, keeps western civilisation continually watchful, sometimes trembling and now tottering. Among the achievements of science and civilisation, the discovery of the dismal devil ranks as one of the most wonderful. The discovery is more than a hundred years old

now, and during this long period scientific investigation has enabled the savants of the civilised world to study the devil, his nativity and growth, his activities and accomplishments, his threats and their fulfilments, with great care and thoroughness. It has now been discovered that it was this devil who by his threats and instigations, his promises and deceptions goaded Europe into the Great War, whose aftermath, slowly developing, is now changing the face of the existing order and creating an unprecedented consternation all over the world. The subject is likely to interest the reader, and I have ventured to shake off my diffidence in order to place before him such facts and inferences as

have been available to me. The authorities of the *Hindustan Review* never grudge space to any writer, whether known or unknown, if they find him inspired by beneficent motives. I claim a similar indulgence from the reader. In short, I hope the length of the essay will not irritate him to the extent of inclining him to turn over the pages and leave it for perusal in the indefinite never-to-come future.

The feeling of oppression caused by the consciousness of over-population is, according to Hebrew tradition, as old as when the total population of the world consisted of two brothers and their aged parents.* This feeling is known in some countries by the name of jealousy,—a disagreeable name, indicating that there is some screw loose in the machine where thought and feeling are generated. In other countries it is regarded as the foundation of civilisation and human progress, of science and art which make the world worth living. The former countries are in the East, and the latter, in the West. Surely the East and the West began life with a serious psychological gulf placed between them by nature—a gulf which has been deepening and widening with the lapse of time, defying all attempts at constructing a substantial cantilever bridge, though a weak and fragile pontoon connection has been established between the banks. In the West a man thinks twice before

he unites himself with a woman; and when he has entered into marriage, the intimation that a baby is coming to visit him generates in him a disagreeable feeling, though when the visitor actually comes he does not spare himself to make him comfortable. In the East the birth of a child though hailed with the blowing of trumpet, does not lead to that degree of solicitude for his comforts which is conspicuous in the West. The man of the East does not pay any extraordinary deference or attention to his child, because he does not pay them to himself. Life as lived in this world is not of much consequence to him, and he does not go out of his way to make it a matter of deep concern. In the West this life is a gift of heaven, and is tended with great care. In the East it is a mere contrivance made by a sportive God for his own pleasure. A few million dolls, more or less, do not matter. Famine and pestilence sweep them away, and Rebirth brings them back to take part in the eternal sport again. No man ever dies in this world of sport; he only goes 'out', though the youthful players sometimes cry out, "dead, dead," to make the fact more impressive.

The man of the West, particularly if he is equipped with the gift of forethought, tries his best to keep out visitors. He knows that the latter will not add to his income, while his expenditure will increase. To produce a balanced budget he tries, like a genuine statesman, to retrench domestic expenditure, and to add to his fiscal activities. The last process is difficult, and he feels that he must curtail his comforts and luxuries, and probably descend from warm chops and cutlets to cold meat, and probably take bread without a coating of butter, and substitute Nature's drink for artificial bever-age, coarse blanket for serge and broad cloth, and half-tanned skin for soft leather. It means an ordeal to him. The disagreeable feeling has developed for five thousand years, during which, despite all preventive and remedial measures, the world's population has increased seventeen hundred million fold. Humanity bore their suffering, ignorant of the true scientific cause of it until a little over a hundred years ago, Malthus, a Christian Clergyman of England, in his endeavour, probably, to bring about an apologetic reconciliation between science and theology, published the marvellous discovery that while subsistence grew in arithmetical, population advanced in geometrical progression. He discovered this ugly truth by a *posteriori*

*Herbert Spencer has interpreted (p. 324, Vol. II., *Principles of Sociology*) the jealousy between Abel and Cain,—“the story of Cain and Abel described as ‘tiller of ground’ and ‘keeper of sheep’ (but who cannot be regarded as actual persons, since Adam was not in a condition for suddenly establishing his sons in arable farming and stock keeping) evidently refers to leaders of tribes between which there arose a feud, because men of the one turned to agricultural purposes while men of the other claimed their right to feed their flocks over. This we can scarcely doubt after learning from ancient books of the East that this cause initiated chronic wars.”

This theory is however inadequate because Abel was the less advanced of the two brothers being still a shepherd, and had, according to Spencer's own theory, more reason to be jealous of Cain than Cain had to be jealous of Abel. We would naturally expect Abel to have killed Cain more than Cain to have assassinated Abel. The theory appears to impute to God the demoniac desire to nip human progress in the bud, or, to indicate that God wished that men should live a pastoral life through all eternity. Again, pastoral life is more advanced than hunting life. The theory does not explain why God did not take time by the forelock and take steps to obstruct human progress when man had advanced from the hunting to the pastoral life. Spencer, evidently, gave the above explanation somewhat inadvertently to illustrate the theory that “the adoption of a higher form of social life by one people engenders enmity in adjacent peoples who adhere to the old”.

research. He probably found in the supernatural implications of the discovery a fulfilment and verification of the curse passed by God, first, on Adam, who was guilty of dire disobedience of his command, and then on his son Cain, who had broken the most important commandment in the decalogue, a thousand years before its promulgation through Moses,—the curse that stiffened Nature to yield no return proportionate to the labour applied to her, to reinforce, as a priphrastic surplusage, the other curse that man would perpetually eat in the sweat of his face and in the sorrows of his heart, and that he would live as a vagabond and fugitive on earth. Christ was, no doubt, sent after three thousand years to save humanity from their growing distress, but the mission failed, and before leaving the world under the most pathetic circumstances, Christ promised a second visit when the kingdom of God on earth would be firmly established by the final expulsion of Satan and his legion, who had selected this speck of dust for conducting their irritating excursions of pin-pricks and pinches. The second visit has not come yet. Devoted Christians thought during the Great War that Christ was coming, not, as the New Testament predicted, like a thief at dead of night, but with trumpets blowing, bombs firing, zeppelins flying, and submarines plunging, with the earth dug up, and the ocean turned into a huge graveyard. One of them wrote a book to answer the question, "what is coming?" But the aftermath of the war is by no means promising, and meanwhile the devil whom Malthus discovered has increased the fierceness of his glare. The effectiveness of the positive check applied by man in the shape of war has proved considerably short of expectations. Man tries to keep down or to reduce population, while the devil's object is to increase suffering by reducing rations. Instead of slaughtering consumers the war has murdered capital. Labour is crying for employment; parasitism is crying for abundance and cheaper goods, while the remnant of capital is dissipating itself in the poisonous atmosphere of taxation. The world is passing through an ordeal.

The true inwardness of the curse never appears to have been realised in Europe. Some people interpret over-population as an absolute excess destined to immediate extirpation by starvation. There are others who think that the excess quit the world, through lack of adequate nutrition, by disease caused by slow enervation.

Some are of opinion that a larger population is affected than the mathematical excess, and actual death is put off for a comparatively long time. There are others who think that the population as a whole is affected, and though death is not hastened, general debility and debauchment ensue with the result that the average efficiency of labour or working capacity is reduced so as to produce permanent national degeneration. These statements are suggestive, and not intended to be exhaustive. Much depends on the meaning of the word 'subsistence' used in the Malthusian law. The law itself as stated by Malthus lacks perspicuity, though generally he seems to include clothing, house-shelter and ordinary comforts in the signification attached to the word. These elements, particularly the last, give a character of vagueness to the law, and deprive it of much of its value as a scientific truth. To be brief, subsistence may mean provision for the physiological needs of the human constitution, or it may include his aesthetic needs also. These two kinds of needs, including hygienic and sanitary requirements as well as the finer demands of the nervous system, are themselves variable as a consequence of the inequality which characterises the social organisation. These explanations however touch but the fringe of the difficulty. The real source of confusion in interpreting the law lies elsewhere.

Hygienic experts are divided in opinion as to the quality and quantity of food the average man requires to keep good health. They vary for childhood, youth and old age. They vary also for difference of climate. Food values are a difficult subject to determine from the economic, hygienic and aesthetic point of view. The same difficulty is experienced from the sanitary point of view, *i.e.*, in regard to clothing, house shelter and surroundings. As a rule within certain limits of conditions the average man requires a determinable quantity of food, though it is difficult to determine it. The old opinion, that where the quantity is unknown it is less injurious to consume a little more of the food than a little less of it, was an indirect invitation to the Malthusian devil. That opinion is now changed among experts. An American expert considers that the average man consumes six times as much food as he requires for normal health. An Indian expert thinks that in India the average consumption of food is eight times as great. When we include aesthetic needs experts are bewildered as to the value of the

commodities required for their satisfaction. This value varies more widely than the cost of hygienic satisfactions. Every man has his own value for every stage of life; and every station of life has a value of its own. The changing tastes and temperaments of the individual ask for different values from time to time. As a rule the value increases with progress in gratification and the economic capacity of the individual. Time scale salaries in the public service are not an unmixed benefit. They have a demoralising influence on tastes. The institution of old age pensions is excellent, but a man must adapt his temperament to the new conditions of income to reap the full benefit of the institution.

Happiness and contentment are delicate states of consciousness. They change with every puff of wind in the outer atmosphere of objects, and every vibration in the nervous system. The nerve centre is kept in order by physical and psychical forces. The appetites and desires though separable in thought from the objects which soothe them in their excitement, are also stimulated in different degrees by their appearance or disappearance, nearness or remoteness, largeness or smallness. The outer world is interwoven with the inner. The senses are interlaced with one another. The influence of will, instincts, culture, custom, tradition, memory, sensation, perception, and consciousness of all kinds is visible in happiness and contentment. Psychology however is in its infancy, and I shall try no analysis. It may be stated, however, as a truth that attachment, detachment and indifference to the objective world may each produce the consciousness of happiness. In the West attachment, and in the East detachment or indifference gives happiness. The psychologies of the two hemispheres are unlike. Over-population is an objective fact as well as a feeling. In the former capacity it affects the health of the body. In the latter, it affects the health of the mind. Disorder in the mind produces disorder in the body, acting through the nervous system. Over-population as an objective fact is much weaker than as a subjective feeling. No country is objectively over-populated if, as experts tell us, the average man consumes six times as much commodity as good health requires. The West is subjectively over-populated; the East is not.

It will be seen from what has been said above that the value of the Malthusian law as a mathematical truth is not very great, as one of

the terms used in it, namely, subsistence, is incapable of precise definition. It has, however, a general value, which determines the prosperity or impoverishment of families and nations. The law wisely limits itself to tendencies and potentialities, and does not extend to actual results. Nations which neglect these tendencies, and fail to provide against them, run towards ruin. The object of Western civilization is to counteract these tendencies by various methods. The misfortune is that the methods are mere temporary and treacherous palliatives with a cumulative tendency towards catastrophic ends. Experience shows that subjective maladies are not easily cured by objective remedies. Lady Macbeth rightly doubted the power of physicians to cure mental diseases.

Every inch of ground actually gained by Western civilisation leads potentially to the loss of two inches. The Malthusian law of economics has been rightly described by Professor Keynes as a devil; and Carlyle long ago described the entire science as the dismal science. The former has made the latter dismal. Over-population is thus a dismal devil ever casting a dreadful glare in the dark at Western civilisation. The devil it may be truly said, resides within the heart, and torments it. If the kingdom of God is within man *de fine* or *potentially*, the kingdom of the devil is within him *de facto* or *actually*. The dismal devil holding empire within the heart of man, but supposed to rule as a non-resident foreign tyrant, was discovered by Malthus, not created by him. The devil is older than the curse of Cain. He invaded Human Society in the second generation, at seven o'clock in the morning of human civilisation. Civilisation began with the expulsion of man from paradise, which immediately followed the eating of the venomous fruit, and the devil marched in shortly after. His glare affected the West more than the East, where people largely escaped it by calmly accepting that part of the curse of Cain which purported to turn man into a vagabond and a fugitive on earth. There, man largely detached himself from life, which he considered unreal and overspread with illusions, while in the West man attached himself to the earth and to life despite the curse, and made matters worse by his otiose strivings. The civilised man of the West has tried various methods to drive out the devil, but has plunged deeper in the mire of misery by accepting temporary palliatives, instead of striking at the

vital parts of the enemy's body. I shall here barely mention the methods leaving fuller explanation to develop itself in due course. These methods are:—(1) exploration, (2) expropriation, (3) extermination, (4) expulsion and (5) exploitation, adding only that where the devil stared at the whole population, civilisation made compromise by sacrificing part of it.

Over-population may have various gradations of width and expansion. It may be universal, national, communal, domestic or occasional. When at a banquet thirteen men are present while board is laid for twelve there is one too many. That is the simplest case of over-population. One of the visitors must leave the room or be expelled out of it, if the meeting is not to be dissolved abortively. The difficulty lies in selecting the victim or the man to be rejected. What is known as the Law of Natural Selection is a special mode of elimination or rejection leading to selection for preservation. This mode of indirect selection is followed by the Selection Board appointed for selecting candidates for the Imperial Civil and Police Service examinations and for the Bengal Civil Service examination. Those who are not rejected are automatically selected. The selection is passive; the rejection is active. The selection is a corollary of the rejection. Now imagine the world to be a big banqueting hall, and the total population of the world to be the guests invited by Nature, while Board is laid for a smaller member. This is universal over-population. Nature as the host must reject the excess population. Darwin discovered the unedifying law of passive selection by active rejection, now known as the Law of Natural Selection. Man is supposed to be exclusively responsible for the creation of over-population, and Nature is supposed to merit thanks for bringing population down to normal density. The truth is that man has not yet succeeded in discriminating between Nature and Art separately energising to his final destiny. If Malthus discovered a Captain, Darwin uncovered the head of the Field-marshal and Commander-in-Chief of the famous army that contested the sovereignty of heaven with the Almighty. But Darwin's theory has a redeeming feature, which stimulates hope and optimism for humanity as a collective personality. The passive selection is not merely a preservative process, but an ameliorative or developmental force, which, it is anticipated by philosophers like Herbert Spencer, will eventual-

ly turn the world not merely into an abode of plenty and prosperity, but perfect the moral life of man into a real kingdom of Heaven, such as Christ came to establish on earth. No doubt that ideal condition is placed in the remote future, separated from the present by millions of years, still it has a fascination for minds accustomed to subordinate the individual to the Society, and not merely reconciled to the consciousness of indefinite, almost eternal human sacrifice in retail, but can look with a heavenly complacency on it for the sake of the ultimate blissful state. That there is no salvation without sacrifice is a deep-rooted sentiment in the human mind. This sentiment in the early ages contemplated voluntary sacrifice and separate salvation for the individual. The sentiment in the present age contemplates compulsory sacrifice of the individual for collective salvation. Under the new scheme the individual lives for the society. Under the old scheme society was established for the benefit of the individual. This distinction is conspicuous in German culture. It is vague and obscure in British culture. Herbert Spencer who for the first time dealt with this aspect of social life was not quite sure whether society was for the benefit of the individual or the individual was for the benefit of Society, and tried to convince people that the two propositions had equal force. The distinction becomes glaring when the interest of Society antagonises with the interest of the individual. His ultimate ideal however seems to show more clearly that he thought of the interests of the individual as definitely subordinate to those of Society; for the individuals of the present generation can have no interest as individuals, in sacrificing themselves for the benefit of other individuals, unknown and unborn, but expected to come into life long after the former have been dead and forgotten. Our primitive forbears found delight in the religion of ancestor worship; our scientific contemporaries are exultant over the worship of posterity. It may be mentioned that the ancestors had a real existence, while posterity has an existence in possibility only. I may add also that subsequent research has established the truth that the interests of Society are in many cases antagonistic to the interests of individuals, and not merely incongruent with them; whence it follows that the individual can not work for the benefit of Society without feeling his own subordination, while Society never has that

debasing feeling of self-subordination. At all events Darwin invested the Malthusian devil with divine qualities, however remote and indistinct. He rediscovered the devil and bestowed on him a larger outlook, a larger perspective and a finer morality. Malthus' devil is purely destructive. Darwin's is destructive with a difference.

The pressure of over-population is most conspicuously felt where recurring supply is stopped, and a fixed population has to depend upon a diminishing supply, as in a life-boat or in a besieged garrison. Here the only method of relief lies in the rejection of a part of the population for the mere preservation of the rest. The method of selection is artificial, often irrational. Sometimes the decision of chance or lottery is depended upon. I am not aware of any instance where a body of people segregated from the rest of the world, and depending upon a diminishing supply of subsistence, have taken the alternative of death for all or for none. The extreme attachment to life brings into operation the law that one life is better than no life, when all lives are in peril. This is the law of the culture of the West. Eastern culture has a different law. It is dominated by a higher consciousness, and 'death for all or no death at all' is the alternative approved by individual conscience and public opinion, though the occasion for such decision is seldom risked. When, however, the risk does arrive, there is no inclination to seek for selection or rejection of parts. The idea of segregation in an epidemic or plague or contagious disease is strenuously opposed by the Eastern conscience, while in the West it is believed to be inspired by higher morality and wisdom, which regards Nature as non-moral, and God, as exulting in selective preference, or in the butchery of rejection. Segregation is a form of expulsion ennobled by the notion that it is suggested by divine wisdom. The eastern mass-mind regards segregation as an unholy and futile interference with divine purpose and process. The law of Natural selection had no chance of being discovered in the East however high the scientific attainments of the people might be. Those who think that the East can with benefit adopt Western Science, and at the same time retain its indigenous moral sentiments, should ponder over these facts with a dispassionate mind. Science is not merely Physics, Mechanics or Chemistry, but it includes other branches of knowledge more

directly and intimately concerned with human welfare. Perhaps the advocates of amalgamation would make (1) a selection of the sciences to be taught to school boys and (2) a cross marking of the chapters to be eschewed in the selected books. They would probably assume pontifical authority to decide what exactly is to be taught and what to be rejected. They must in the first instance decide what exactly is to be taught and what to be rejected. They must also decide whether nature is moral or non-moral. Thirdly, they must decide whether Nature has behind her a super-nature, whose modes are expressed in natural phenomena. Fourthly, they must decide whether this super-nature, if it exists, is moral, non-moral or immoral or mysterious (*i.e.*, unknowable.) These are fundamental questions and must be definitely and precisely answered before the East can adopt Western Science, as distinguished from Western civilisation. Western civilisation is fundamentally connected with Western Science, and the Western 'nation' or 'nationalism' is intimately connected with Western Civilisation. Some advocates of amalgamation of East and West erroneously try to dissociate the three social elements, *viz.*, Science, Civilization and Nation from one another, forgetting that all three indicate the existence of a particular social psychology or mode of thinking, or of estimating values, which must be changed before any real amalgamation can take place. The problem here adumbrated is of the highest importance to Humanity though it does not belong to the subject I am dealing with, except indirectly. The particular social psychology of a nation at any given moment or period of history is the resultant of the interaction of two forces—the one internal and the other external. National psychology is never static or stagnant, but a changeful dynamic force, which issues out of the psychology of the next preceding moment or period, perturbed by new events and facts of national importance generating new interests for the nation of a protective or progressive nature, which last are themselves almost inextricably interwoven. For instance, the Great War is ordinarily known to have been caused by an accident at Serajevo in Serbia. But a petty momentary or transitory incident like the accident of Serajevo could never have by itself caused a cataclysm like the Great War. The belligerents or most of them (and these the most important of them) were already psychologically prepared for the war. The new interests

which affected German psychology were progressive or aggressive in character; those which influenced British and French psychology were protective or defensive. The latter were in possession of vested interests which Germany was indirectly disputing by an unprecedented rapidity of commercial and industrial expansion threatening to dislodge them from their position of ascendancy or leadership in Western civilisation. The world was too small for the three, while there were springing up in the Columbo-Da Gamic world other powers which might sooner or later assume the same self-assertive attitude as Germany. Indeed one of them, namely, the United States of America by her geographical remoteness, her vastness of territory, her stupendous material resources and her avowed colonial policy, had silenced suspicion and kept the psychology of the nations holding vested interests confined within peaceful bounds. Ten years before the war students of national psychology had predicted it. Three years before the breaking out of the war there was no body, who was anybody in the civilised world, who did not foresee that a collision between progressive and protective interests was impending. The responsible rulers on both sides were deliberately engaged in preparing themselves, for about fifteen years, for a war the like of which the world had never seen before. It was a study of national psychology that enabled statesmen and streetmen to predict the war and prepare for it.

From these facts it will appear that nothing great in the world happens without a preparatory or premonitory change in social psychology. Social psychology does not change in a day. Germany had taken fifty years to change the main current of her psychology from the ideals of philosophy and poetry to commerce and industry, from academic supremacy to political ascendancy; while her military instincts, strong and promising from the beginning of history, had continued to develop with accelerated speed triumphantly passing through the Franco-German War, until it culminated in the Great War of 1914-18. The French Revolution of 1790 was the result of a change in the psychology of resignation to the inevitable to that of drastic aggression of the possible, effected in the course of half a century by a mixed propaganda, conducted by the encyclopædists, atheists and revolutionists, preaching the national rights of men against which vested

interest could not plead any law of limitation. Potentiality precedes actuality, and potentiality is another name for change of psychology in social phenomena of an extraordinary character. Before the East can advance upon a scheme for amalgamating her own civilisation with that of the West she must take stock of her present psychology and the changes it has undergone during the last fifty years by the pressure of Western Civilisation, with its reactions and revivalisms. Amalgamation is a general term comprehending many varieties of union. Lord Ronaldshay would introduce Western Civilisation and culture into India with an Indian orientation. Dr. Tagore would borrow Western Science divorced from Western morals, particularly the morals of the 'nation' of the West. Is it possible to turn the Indian psychology of the life of contemplation and indifference to the objective world to that of attachment and the hurry and bustle of industrial and commercial life; the psychology of complacency and contentment to that of complaint and combativeness; the psychology of plenty in privation to that of privation in plenty and abundance? The last psychology has largely changed causing avoidable misery and suffering, while complacency and contentment have glided into imbecile complaint divorced from combativeness. The life of contemplation and indifference is crumbling without any reconstructive effort in the direction of industry and commerce. While it is difficult either to return to the old psychology or to advance in a wholesome direction, it is easy to leave India to the mercy of environment, composed mainly of foreign influences, to glide, along the line of least resistance to the hall of lethargy, love of comfort and incapacity to gratify it. The relevancy of this apparent digression will appear when I come to point out how, while the West is frightened by the glare of the dismal devil, the East remains unperturbed. It will be useful even at the risk of the imputation of repetition to call attention to the fundamental fact that overpopulation is a subjective consciousness as well as an objective fact. Ordinarily in the phenomena of perception the subjective consciousness is believed to be a mere ideated reflection of an objective fact acting upon the thinking subject through the medium of one or more of the senses; and mathematically speaking the intensity of the consciousness varies directly as the strength with which the fact impinges upon the thinking

subject. The consciousness of over-population does not strictly follow this law. At a given time in a given society a density of 50 to the mile may be regarded as constituting over-population. At another time a density of 500 to the mile may be regarded as a sign of under-population. Every country has a fixed density for a given period as its normal density. Taking general circumstances into consideration India is badly over-populated in the eye of the European. But the children of the soil are at this moment crying for an increasing population. Some philosophers lament that the Bengalee is a dying race, though the census does not show much diminution of numbers from decade to decade. On the other hand Europe is crying for a diminution of the population as the continent is unable to sustain the existing density left stranded in the aftermath of the Great War. She would fain expel into exile the unemployed people who now number large throughout the continent including Britain. But the actual density in Europe is lower than the density in India. The emotion by which the consciousness of over-population is accompanied often varies in intensity, at least in its outward manifestation, as experience shows, in inverse order with the strength of the objective fact. Throughout Europe during the fifty years immediately preceding the war, the complaint of over-population in the mentality of the average citizen increased in intensity and loudness in proportion as the law of increasing return asserted itself; as the people were beginning to have more food and clothing and better comforts, after a period of starvation—wages and unhealthy conditions of factory labour, while the Ruling classes, following the example of Oliver Twist, cried for still more. Probably, having regard to all the circumstances of the work—house management, the poor child was unreasonable and got his reward in the shape of a flogging. The people, particularly the ruling classes of Europe are now undergoing the same kind of suffering. The more they ask for, the fiercer is the glare of the devil and the severer their fright and suffering. News of the hopeless condition of Europe at the present time is coming daily with the accounts of the problem of reparation, the occupation of the Ruhr, the impending dissolution of industry in the occupied territory, the moral disintegration evidenced by the separatist movement, the persistence of the stubborn French policy and the dilemma in

which Britain finds herself between the horns of Honour and Interest, the collapse of exchange, the disappearance of the Russian granary, the growing atrophy of German industry and trade, and the gradual emaciation of British manufacture and commerce. One can not fail to perceive the dismal devil's glare behind this panoramic scene of desolation, disruption and chaos affecting the mighty civilisation that has for more than two centuries kept the world spell-bound. Suppose a similar cataclysm had passed over India. She did not escape her due share of slaughter and economic bleeding of the Great War. But has she suffered much mental agony thereby? Her psychology is different. The million soldiers that she sent to the field of carnage went for the most part never to return home. The trade conditions sent up the prices of food and clothing three hundred per cent high. But what did India do? She shed not a drop of tear. She struggled not to improve her material condition. Her people went on propagating the race as before, and pestilence persisted in her course of killing and weakening as before. She has nearly got through the ordeal without losing her equanimity. She fasted half the days and went half-naked for a negligible period of six or seven years. The revenue of the Government of India showed a slight temporary set back, and new forms of taxation filled the treasury again. India hardly felt the blast, and if she stood up to bow before it, she is again plunged in the deepest thought. To change her condition is to change her psychology, her mental nature and her outlook on life. To change her psychology is to subject her to frights and scares caused by the glare of the dismal devil; to subject her to the miseries of over-population in the midst of abundance, to consternation in the midst of heavenly anticipations of a better time for the world. Psychology, Mentality Culture and Nature nearly express the same idea. To change the psychology of a people is to change their mentality, their nature and their culture. When Spencer says the nature of the Englishman is different from that of the Indian, he obviously means something that changes, though not very quickly yet not very slowly;—he calls attention to the divergent culture of the West and the East. We may substitute mentality for culture if we like, without altering the sense. Slave-mentality, slave-psychology, slave-culture and slave-nature give nearly the same idea. The time taken to produce

any change in any of the four ideas has a minimum which varies with environment. But in no case can a people change their mentality or their nature in less than two generations, however hard and persistent the propaganda work may be. I call attention to this truth because there exists in the world of philosopher-reformers a strong tendency to press the years into hours in their regenerative desires. Herbert Spencer, the author of the *Synthetic Philosophy*, who had unfortunately written articles on the functions of the State as a reforming propagandist, suffered from the illusion that the socialistic movement which he denounced would collapse before his death, or in other words that the psychology or nature or mentality of the British people which had taken a decided turn towards socialism would again run into a firm individualistic steel-frame and there keep itself fixed till the kingdom of plenty arrived, and perfect altruism untouched by emotion turned it into the kingdom of God on earth. It pained him to observe from year to year that the socialistic movement far from collapsing was gaining additional strength and expansion. Mr. Hudson consoled him in his death-bed at Brighton by telling him that socialism was decaying; and the dying man involuntarily exclaimed, "I am satisfied, I am satisfied."

Something of the same kind of mentality was observed in the great philosopher-poet-reformer of India, (a delicious concoction of tamarind, chilli and sugar which titillates the palatal nerves and afterwards irritates the pectoral muscles) who after entering into a solemn contract with Slumbering Nemesis for the strangulation of the British "nation" of the West, without desecrating, with her untouchable hands, the sacred civilisation of that hemisphere, had hurried from Europe and America in 1921 to take part in the Non-Co-operation movement, by which Mahatma Gandhi, as he had been informed by his correspondents, had, as by a sudden coup changed the slave-mentality of India into a psychology of independence and fearlessness, of orderly progress in moral and social idealism. He was sadly disappointed, and before long he had to confess his mistake at a public meeting, where he violently denounced the ardent youthful spirits who worshipped Gandhi and dishonoured his preachings, being deeply permeated by the disruptive spirit of revolution which leads to psychologic chaos, not to the orderly progress of mentality towards

genuine freedom. Reform and philosophy, like poetry and reason, do not make good bed-fellows. It would have been more reasonable for him to have found fault with his own mentality which had irrationally urged him to compress the years into the hours and the months into the minutes, or to think that a coup could surprize a national psychology into submission. The amalgamation of the jumping regenerative and the calm philosophic spirit is an irrational, because un-natural, attempt to unite in wedlock antithetical twains that meet but can not wed. With regard to the law of population there are three distinct psychologies into which European mentality is diverging. These are Malthusian, Darwinian and super-Darwinian. Huxley who believed that human civilisation advances by opposing Darwinian evolution is pessimistic and purely Malthusian. Spencer believed that the Darwinian law of the survival of the fittest is as applicable to human life as to the life of the animal and the insect, and he may be called Darwinian in his attitude towards the law of population. He is optimistic but his optimism is divided from practical pessimism by the German psychology which assumed the terrible strength and dimension of National Kultur before the Great War. It believes not only in the operation of the Darwinian law in all organic structures, including man, but in all super-organic or social structures. The struggle for existence, springing out of the egoistic law of self-assertion, leads to the selection of the fittest. Huxley thinks this law of self-assertion is enfeebled by civilisation, not strengthened by it; and it must theoretically cease to exist when civilisation reaches its ultimate height of perfection. In practice, however, the Malthusian law of population out-growing subsistence must lead, long before the perfection is reached, to such severe actual objective misery and such growing consciousness and feeling of oppression that the ethical man must return to his cosmic, uncalculating brute nature, and completely upset the structure of individualistic civilisation to try a fresh experiment in social organization: (Social diseases and remedies). Spencer thinks that while ethical evolution proceeds by the law of the survival of the fittest in the struggle for existence, man will gradually come to realise that unless a moving equilibrium is established between the growth of population and the growth of subsistence, civilisation must stand in the constant fear of degeneration, and that he

will, by the power of his slowly acquired intelligence and inhibitive will, helped by a growing abundance of nourishment, be able to bring about a fair compromise between population and subsistence leading to a fixed population flourishing upon eternally developing subsistence, culminating in the establishment of the kingdom of God on earth morally and materially. He is optimistic but is befogged by his optimism. His *a priori* adumbrations of the remote future do not consist of the facts of experience, but proceed upon unverifiable inferences, made in defiance of the Malthusian and Darwinian law. The highest glory belongs to the German psychology which makes out that, like the progress of the individual effected by the survival of the fittest man in the struggle between the individual man and his neighbours, so social progress advances by the survival of the fittest Nation in the struggle between each nation and all other nations. This psychology advocated war as the test by which the fitness for survival might be determined between Germany and the neighbouring powers. It was this psychology developing for half a century, with accelerated velocity during the reign of Kaiser Wilhelm II that hurried Germany to its culmination in the Great War, which, to say the least, has failed to find which of the Great Powers of Europe is the fittest for survival. Germany herself has for the moment been found to be unfit for survival, and it is to be hoped that if Germany ever attains her pre-war prosperity and power it will be by disregarding the preachings of Nietzsche and Bernhardt, and that she will never again hastily put her fitness for survival to the test of War. The whole mentality mis-applied a misunderstood theory to practical human affairs. There was no struggle for existence between Germany and her neighbours, but one for expansion, ascendancy and aggrandisement, which is irrelevant to Darwin's theory. A mysterious beauty attaches to the law of evolution in that while the natural struggle is carried on with the unconscious object of maintaining mere existence, the Survivor receives the reward of ameliorative progress. This beauty is forgotten by those who wish to support national ambitions by the authority of Darwin. It is a desecration of the philosophy of biological evolution to drag it into the gladiatorial arena of international suspicions and jealousies, rivalries and conflicts. The beauty is that this desecration is common among those

who think themselves equipped with superior power with the prospect of victory in war, diplomatic, commercial or military. Military power lies at the bottom of diplomatic power, and the power of tariff follows from excellence in diplomacy. Darwin probably did not fancy that the power of guns and aeroplanes and submarines would be regarded as natural supplement to the power of bones and muscles in the struggle for existence by which Nature selects the strong or rejects the weak. It is doubtful if he even calculated the strength of numbers as an element in the qualities required for survival. The power of bearing the severities of climate and of resisting disease was the fundamental power in his scheme of biological evolution. This power was identified with the power of muscles and bones, which helps in a duel of bare arms, not of arms made of steel and nourished by gunpowder and venomous gas. Experience shows that a physically strong man who beats a competitor in a duel, is not less liable to the attack of cholera and plague than the vanquished neighbour. The Darwinian theory is still in the stage of hypothesis, and to drag it into international quarrels seems to be the highest philosophic folly and diplomatic outrageousness. But for good or evil, the psychology of the West stands where it is. It can not be changed in a day, and is bound to work more astounding and shocking wonders in the course of Western Civilisation before it receives the final death blow.

Preparations for the Great War for ascendancy were made for many years preceding the event. Each of the belligerents believe that he was the party to survive and to advance, while the enemy would either disappear or submit to humiliating terms amounting to refined slavery, and each party made the maximum preparation. The preparation took the following forms:—(1) material resources, (2) armaments, (3) skill in war, (4) population. I am not here concerned with the first three classes of preparation. It is a well-known fact that the population in all the countries of Western Europe were increasing by leaps and bounds during the forty years preceding the Great War. The Government did not complain of over-population (though individuals and classes felt the pressure keenly at times), but were glad that increasing population not only gave them an excuse for increasing armaments, but added to their effective strength. In the pamphlet published by Dr. Stein, British

statesmen pointed to the increasing population of England requiring food to be transported from foreign countries in ships towed by war-ships for safety and speed. German statesmen contended on the other hand that the German population had increased more quickly than the British, requiring an increasing quantity of imported food. Now, most of the foodstuffs came from Russia to England through Germany, while Germany herself did not transport foodstuffs in ships but overland. There was thus no necessity for increasing the navy on either side, if the parties desired peace and not war. The gambling in population was found to be profitable, and did not press hard while the accidental law of increasing returns continued in operation. But neither party thought it necessary to see beyond the impending struggle and calculate the possibilities that the rapidly increasing population would involve in the long run. This lack of provision is largely responsible for the troubles of the present day. The Dismal Devil was glaring in the dark, and no body turned to look at him to see how fierce was the glare. The population of Germany increased from forty to sixty-eight millions in forty years. That of Austria increased from forty millions to fifty millions in twenty-five years, while that of Russia increased from one hundred millions to one hundred and fifty millions in the same period. The annual excess of births over deaths in the years immediately preceding the war was nearly a million in Germany and two millions in Russia, while in Austria it was half a million. This excess is the measure of the preparation for war that each of the countries made for many years preceding it. The population of England and France kept pace with that of Germany, and the entente's chief regard for men manifested itself in their earnest desire to secure the friendship of Russia. Men, money and market are the three chief requisites of preparation. England having secured the friendship of Russia was abundantly in possession of all of them, and keenly felt the secession of the latter in the middle of the war, as if part of the British population had suddenly vanished by the Dismal Devil's glare. She had washed immense treasure in keeping Russia in working order. The educational system of Europe was for several centuries dragged from its high pedestal of 'knowledge for its own sake', to the sordidness of being the means of supplying the sinews and bones of war. France nursed her reluctant

population with bounties. Everything tends to show that the war was not accidental, but a deliberately designed scheme for survival against ambitious rivals. It was not a Darwinian struggle for existence, but a civilised struggle for ascendancy and sordid honour. The Darwinian struggle opens the way to progress uncovered by the design of the strugglers. The struggle for ascendancy sets the clock of progress backward and threatens both victor and vanquished with undreamt-of catastrophies. Instead of trying to escape the glare of the Dismal Devil the states of Europe coqueted him, each nationality trying to enter into a contract with him for the strangulation of its enemy and for its own aggrandisements. The non-moral organic Darwinian struggle was confused with the immoral super-organic strivings of nations struggling for ascendancy and brutish glory. The Darwinian struggle is ameliorative for survivors. International war is fraught with unredeemed destructiveness for both victor and vanquished.

The State of War—war in *acto* or war in *posse*—is the normal condition of society in the West. It has been the normal condition ever since its inception. Tribes and classes were at war with neighbouring nations and alliances. The volume of war has increased at the expense of number and frequency. The strength of the combatants in primitive times lay in numbers. It has now added the strength of arms. The primitive chief cried for increasing numbers. The advanced warrior cries for money added to men. The cry for more men is loud in war time, and the cry for fewer men is louder in peace time. The condition of society is alternately warlike and peaceful, and the people in the West suffer more mental agony in peace than in war. In peace they feel the pain of privation. In war they find glory in abstention. When they begin to find pleasure in their privations in peace, the West will approach the East, and the East will embrace the West in sincere fraternity.

The conflict between peace and war time psychology is mainly due to the fact that in war time the interest of the entire population is almost wholly national, while in peace time the conflict between the interests of capital and labour, *i.e.*, class interests keep the people in a state of tension. The capitalists have so far managed to identify their own class interest with national interest, but the interests of labour

are gradually coming to the front in the arena of politics, and slowly creating a dissociative tendency between the capitalist and the ruling classes; and having regard to the fact that the ruling classes form a branch of the capitalist class, the success of labour in the direction above indicated has been considerable, for while the interests of industry and politics are getting separated, the labouring class is largely associating themselves with the ruling class. Dissociation and association are proceeding in parallel lines, and it is sometimes believed that in a short time the labouring class will capture the Government and rule the upper classes from below, with the power of numbers. In war time all the classes wish for increase of population. In peace time while capitalist is best served by a favourable disproportion between the amount of capital and the number of labourers, *i.e.*, by an increase of population, the interests of the labouring class demand a decrease of population. The conflict between the psychologies of the two sections naturally create contentions and difficulties and consequent unpleasantness. Increase of population means

increase of unemployment and pauperism, and increase of anxiety in the ruling classes as well as in the labouring majority. This community of interest in the ruling and the labouring classes is significant, being fraught with danger to the capitalist class, and probably with danger to Western Civilisation which is bolstered up by capital.

I may add also that the significant fact that in the civilised countries the glare of the Dismal Devil has successfully inclined the parasitic intelligentsia to add the burden of national re-productive, to that of productive, work on the shoulders of the labouring class. The labouring class on the whole are still too much fettered by ignorance, custom, instinct and tradition to realise the trick of the comfortable classes, or to minimise the evil of over-population affecting their own class by sexual abstemiousness or by scientific artifices. It will be an evil day for Western Civilisation when this trick is clearly understood by the labouring masses, who are treated in peace time as if they formed no part of the nation and in war time as the best part of it.

THE EMPIRE OF DELHI IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES.

By PROF. MOHAMMAD HABIB, B.A., (OXON), M.R.A.S.

1. The New Monarchy.

Our government of the early middle ages was a composite structure, which borrowed its elements from various countries. The king and his courtiers breathed the atmosphere of Persian paganism; their power was supported by an army the organisation of which had been borrowed from the Mongols and the Turks; and almost unseen, below the stage, but modifying, directing and at times even crushing the work of the most pretentious actors, lay the old Hindu system of local government, which, for ought we know to the contrary, may have originated with the first Aryan colonisation of India.

The power and prestige of our medieval

monarchs was a new phenomena in the history of our country. Islamic law in its Semetic purity knew nothing of kings; it was only concerned with a democratic Caliph elected for life. 'Consult with them in your affairs' was the command of God to His Prophet and the Caliph could claim no legitimate power except with the consent of the governed. To Hindu political theory also the absolute and despotic king was unknown; the power of the raja was limited by the immemorial rights and customs of his people and by a sort of veto on his measures exercised by the chiefs of the clans.

But the Emperor—Sultans of Delhi knew of no legal limitations to their power. Practical limitations there were—palace revolutions, riots, officials intrigues and above all the power of an

armed and turbulent people ever ready to fish in troubled waters and not over-reluctant to pull down what they had helped to build. But of strictly legal checks to their power the Emperor-Sultans of Delhi knew nothing. They rode rough-shod over the *shariat* (Muslim Law) and learned and pious Qazis had to enforce their decrees even against the plain injunctions of the Quran. They confiscated charitable endowments and the confiscations were held to be legitimate. Throughout the sphere of administrative and criminal law the Imperial Constitutions (*firman*s) over-rode the precepts of Islam. The will of the Emperor was the law of the land and it was superior to all other laws.

The conflict between the *shariat* and the law of the state is well illustrated by the famous conversation of Alauddin Khilji and Qazi Mughisuddin of Biana. "Since the Emperor had asked me concerning a principle of the *shariat*," the Qazi represented, "it was necessary for me to answer in accordance with the books on the subject. But if my advice is required from the view-point of political expediency, I would say all that the Emperor does is right and in consonance with the laws and traditions of government." Alauddin enumerated a few laws which he had established for the public good. "From the soldier who does not appear at the muster I take back his three years' pay. Rebels and disturbers of peace, with their children and followers, I put to the sword, their wealth, wherever it might be, I bring to the Treasury; their families I overthrow. These and other punishments which I mete out to drunkards, adulterers and thieves—will you say they are all unauthorised by the *shariat*?" The Qazi placed his forehead on the ground. "All this is against the *shariat*," he said and hurried back to his house. "Though I am innocent of learning," the unrepentant Emperor explained to the Qazi when they met on the following day, "and have read no book on obligatory and supererogatory duties (*farz u nafl*), yet I am a Muslim and a Muslim-born. I know what you have said is true. But the affairs of the world—and specially of Hindustan—can never attain to order and dignity through the *shariat* alone. Unless I have recourse to great punishments the country will never be at peace. Religious sermons will not bring the people of these days to the path of righteousness. As dissolute libertines per-

severe in adultery and are not restrained from the practice by reprimand, blows and imprisonment, I have ordered many of them to be castrated as a warning, though the *shariat* does not authorise such a punishment. And because my object is the welfare of the people of God He will forgive my sins; and the door of repentance is also open to me." It was a question of Islam *versus* expediency and expediency prevailed. The laws of the *shariat*, it was apparently held, would not have been conducive to the welfare of the people.

Two questions arise concerning this non-Muslim, non-Hindu, ideal of medieval kingship. How did it originate? That it was a foreign importation there can be little doubt; that it was un-Islamic is more than certain. And yet it came with the so-called Mus'lim conquest and coloured Indo-Muslim political out-look throughout the Middle Ages. And what, secondly, was its political justification? Why did an armed people like our medieval ancestors, who carried about swords like walking sticks, tolerate and even support an armed monarchy when it could appeal neither to immemorial custom nor to the articles of their creed?

The first question is easier to answer than the second. When the Omayyad Caliphs removed their capital from Medina to Damascus, they inevitably fell under the influence of Roman Imperialism and Roman Law. When the Abbasids removed their capital to Baghdad, Persian influence supplanted the Roman. Later on when indigenous kingdoms sprang up in Persia, the conquest of Islam by Persian civilisation was completed. The old wine of Jamshed was put into new bottles. The Arab with his democratic habits and plain, blunt ways of life was driven away before the cultured Persian and his refined, courtly manner. The Mussalmans had knocked down a tottering Empire; their descendants were captured by the charm of a great and undying tradition. The wheel had come full cycle. Persia was once more pagan. Much was due to the fiery imagination and immortal eloquence of one man. Firdausi's 'Shah Namah' has done more for the resuscitation of idolatry than all the iconoclastic zeal of Mahmud of Ghaznin could do for its suppression. The old idols were pulled down but idolatry did not end; the symbolic statues of the Hindu sculptors gave place to the more intelligible idols of the grand artist-poet of Persian nationalism. The Mussalmans who

destroyed Somnath were less inspired by the example of the second Caliph or the precepts of Islam than by the mythical exploits of the legendary heroes of ancient Persia, which had been circulating from village to village and town to town long before the poet immortalised them in his somewhat formless epic.

Wherever we turn the same phenomena meets our eyes. Our medieval historians begin their works with a pious doxology; the Prophet and his Family are praised and the Pious Caliphs are commended in due order. But seldom, if ever, do our historians turn to the Prophet and his Companions for inspiration in the affairs of life. Does a political problem need solution? They will straitaway tell you what Faridun, Kai Kaus and Kai Khusrau did under similar circumstances. Does Firoz Tughlak pass a law compelling respectable women to observe *pardah*? The historian will not fail to justify it by a wise saw of Jamshed, that "the best place for a woman is her house or the—grave."*

It cannot be too often emphasised that Mahmud of Ghaznin, Shahabuddin Ghori and Shamsuddin Iltimish were not inspired by Muslim ideals. Islam will not explain, nor is it responsible for, their acts. They believed they were genuinely following the dictates of their creed and according to their lights they served it also; they were supremely unconscious of any contradictions in their life. Yet the historian cannot fail to see that their age was an era of retrogression, of an unending Bacchanalian revel interspersed with many deeds of heroic courage but lacking all solid and substantial achievement.

Now the great characteristic of the ancient Persian monarchy was its 'divine' origin. The Muslim Caliph is elected by the Faithful; his power originates from the people and does not come from God above. But the Sassanian Emperors of Persia had claimed 'divinity'; theirs was a sacred family with an exclusive right to the throne. People paid them divine honours; they lived like gods among men. Kingship is, and has always been a puzzle. Why do the multitude obey a man neither more wise nor more powerful than themselves? The ancient Persians explained away the difficulty by declaring that he was really a god; the problem, as we can see well enough, was not solved,

but for popular imagination the shallow answer was enough; and it is with popular imagination that the statesman has to deal. The divinity of the Sassanian Emperors meant the unity of the Persian people and their domination over the conquered races.

The resuscitation of Persian civilisation brought again into popular consciousness the theory of the divinity of kings. There was, no doubt, a serious modification. Islam would not permit the avowed profession of an obviously pagan theory. It had to be veiled. The Muslim king was not a divine being, but only symbolically the 'shadow of God' on earth (*zillullah*). He was fallible and mortal like all other men; the virtue lay in the office, not in the individual.

Our medieval kingship was thus an essentially secular institution. Royal power was based on Persian tradition, not on Islamic law. The Emperor-Sultans, as a rule, carefully distinguished their public duties from their private faith. They refused to enforce the *shariat* so far as public law was concerned, and behaved as kings of all their subjects and not of Mussalmans only. The point deserves a careful consideration. It illustrates the curious national feeling of the early middle ages: on one side the secularisation of politics and on the other the extension of a real tolerance to all the subjects of the Empire of Delhi—and to them only.

II. The Religions and the State.

Between the Emperor-Sultans and the Hindus within their dominions the unifying bond was not a bond of faith. It was that of sovereign and subject—a tie quite well understood on both sides. The Emperor did not feel morally concerned for the spiritual salvation of his Hindu subjects; that was a question for them to decide; so long as they yielded him the obedience due he was quite content. And the Hindus, while ready to support the Emperor's power in political matters, would tolerate no meddling with their creed. The first tide of Muslim invasion had barely swept over the land when toleration—to'eration for all the subjects of the Emperor living within his dominions—came to be the order of the day. Throughout the extensive empire of Delhi Hindu temples were left in unmolested peace. Two or three examples of attempted oppression prove, rather than disprove, the general law. As for the

*"Chi khush guft Jamshed ba rai zan
ki ya khana ya gur beh jai zan".

Hindus, not been allowed to ride horses, shoot arrows and so forth—these fables have arisen out of a false and stupid misreading of the original documents. A Hindu general, Malik Naik, commanded the right wing of Alauddin's army and the Rana of Chitor led the van-guard with five thousand men. Such examples could be multiplied. These positions could not have been occupied by the members of a community not allowed to ride horses and wear arms.

I do not wish to suggest for a moment that the toleration granted to Hinduism within the Empire was the result of the Emperor's free-will. It was very much a matter of compulsion. Medieval Hinduism was armed and organised; it was tolerated because it had to be tolerated. There was no other alternative.

In 691 A.H. Sultan Jalaluddin Khilji besieged Rantambhor but finding it impregnable ordered a retreat. The Sultan's nephew, Malik Ahmad Habib protested strongly against the order when it was being discussed by the Royal Council. "If the king returns without conquering Rantambhor," he said, "people's respect for him will decrease. Why does not Your Majesty follow the footsteps of Sultan Mahmud and Sultan Sanjar, those pillars of the Muslim faith, who conquered the world. You cannot turn away your eyes from (the example of) their ambitions and conquests."

The Sultan laughed. "My lad!" he replied, "the armour bearers and foot-men of Mahmud and Sanjar were a thousand times better and more honourable than me. How can I, who have but the merest pretence of temporary kingship, dream of doing what those great rulers and conquerors have accomplished. What am I, what is power and dignity of my kingdom, that I should strive for what Mahmud and Sanjar have achieved? Fool! Do you not see that the Hindus pass every day by my palace blowing their conches and beating their drums on their way to worship their idols by the banks of the Jamna? They follow the laws of their infidelity before my eyes, despising me and all my kingly power. If I were a true Muslim king, a Defender of the Faith, would I let them eat their betels, wear their white dresses and vaunt themselves among Mussalmans with a fearless heart? Shame on me and my kingdom! My name is read in every Friday prayer. Lying preachers call me the 'Defender of the Faith'. And yet the enemies of my faith—in my capital and before my eyes—live in luxury and splendour

and arrogantly pride themselves over the Mussalmans on account of their prosperity and wealth. Openly, with the beating of drums, they worship their idols and follow their infidel laws. Shame on me! I leave them in their luxury and pride and content myself with the few *tankas* that I get from them by way of charity."

It was the despairing whine of an impotent and helpless fanaticism. Jalaluddin returned to Delhi but dared not take any steps against the Hindus. The days of Mahmud of Ghazni had gone, never to return. The Sultan-Emperors, whether they liked it or not, had to ascend their throne under conditions which were acceptable to the Hindus. The intolerance preached, but not practised, by Jalaluddin Khilji is no part of Islam; Mussalmans who considered intolerance a duty found themselves utterly helpless; persecution became a sort of ideal for the bigots; which practical men threw into the lumber-room of useless speculations.

A foreign despot like Mahmud, with the force of an organised nation at his back, may come and plunder harmless populations and go back loaded with spoils. But for the Sultan-Emperors of Delhi, who depended for the larger part of their taxes, their army and their material strength on their Hindu subjects, such a policy was impossible. For them communal conflict meant unavoidable ruin. The supposed cases of persecution in medieval India can be counted on the fingers of one hand; they will on closer examination turn out to be cases of individual injustice, not of communal oppression. A phalanx of Afghan warriors fought under Rai Pithaura at the battle of Tarain; Muslim artillery-men supported the Mahrattas at the third battle of Panipat. A real Hindu-Muslim battle has yet to be fought. If we would understand the history of medieval India aright, we must once and for all dismiss the stupid and impossible picture of a body of foreign conquerors governing and misgoverning a harmless population. There is no scrap of evidence in the original documents to support such a view. Hinduism was armed to the teeth. The majority of the Mussalmans of India were of native birth; such of them as had come from the north-west had been driven hither by the Mongol invaders and came from necessity, not from choice. The government of medieval India was a compact between two armed and militant communities. The Emperor was a Mussalman

because, while Hinduism remains divided into castes and sub-castes, the Mussalmans are, and will remain, the strongest of the minorities. They out-numbered the Kshattriyas and the Brahmans alike. If Hinduism had been inspired by a tenth of the spirit of equality found in Islam, matters would have been different.

But the tolerance of the Emperor-Sultans was limited to the Hindus within their dominions. Once they crossed the frontiers they seemed to cast all tolerance, good sense and even humanity aside. The feelings of a suppressed fanaticism found a revolutionary and violent explosion. The vandalism of Mahmud in Hindustan was copied by the Emperors of Delhi in the Deccan. It is no use denying obvious facts. Not one of Muslim historians of medieval India fails to record the destruction of temples, idols and monuments of inimitable art that followed in the wake of the conquering army of Delhi. They prided over their deplorable achievements and made no efforts to conceal them.

True enough, the destruction of temples and places of worship is contrary to every principle of the Muslim faith, but the "true Mussalmans", as a great Muslim scholar remarked to me once, "never come to India" and Islam is not to be judged by the politicians who so mendaciously misrepresented it in the early middle ages. Nor must it be forgotten that customs differ with age and according to the hallowed traditions of those days plundering an opponent's house of worship was considered a legitimate act of war. When the Mongol hordes invaded the Muslim lands of Central Asia, Persia and Afghanistan, they considered the destruction of mosques and temples an integral part of their scheme of conquest. The sentiment, which sanctioned tolerance between subjects of the same king when they differed in faith, also sanctioned oppression of foreigners even if they happened to be co-religionists. Very often the Indian in his extra-ordinary loyalty to his salt proved untrue to every other principle of moral life. The armies of the Turkish and the Khilji Emperors were composed of Hindus as well as Mussalmans; in the destruction of temples in southern India, the Hindus had a part.

The real motive of the plundering expeditions of those days was greed for treasure and gold. The iconoclastic displays were meant to win the applaud of the gallery. For the Emperor a campaign against the Hindus was a business-ven-

ture, and the economic circumstances of the time made it, in the hands of a careful board of directors, the most paying of all financial investments. From time immemorial the balance of trade has been in favour of India and gold has flowed into the country. And all gold sooner or later found its way to the temples. In an agricultural country like ours nothing but hard knocks were to be had in ravaging the countryside and neither Mussalmans nor Hindus tried the useless and dangerous experiment. In all campaigns of medieval India, with some rare exceptions, the ordinary villager and the ordinary citizen was left in peace. The real object was the temple and its fabulous wealth and the principal motive was not religious bigotry but economic greed. If the Hindu temple had been as plain and as innocent of gold and silver as the Muslim mosque, Alauddin Khilji would have never invaded the Deccan and Mahmud of Ghazni would have never invaded Hindustan.

Our second question still remains to be answered. Why did an armed and turbulent people like our medieval ancestors support or at least tolerate a centralised monarchy when it could appeal neither to prescriptive right nor to the letter of religious law? After all men worked, fought and died for the Emperors and they must have been inspired by some hope, some ideal, some moral consciousness of the desirability of the institution for which they were prepared to make great sacrifices. When Mahmud of Ghazni invaded India he found a number of rajas, presumptuous and disunited; even the memory of a national empire to which Hinduism, in its hour of danger could cling had disappeared from the land. Why did the Emperors of Delhi succeed in unifying the administration of the country when the task had proved too great for their immediate Hindu predecessors? The verdict of Destiny reveals itself through human hands; consciously or sub-consciously there must have been present in the minds of men some reasons for preferring the government of the Emperor to the power of his opponents.

It must be premised, first of all, that the Empire really came into existence with the Khilji Revolution; the government of the Slave Kings was a pretension and a sham, a super-structure without foundations, which more often than not began at the Ghazni and ended at the Badaun Gate of Delhi. The unification of medieval India was the work of the fiery and

ferocious Alauddin Khilji; since then the conception of national unity has never been absent from the people's mind. There have been riots and revolutions and civil wars; we have fought and killed; but neither in peace nor in war have we forgotten that we are the inmates of a single house, destined in any case to have but a single master.

Nature meant the land south of the Himalayas to be the country of a single people and the work of nature was perfected by religion and art. Centuries before the first Mussalman stepped across the mountain passes of the north-west into the fertile plains of Hindustan, the indestructable foundations of our cultural and racial unity had been laid. It was the comprehensive work of comprehensive minds. In the Hindu system of pilgrimages, in the mythologies of the Ramayan and the Mahabharata, in the village-communities and their free and unfettered democratic government, in the comprehensive philosophy of Mahayana Buddhism and not less tolerant code of Manu, we see the innumerable influences which made the inhabitants of the sacred Aryavarta one and indivisible for all time to come. If this great work had not been previously performed, the conquests of Alauddin and Akbar would have been devoid of all moral strength and their empires would have been as ephemeral as the Empire of Alexander.

The Muslim mystics without perhaps consciously knowing it, followed the footsteps of their Hindu predecessors. Such limited success as Islam has had in India has been due not to its kings and politicians but to its saints. With a new faith every thing depends on the method of its presentation; and if Islam in India had worn no other aspect except the conquering hordes of Ghaznin, its acceptance even by a minority of Indians would have been impossible. But Islam had better and nobler representatives than the "mighty Mahmud, Allah-breathing lord"—representatives who far from the atmosphere of courts and camps lived the humble life of a humble people according to the law of the Prophet to whom his 'poverty' was his 'pride'. And Hinduism in its cosmopolitan outlook soon enrolled the Muslim mystics among its 'rishis'. Our saints were common saints. Hindus and Mussalmans alike revered them. So it was in the beginning and so it remains till to-day.

A newer and a higher philosophy displaced

the sterile fanaticism of Mahmud. On climbing to the top of the roof of his *Khanqah* (monastery) one morning Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia, the great saint of Delhi, saw a number of Hindus worshipping their idols. Strange it was from the Muslim view-point for a rational creature to worship the statue his hands had carved out of stone. But the philosophy of the Shaikh, whose anniversary has since been celebrated by Hindus and Mussalmans alike, included the non-Muslim also in its tolerant fold. "Every people", he said, "has its (legitimate) Path, its Religion and its Temple".* That was the basis of the religious compromise of the middle ages, a compromise sanctioned by the greatest thinkers, scholars and statesmen of India. Underlying all our disagreements was an agreement to differ. For each of us our own creed was the most legitimate and the best; the Hindu was to be a good Hindu, the Mussalman was to be a good Mussalman. Islam was just another system of thought in a country already tolerating many opposed philosophies—amongst a people divided into castes and sub-castes the Mussalmans were but one caste the more. The new faith was included in the comprehensive fold of Indian nation-hood, and it became possible for a Mussalman to lead the country in politics. The new religion rapidly fell into the grooves of the old. The majority of the Mussalmans of India are converts from Hinduism; they forsook the temple for the mosque but never changed their national customs; whatever be the explanation, the prevalence of the ancient customs of Aryavarta among the Indian Mussalmans of to-day is a patent and undeniable fact. There was nothing peculiar in a section of the Indian people governing the rest; the Mussalman stepped almost exactly into the position formerly occupied by the Kshattriyas. If a despotic Muslim Emperor could prove his utility to the country, there would be no insuperable objection to the acknowledgment of his authority on religious or national grounds.

Two further causes made the establishment of a centralised Indian government inevitable—the rise of the Mongols and the disorganisation of the Indian village-communities. For over sixty years before the rise of Khiljis, the Mongols had been hanging like a terror over the Indian frontier. They had captured and

**Har qaum rast rahay Dinay wa qibla-gahay.*

sacked the flourishing cities of Persia and Afghanistan and had over-run the Punjab up to Lahore. Hindus and Mussalmans were equally in danger. The Mongols were the sworn enemies of Islam and had destroyed all centres of Muslim civilisation. But they were no friends of Hinduism. Their language was unintelligible; their customs were revolting. Wherever they went they captured all women, high and low, and subjected them to a fate worst than torture and death. They slew children without compunction; they delighted at the sight of pain. For two generations a dark and threatening cloud had covered the sky. The man or body of men who could stop the Mongol inroads would have an undeniable right to the gratitude of the Indian people.

The ancient and democratic constitutions of the village communities had gone to pieces in the troublous centuries before Mahmud of Ghaznin. Law had given place to force, and in an era of universal disorder the headman had established his autocratic power over the village. India was split up into a number of autocracies, lawless and independent, which ground

down the humble peasant under their heels. The rise of a centralised government would be welcomed by the *raiya*.

That it was the Mussalmans and not the Hindus that drove off the Mongols and reorganised the life of the village, so that peace could reign where lawlessness had prevailed, was the result partly of accident, partly of the situation of the two communities. At almost any time before the accession of Alauddin Khilji a stout Hindu attack would have brought the tottering Empire of Delhi to the ground. Muslim statesmen certainly showed a greater insight and tact than their opponents; their bitter lessons in the past fitted them to fight a desperate battle with the central Asiatic hordes; their comparative freedom from custom and tradition enabled them to take a more impartial view of the politics of the village. The leadership of the Hindus had fallen to the Rajputs who were too disunited, too fond of internecine warfare, to combine either for internal administration or for external defence; now is it in the deserts of Rajputana that Indian Empires have been established or overthrown.

SYSTEM OF PRIMARY EDUCATION IN GERMANY AND THE FAR EAST.

By DR. GAURANGANATH BANERJEE, M.A., PH.D.

Education—not to be “Commercialised.”

There is a rising feeling of alarm in all the European countries regarding the present conditions of education. From the very inception of the commercialism of education, and church and society at large, there have been those who have viewed this movement with manifest apprehension. This class of sane and thoughtful observers, though numerically few as yet, has gradually grown in numbers, until to-day it finds within its ranks not only educators, but lawyers, physicians, clergymen and even cold-blooded men in commercial and industrial life. In Germany, for example, before the Great War, a country whose social and political fabric is

grounded upon a materialistic philosophy that dictates utilitarian training for the masses and reserves education and culture in their stricter sense for the aristocracy or Junker class, this alarm was manifest for some years and even among her so-called hard-headed business men. The failure of the assault upon the “humanities” in Oxford University, England’s most ancient stronghold of learning, is cause for hearty congratulation. In America even, the best known incident indicating a possible reaction and an intimate return to the “humanities”, is that of the movement of the alumni of Amherst College which is resulting in a radical change in the curriculum of that well-

known institution. While this action leaves much to be desired, it is a happy augury for future.

What is Education?

But what is education? Three centuries before the Christian era began, Plato said, "A good education is that which gives to the body and soul all the perfection of which they are capable." One might fairly say that this declaration from the lips of a pagan sage really embodies the philosophy of Moses and the wisdom of Solomon—the magi of the ancient Hebrews. In the middle ages, Milton amplified the dictum of Plato in his tracts on *Education* thus:

"I call, therefore, a complete and generous education, that which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully, and magnanimously, all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war."

The modern definition however that "education is fitting oneself to one's environment", while cryptic in its sound and possibly in its intended meaning, is really Plato stated in fewer words, but without the directness and simplicity of the latter. Now, education from the standpoint of the practical educator, consists in the result of all the influences which he may be able to bring to bear in order to give his pupils as much as possible of the common stock of knowledge essential for intelligent and appreciative conduct of life. This includes, in the main, two important factors, namely the curriculum and personality of the instructor. With particular reference to this view of the question, education is classified as **physical, intellectual and spiritual**, and again as **utilitarian and cultural**. The former of these two classifications is logical and scientific, while the latter is artificial and sophistical.

At the present day the state or in other words the entire body politic which controls the individual in his public relations, has now definitely assumed responsibility for all types of schooling and it is only by the consent of the state machinery that Family, Church or Vocation in Europe can hope to maintain a share of influence. There are however many ways by which a nation can express its will in the control of schools and in Great Britain the method of control has gradually been evolved as part and parcel of the general custom and attitude in "Home" government *i e*, the central authority

in all the departments of state is expected to influence the community in co-operation with local authorities, inspecting their work, adding to their funds, regulating their machinery, but never superseding them and often leaving to them the initiative. It is a most delicate task for the administrator to regulate the operation of this force so as to ensure that minimum of supervision which the common interest of the state demands and to extend in return just so much aid as will encourage the operation of this force in its ideal form while preventing it from increasing the alienation of class from class. For, on the one hand, he knows that the progress of mankind depends not upon the perpetuation of exclusive stocks, contending for power and privilege, but upon mutual acquaintance and sympathy; and as he comes to understand the subtle influences of association among the young at school he realises the permanent effects on habits of life induced during the plastic years of childhood and youth. On the other hand he foresees that the very success of a sound educational system tends towards selection.

Drastic Reforms needed in Public Schools.

Educators, it is true, "welcome fair criticisms," and they have a fond belief that they are well-meant. But the majority of the assailants are anything but socialists. They consider an enlightened oligarchy the ideal form of government and their chief quarrel with the Public Schools is the absence of that enlightened oligarchy. No one wants to destroy the public schools for none would be so foolish. But we do maintain that the Public School System—though it may be a magnificent mansion—stands in drastic need of repairs. It is easy of course to say that it is very difficult to know how to set about it. The public institutions are mirrors in which are reflected our personal imperfections. They can be no better than ourselves; and the merchants of panaceas take for granted a world which has left behind it envy, greed, malice and desire. To that degree of perfection we shall never attain but we can at any rate be honest with one another. And there is no side of Indian life about which rulers and ruled, fathers and sons, old and young have been so consistently dishonest with one another in the past as they have been about the standards and ideals of Indian Public Schools.

To take an example. In the average type of schools in this country, based on the stages of

growth, underlies, with a little variation in details, the system adopted in all civilised countries, but which by itself tends to a mechanical rigidity which leads to grave evils. It assumes that the average scholar will proceed steadily through each grade of instruction, promoted session by session to a higher grade along with those of like standing, until "the course" of the institution is completed. In fact it implicitly ignores variations of native capacity, or differences arising from interruptions to normal progress. The public system should provide a course of study adopted to the average powers of large numbers, this is offered objectively to each individual and he is assumed to go through it, whether he be exceptionally gifted, and therefore able to progress more rapidly or be hindered in the race and thus perpetually fall behind. Speaking generally, it may be said that all national systems where huge numbers are congregated in class-rooms suffer from this evil; that it shows itself most in grades beyond the primary, since the older the scholar, the most pronounced are the individual differences. As regards the sub-normal or backward child, the state and the community should provide for their segregation and should establish schools of a different type for defectives and mentally deficient. In some cases it has been discovered that it is a wise economy to arrange separate teaching for those who fall behind the average in certain lines of response without displaying such deficiency as demands their being classed as "defective". Thus in the United States of America, the city of Cleveland has taken advantage of the long summer vacation to meet the situation; its public elementary schools are kept open through the entire summer and those who need to make up their deficiencies are required to attend for the four quarters of the year instead of three. Similar plans adopted in Germany, in Dusseldorf and elsewhere, are also being watched with interest.

Germany Primary School.

The new elementary school of Germany is an interesting example of methods being discarded by the country which evolved them, while they are being blindly followed in other foreign countries, which borrowed from the land of their origin at a later period. In the Saxon Education Ministry laws for Elementary Schools, promulgated in 1919, the aim and scope of the Volksschule is given as follows:

"The development of the child through the exercise of its bodily and mental powers, so that the child will be capable of taking its part later in the service of the community."

To carry out this law requires that the school should be a living community, in which the child has a living relation to the same problems that the bigger community of adults has.

The Volksschule of Hellerau, near Dresden, has, for instance, a close and intimate connection with the local village life. The children of the school visit and work at the famous workshops of Hellerau. They do wood-work at the Deutsche Werkstätten, they see metal-work at Mendelssohn's, they learn book-binding at Demeter's and they help at the printing press at Hegyer's. These factories are celebrated for fine artistic productions all over Germany. The children can go gardening in the Hellerau Gartenere. Not all the children of the school are taught handicraft by specialists in these factories, but they have the privilege of being on-lookers in art-work; many a child from the school makes up his mind to learn one of these trades and to follow it in his after life. The guardians and parents moreover, become as it were a part of the school.

Co-operation in Education.

In pre-war days, in Germany the old schools did not encourage co-operation in work. Each student got lessons from his teacher and was questioned by the teacher. But now-a-days in the new scheme for social service, they look upon co-operation as a necessity. In schools, the children work for one another, the strong helps the weak, the boy with sharp intellect helps the handwork expert and so forth. Mutual help is one of the great factors in the new educational scheme. The natural leader finds himself easily at the top; the weaker brethren know that to ask for help is to receive it readily. Guardians and parents of the boys form a council and there are frequent meetings of this council. In a sense every parent is a co-worker and this is very important for it brings together parents of widely differing social scale. The relationship between the teacher and the pupil is also quite cordial. The teacher is a friend and guide; his chief aim being to secure the confidence of his pupils. His task is to hand on his experience and thus to protect the child from misdirected efforts and from blind alleys

But his guidance must rest on the intimate knowledge of the children in his charge and specially on the belief that the child is born good.

Physical Culture in German Schools.

Physical culture plays a leading role in the daily routine of the German school-life. Much time is devoted to Gymnastics, to sports and to Eurhythmics. The aim is that each child shall have such exercises daily, and when possible in the open air-bathing, swimming, skating, skiing. The school garden is partly a vegetable and partly a fruit garden. Each child has his bed, and the laying out of beds leads to all sorts of problems in arithmetic and science. There is of course fixed time for instruction in the three R's, but for such subjects as foreign languages, dramatic work, shorthand, drawing, handwork, the children choose what their parents desire.

For handwork as little as possible is bought; the teachers and children make their material. The children make their own exercise books, designing in colour the covers; they rebind their books when these are worn out. One course took on the repairing of old toys. With the help of an outsider the scholars lay down water supply in the school garden (*vide Times Educational Sup*, 20th Oct., 1923).

In Germany, the child is universally regarded as a link in the human chain, which chain it will have to strengthen by its own efforts when it takes its place among grown-up people. It is provided with organs of sense and with that wonderful instrument the *Hand* to enable it to connect itself with the outer world. It takes in impressions in order to reproduce them in some form or other. Every work of art, every day's humble task is a proof of the productiveness of the mind. Work is our privilege. The child must be prepared for work; there is beauty in the smallest work well-executed and children can do well small things if properly taught.

Primary Education in Japan.

Elementary Schools in Japan are officially declared to be "designed to give children the rudiments of moral instruction and of education specially adopted to make of them good members of the community, together with such general knowledge and skill as are necessary for practical life, due attention being paid to their bodily development". These objects are

explained more fully in the regulations which emphasize five points:

- (1) the importance of moral and civic training;
- (2) attention to practical requirements;
- (3) regard to physical as well as mental growth;
- (4) determination of the sexes;
- (5) the interconnection of different subjects.

In Japan, the primary schools are divided into two grades: higher and lower. In addition, Supplementary Courses lasting not more than two years are established in the higher Schools for the benefit of those unable to continue the regular course. These classes are most numerous in remote parts where the population is scattered and the distance makes it inconvenient for the children to come to school for the full number of hours; or in villages with limited resources unable to support a higher Primary School. In other cases, where it is employment which prevents boys from continuing their school course, the supplementary class often takes the form of a night-school.

Primary Schools are supervised through the inspectors of whom each prefecture employs three, and each rural district one. Enquiries at various schools showed that the district inspector visited them once in two months or oftener; the departmental inspector from Tokyo perhaps once in two years, more probably not at all. The inspector examines the buildings and registers and goes round the classes, to watch the teaching and not to examine the children; he is responsible for seeing that only the recognised teachers are employed and only the authorised course of instruction followed.

If the Japanese seem to have plenty of money to spend on education, the explanation lies partly in the economy they practise in the matter of salaries and buildings. No money is wasted on architectural splendour, least of all in the case of primary schools. These unpretending wooden structures sometimes with glazed windows, sometimes with paper-covered slides, often look neat enough, when new; but when the wood grows weather-beaten and the paper-windows tattered, the school is apt to appear rather dingy and forlorn. On the other hand, the interior is usually well-suited for its objects; there is light, there is air, there are plenty of appliances, there are models and specimens, and pictures and maps.

Corporal Punishments Unknown.

There are few of either rewards or punishments in a primary school, though some award small prizes of books, slates, pencils, etc. Sometimes to a whole class, sometimes to 10 or 12 picked children. More often certificates of good conduct or regular attendance are awarded. Scholarships do not exist. Few punishments are inflicted beyond a verbal admonition or a complaint to the parent; but occasionally a child is detained for an hour or so, not to revise a neglected lesson, still less to write out an imposition, but simply for an opportunity of reflection and repentance. Corporal punishments are prohibited. At the end of the term the teacher assigns a class to the child's work in each subject, and these results are communicated to the parent, as well as recorded at the school. The parent affixes his seal to the paper, makes a remark if he thinks fit and returns it to the school-authorities. Private tuition is sometimes given to the best pupils.

Secondary Education.

Secondary education in Japan is imparted in Middle Schools for boys, higher schools for girls and "Miscellaneous" Schools of a similar grade, as well as in agricultural, commercial and industrial schools of secondary rank. The modern secondary schools of Japan, like those of India, have little indigenous foundation. There were indeed schools in feudal Japan of a secondary grade; but they were limited to the sons of samurai or of priests and taught little beyond the Chinese Classics, some arithmetic and a great deal of physical exercise. The Educational Code of 1872 divided the whole country into 256 middle school districts, a symmetrical arrangement before long abandoned. At present there are some 200 schools in all with 150,000 scholars. Middle schools being institutions for general education, the duty of supplying them is thrown upon local bodies. A country town is proud of being selected as the site of a great public school and the townspeople are usually forward with contributions and help of one kind or another. In all cases the establishment or closing of a middle school requires the approval of the Minister for Education.

The course of study extends over five years and as the duller pupils are commonly eliminated in the earlier stages, those who complete the course at all usually do so in the specified time.

The minimum age for admission is 12, but nearly half have completed the full primary course before entering and therefore must be at least 14. The subjects of study are morals or ethics, Japanese and Chinese classics, foreign languages (such as English, Spanish, French and German), history, geography, mathematics, natural history, physics and chemistry, drawing and physical exercises; to which may be added law and economics and singing. The medium of instruction is uniformly the vernacular, except so far as necessary in dealing with a foreign language. When taught in the vernacular they are said to cover the ground in one-half or one-third the time; and the foreign Mission Schools have had to follow the stream, the boys declaring that they could not understand the subjects when taught in English. The course is uniform for the whole period, there being no "bifurcation" of studies. Middle school graduates have to compete for entrance to the Colleges which prepare for the university, but the latter adapt their examination to the secondary course not *vice versa*.

Higher Schools in Japan.

Again between the Secondary Schools and the University is interposed the Higher School, comparable in respect of the age and attainments of the pupils to the Arts Colleges of India. There are at present only 10 Higher Schools. "The intellectual culture" says the official publication "is not all that is looked for from these institutions. As their students are about 20 years old, an age well-fitted for the cultivation of the moral character, they are placed under strict supervision and careful protection. To this end all the Higher Schools are provided with dormitories and careful attention is given to instruction in gymnastics with uniform good results in the matter of students' health, conduct and scholastic attainments."

Education in China.

"Aristocracy in China," says Mr. Gamble, "is not one of descent as in European countries or of wealth as some say it is in America, but rather one of learning". For centuries, in theory at least and to a very large extent in practice, the successful competitors in the old style classical examinations have been the leaders of the nation. Prior to 1005, preliminary examinations leading to the *Hsiu Ts'ai* degree were held in all the county seats of the country.

The degree of *Chu Jen* was given to those who passed the next higher examination, held in the provincial capitals, while every three years examination was held in Peking for those who had won the *Chu Jen* degree. Those who passed were given the *Chin Shih* degree, those with a very high mark received the *Hon Lin* degree while the man who passed the highest examination was given the coveted degree of *Chuang Yuan*. The possession of any one of these higher degrees almost inevitably meant an offer of high official position. The close connection between scholastic attainment and official position and the fact that the highest examinations were given only in its examination halls made Peking the educational as well as the political centre of old China. And it has maintained this position in spite of the many changes in recent years.

On September 5, 1905, the Empress Dowager by an Imperial Edict abolished the old classical educational system, ordered the establishment of a modern system throughout the entire empire and put the well-known statesman Chang Chih Tung in charge of the work. According to the original plan there was to be, first of all a kindergarten with two or three year courses, followed, on the classical side, by lower and higher primary schools with five and four year courses respectively, a middle school with a five year course, a university preparatory school with a four year course, a high school with a three year course for those who were not entering the University and finally the University with a three year course. Parallel to the classical middle schools there were to be elementary normal schools with a three year course. To prepare diplomats for foreign service there was to be a College of Languages with a five year course equal in grade to the high school.

Naturally it took time to work out this huge system, but every effort was made to get it started. As school-buildings were lacking many of the temples were turned into primary schools in which reading and writing of the Chinese characters, old style Chinese calculation, arithmetic and moral instruction were taught if the school were of lower primary grade and geography, history, elementary chemistry and physics, drawing and athletic drill, were added if it was a higher primary school. The old temple gods were re-placed by modern school desks and black-boards. Teachers had to be

trained and special schools with "Hurry-up" courses were instituted.

In spite of many difficulties, progress was most rapid, for even by 1907 there were 200 schools, 1,300 teachers and 18,000 students in Peking alone. There was also a movement among well-known Chinese philanthropists to establish a system of industrial education and by 1907 there were seven industrial schools in the city. The students are taught spinning, weaving, glass-blowing, well-digging, dyeing, carpentry, leather-working, lacquering, ratton work, drawing and embroidery, using Japanese teachers for the most part. When many of these schools were first organised, there being no Chinese teachers available, many Japanese were employed, particularly in those schools where modern science was taught. For the most part however, they were kept for as short a time as possible. Chinese prejudice was naturally against them; their teaching was many times inefficient and consequently they were gradually displaced as the number of Chinese returned students, who had studied in foreign countries, increased. Most of them had gone by 1910.

Educational Boards.

The organisation of Peking's educational work is most complicated. Certain schools, mostly those of higher grade are financed and controlled by the National Board of Education. The Local Board of Education is responsible for most of the primary and middle schools but there are also 13 other Boards, none of which have any direct connection with the National or Local Board of Education.

In general the schools may be divided as follows:

- (1) Those under the National Board of Education.
- (2) Those under Government Boards.
- (3) Those under the Local Board of Education.
- (4) Private Schools supervised and often partially financed by the Local Board.
- (5) Independent Private Schools.
- (6) Police Schools.
- (7) Missionary Schools.

If the educational ideas of the Government were judged by the statement given in the regulations of the National Board of Education, one would conclude that the educational system in China

was most modern and progressive. That these ideals have not been as yet fully incorporated in the actual educational programme is, of course, not altogether the fault of the Chinese Government. The whole educational system has had to be built up in a few years, it has been absolutely impossible to develop well-trained modern teachers fast enough to meet the needs of the rapidly increasing schools and further more in a country that is constantly in a state of political disturbance and where the National revenue has not reached the point where it is sufficient even to pay the bills of the national army, one would not expect rapid progress in education. The ideals of the Board however are worthy of note, for if the objectives of education are sound it is to be expected that conditions will gradually improve. A careful study of the detailed regulations for the higher and lower primary schools drawn up in 1916 shows that the following points are especially emphasized in the educational ideas of the Government. This aim is amplified in the regulations of the higher primary schools which state that education should—

- (a) Develop the children physically and morally.
- (b) Give the children knowledge that is suited to the conditions of their lives.
- (c) Cultivate patriotism and public spirit.
- (d) Provide the children with sufficient knowledge and schooling that they may be able to earn a livelihood.

Physical education is given a prominent place in the discussion of the objectives of the education, although the main emphasis is on drill rather than recreation. Schools are urged to provide playgrounds and regulations are given regarding the physical care of the children. There is in the regulations a prominent emphasis on the cultivation of patriotism.

Elementary civics is to be taught in the second year of the higher primary school from a book called "what citizens should know" which describes the organisation of the government and gives an outline of the executive judiciary and legislative departments.

There is in all the regulations a strong emphasis regarding the teaching of subjects in their practical application. For example: "The principles of arithmetic should concern problems which have practical use and should be adopted to local conditions". The democratic control of the schools is carefully explained. "The number and location of National Schools in a district are to be fixed by a joint meeting of the self-government association and a Committee of Board of Education subject to the approval of the local magistrate."

The Student Movement.

The year 1919 was significant in the history of China because of the "student movement" and its influence on the political life of the country, but even more because of the start of a broad intellectual movement generally known in Chinese as *Hsin Ssu Cha'o* (Renaissance). Among the leaders of the movement were three men connected with Peking University, Dr. Ts'ai Yuan Pei, the chancellor and a former student in France; Dr. Hu Shu, Professor of Literature and Professor F'ao Lu Kung, Professor of Sociology. The aim of this movement is "to re-make civilisation" and it plans to attain the desired result by "democracy and science". In order to bring about a thorough reconstruction of the intellectual attitude as rapidly as possible the movement aims to reproduce, through the printed page, the views of the leading progressive, democratic and radical thinkers of the West. The men singled out as those whose theories should be investigated are Karl Marx, Wilcox, Haeckel, Bertrand Russell, William James, Tolstoy, Kropotkin, Bakunin and Lenin.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN EUROPE.

By PROFESSOR BENOV KUMAR SARKAR.

1. The Finance of Deflation.

Inflation as a financial tactic has become the order of the day in Central Europe. It seems even to have captured for some time the imagination of certain British statesmen as a weapon against unemployment. It is therefore interesting to observe that the opposite policy of "deflation" should have been in operation in one of the Balkan states, the not yet very well-known Yugoslavia.

The present Finance Minister, Dr. Stojadinowitsch, has entered upon a policy of rigid control over the note press and the sharpest restrictions in regard to the mobilization of credit. Money has consequently become scarce, perhaps too scarce for the exigencies of daily economic life, as the opponents of the present regime are inclined to think.

But by restricting the amount of money in circulation Dr. Stojadinowitsch believes he can counteract the tendency of the people to invest their wealth in foreign currencies. This tendency, says he, has been the cause of the low value of the Yugoslavian dinar on the international exchange. As soon as the demand for foreign monies decreases the dinar is automatically likely to rise, according to the theory of the deflationist.

The diminution in the amount of money is, however, being severely criticized by bankers and industrialists. For one thing, the measure has compelled the government to have recourse to new taxes and enhancement of the tariff,—steps discreditable on any account. The Finance Minister, is, besides, thoroughly opposed to asking for any more debts from the National Bank.

The economic consequences of deflation have made themselves felt in other directions as well. Old enterprises are being compelled to consume their capital for current outlays. Capital has not been forthcoming for new investments.

The minister has therefore been forced to the next step, namely, the raising of the dinar in terms of foreign monies. Thus, whether it be

inflation or deflation, the post-war money-market has to witness almost everywhere the throwing overboard of the *laissez faire* and the introduction of artificial rates of exchange.

2. The Free Zone at Geneva.

The Swiss people has been touched to the quick by the treatment it has recently received at the hands of France in regard to a question of great economic importance for Switzerland. In 1815 and 1816 the Swiss and French republics had entered into a treaty by which the citizens of the districts of Haute-Savoie and Gex, although French subjects, were to have commercial transactions with Geneva, the Swiss city on the French border, without customs duties of any sort. This zone of "free trade" really assured to Switzerland an economic command over a part of French territory and thus, strictly speaking, partially deprived France of her sovereignty over her own lands. In order to do away with this anomalous situation the French Government has been for the last few years exchanging notes with the Swiss republic. But suddenly on the 10th of November without waiting for the final decision Poincaré has ordered the customs boundary of France to be brought up to the political. At the very gates of Geneva, therefore, French officials are now busy examining transit, charging duties, and enforcing licenses.

The discussions have given rise to much bad blood on both sides. The *Temps* of Paris did not hesitate to remark on the "pretensions of the little Swiss." On the Swiss side, again, even those who during the long years of the war and since have championed the French cause against the German, such, for instance, as constitute the clientele of the *Journal de Geneve* have lost face and are commenting on the "breach of treaty" perpetrated by France. Entire Switzerland has become exasperated, especially since a referendum was invoked in order to declare the voice of the people. The question does not

seem yet to be closed. Further developments are expected. A court of arbitration is likely to be summoned.

3. An Interesting Feature in Foreign Trade.

In India we have been used since the close of the war to the spectacle of a foreign trade in which the amount in terms of *money* is higher although in *quantity* lower than that previous to the war. In Holland, as we understand from Van Der Veer, correspondent of the *Telegraaf* (Amsterdam), the situation is just the reverse.

In 1920 Holland imported 276 million Zentner (1 zr.=100 lbs). In 1922 the figure rose to 388 millions. The exports for the corresponding years were 84 millions and 138 millions. But the money values fell all along the line. In 1920 the prices of imports totalled 3,335 million guildens (1 gn.=1 Re.) but in 1922 fell down to 2,027 millions. Similarly the exports were priced at 1,701 millions in 1920 but only at 1,222 millions in 1922.

The trade is evidently very brisk. Only the prices have become cheaper. The cost of living has therefore gone down. And Dutch capital instead of seeking foreign markets as it used to do before the war is being absorbed in the enterprises at home. Conditions of labour are also satisfactory. For some time the factories had been observing the 45 hour week. Recently the working men have agreed to a higher, the 48-hours week, the maximum fixed by international labour legislation. A great part of Holland's post-war prosperity is certainly due to the comparative absence of competition from the German side.

4. The Anti-Bolshevik Trial in Switzerland.

The trial of Conradi, the Swiss citizen, who had assassinated the Soviet-Russian minister Vorovsky at Lausanne, has come to a close with the verdict of "not guilty". Five members of the jury declared against Conradi and only four for him. But the local law of Lausanne demands a majority of two-thirds when the accused is to be convicted.

In the course of the proceedings the counsel for defence raked up the atrocities alleged to have been committed by the Soviet Government on the Swiss men and women in Russia. But as the assassination was accomplished on Swiss soil by a private Swiss on a Russian citizen, who as a person was not responsible for the measures of his government, several Swiss

journals of high standing are of opinion that the murderer should not have been left unpunished by a Swiss court of justice. The *National Zeitung* of Basel, one of the oldest Swiss dailies, goes so far as to say that "one of the most regrettable errors has been committed at Lausanne and that the 16th of November, the date on which the judgment was delivered, is to be regarded as a black day in the annals of Swiss justice."

5. The Baltic States.

The development of the new republics on the Baltic Sea, provinces of the old Russian Empire, is being watched with great interest in West-European diplomatic circles. Lettland and Esthonia have recently entered into defensive alliance, which, according to the correspondent of the *Journal de Geneve*, portends to be of profound significance in international relations. The political pact arranged previously at Warsaw, the Polish capital, has thus been strengthened. Poland can depend upon the friendship of these states in its hostility to Lithuania. The Foreign Minister of Lettland, M. Meierovics, has expressly declared that the possibility of an agreement with Lithuania is out of the question until this latter has finally settled its terms with Poland. The political strengthening of Poland acquires an world-importance from the fact that as a strong buffer between Russia and Germany its rise and growth constitute some of the subjects of common solicitude for great powers like England and France.

6. The Little Entente.

The "Balkanization" of Europe to which the Great War has contributed by creating a number of small sovereign nationalities in Central Europe may be said to be more or less counteracted, economically as well as politically, by a combination which is being described as the "little Entente." To this "community of interests" belong Tchechoslovakia, Rumania and Jugoslavia. Born or expanded out of the old Austro-Hungarian monarchy, these three states are generally speaking oriented against the Germanic republics as well as their war-time allies.

Some time ago there was held at Sinaia in Rumania a conference of these states in order to discuss problems of common policy. Attempts were being made to organize a united

front against Hungary. But, says a German writer from Bucharest in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* (Berlin) that from the standpoint of political psychology a common course of action is not easy to realize.

The arch-enemy of Hungary is Tchechoslovakia, the northern neighbour. In the first place, the Hungarians can any moment declare for a monarchy and restore the Hapsburgs. But the Hapsburg House has earned nothing but hatred from the Tchechs in all their past history. In the second place, the Slovaks, who together with Tchechs, have given the name to the new republic, happen to be more friendly at heart to their race-brethren, the Hungarians, than to the Tchechs themselves.

In the third place, the Tchechs are committed to the republican form of government which they are determined to save from contamination with the royalistic Hungarians. It is interesting to observe that the people in Rumania and Jugoslavia, although fraternizing with Tchechoslovakia in foreign policy, simply because of the monarchical forms of government feel "spiritually" akin to the Hungarians.

In Jugoslavia the bone of contention with Hungary lies in another direction. Croatia forms the debatable ground between these two states. It belongs to Jugoslavia as a result of the War. But the Croatians themselves feel like helots within Jugoslavian kingdom. Curiously, however, they do not seem to be friendly to Hungary either. In any case, the Croatians have begun the movement for "home rule"; and as long as it continues the Hungarians can exploit this item of weakness on the side of their rivals, the Serbians, who form the preponderating element in Jugoslavia.

So far as Rumania is concerned, the tendency seems further to seek in Hungary an ally against the common race-enemy, the Slavs of Russia. In Rumanian estimation the sympathies of Poland also can be enlisted in the same task.

The Magyars, themselves, the people of Hungary, have reason however to be inimical to all the three Territories over which their mother-tongue is spoken have been giving away by the peace-treaty to the three neighbours. Hungary can not have peace as long as the valuable Siebenburgen belongs to Rumania, Cratia to Jugoslavia, and Slovakia to Tchechoslovakia. Economically also Hungary has been robbed of all means of subsistence. There are no forests worth mentioning as resources for the

production of wealth. The land is poor in mines and coal deposits. Industries hardly exist.

The development of the country can proceed almost as on a clean slate, and this only if foreign loans be forthcoming. But it is just against this foreign help for Hungary that the little Entente has been concentrating its energies for some long time.

The little Entente in Central Europe is however but the offspring of the great Entente in the Western. And the tug of war that is being played between British and French politics, commerce and finance casts its daily shadow on the fortunes of these little states in the Balkans.

For the moment Rumania's voice has carried the day. The League of Nations and the Reparation Commission have been studying the situation, as is announced in the *Temps* of Paris; and Hungary is going to get a loan on lines more or less similar to those which have placed Austria on her feet. In the success of the Rumanian voice the French politicians are reading the victory of Great Britain. It is well known that the English people command not only the culture of Rumania through its queen, an English princess, but also its policy, both home and foreign, through numerous industrial and banking undertakings which are calculated to fortify the British position on the Black Sea i.e., against Russia on the one side and Turkey on the other.

7. Social Insurance in Switzerland.

The bureau of economics of the Swiss federal government at Bern has just published a voluminous report on insurance against old age, sickness and death. For a population of about 3,800,000 as the Swiss are, the government would need 70 million francs (i.e. about 47 crores of rupees) in order to carry the whole scheme through. As a preliminary measure steps are being taken to render immediate help to persons who are past 65 and have no or inadequate sources of livelihood. Persons whose yearly income falls below 800 francs (Rs. 480) have been deemed worthy of state support. The number of such "public charges" is estimated to be 50,000, as one learns from the *New Zurichca Zeitung* of Zurich.

The social importance of this development can be understood only when one tries to visualize in India an area of three districts inhabited,

as on the average they happen to be, by about forty lakhs of people. Among this population one is to imagine that there are only fifty thousand "old" men each of whom independently earns less than five hundred rupees a year, who, therefore, are considered poor enough by the government to deserve a total public charity

of 14 millions francs (=87 lakhs of rupees). Indians would encounter here in the first place, an absolutely new standard of life, comfort, health and efficiency, and in the second place, a thoroughly revolutionary—should one call it socialistic or communistic?—conception of the "functions of the state."

THE KHILAFAT SUCCESSION.

By M. V. R.

Where is the Khilafat? Echo answers, "Where?" The Islamic world is now without its Khalifa. The Turkish National Assembly has deposed the Khalifa and has abolished the Khilafat as an archaic survival fettering the progress of Turkey. Kemal Pasha has cabled to India that 'the existence of a separate Khilafat office with the Turkish Republic proved to be disturbing to the foreign and internal political union of Turkey.' He is said to have positively expressed five years ago the opinion that the Khilafat was an obstacle to national progress. Scarcely two years ago, he deprived the Khilafat of its temporal powers. Now he adopts the drastic course of abolishing the Khilafat. Why has he done so? Perhaps he might have failed in his attempts to 'co-ordinate the Khilafat with the requirements of Turkish Nationalism.' Else, he would not have taken this extreme course and thus alienated the sympathies of his co-religionists in India.

Before we proceed to the discussion of the main question—the succession to the Khilafat—we have to make it plain that the action of the Turkish National Assembly in not only deposing the Khalifa, but abolishing the office, is arbitrary and '*ultra vires*'. The Turks are not competent to depose the Khalifa without consulting the Muslim population in the other parts of the world. Why should Muhammadans in the other parts of the world recognise such deposition, especially, when the Ex-Khalifa, Abdul Majeed, who was unanimously elected a year and a half ago, and who is a man of exceptionally high

character, has done nothing to deserve it? If the Turks would have nothing to do with the Khilafat, the Indian Muslims may invite the Ex-Khalifa to India and regard him as their Khalifa.

The importance of the Khilafat the Turks, perhaps, have failed to grasp. Far from fettering the progress of Turkey this institution, being an essential part of Islam is one great bond of union between Muslims all the world over; and progress must follow unity. The terms of the treaty of Lausanne would not have been made so favourable to Turkey but for the fact that the Entente Powers wanted to placate the Muslim population of India. By retention, therefore, of this institution the Turks could have commanded the powerful allegiance of the whole Muslim population of the world.

Whether the Turkish National Assembly with Kemal Pasha at its head was right or wrong in its action, the fact remains that Turkey has ceased to be the seat of the Khilafat. The Muslims in India and elsewhere may, therefore, choose a Khalifa in the near future. Egypt wants the Khilafat to be restored to her, she being the leading nation among Arabic speaking Islam. The Indian Muslims have not yet decided what to do; but one party is of opinion that India, the Home of Religion, should be the seat of the Khalifa in the future. Close on the news of the deposition of the Ex-Khalifa, there comes the news that Hussein, King of Hedjaz, has already proclaimed himself Khalifa—but who is to recognise? Wherever the seat of the Khalifa might be—whether under the protection of the

King of Egypt without any temporal or territorial power, or in India—the Khalifa, in future would not be connected with a powerful state, as hitherto.

If the Ex-Khalifa continues to be the Khalifa for parts outside Turkey, there will be no difficulties for the Muhammadans; but, if he resigns there might arise the choice of a successor. Rival candidates may offer themselves for the office, in which case it may be difficult to choose. In the choice of a candidate the Ulema may consider the various ways in which this high office has been obtained in the past. It is therefore useful to recall the various methods of choice that existed in the past, and finally to find that method which is applicable to the present case at the present moment.

We go back to the first four Khalifas. After the death of Muhammad arose the question who was to be his 'representative' (Khalifa). It does not appear that the Prophet named his successor. The Shiahs maintain that he intended Ali to succeed him, but the Sunnis dispute it. However, it is said that when about to die, the Prophet directed Abu Bekr to conduct the usual *namaz* in the mosque; and this was in his favour. A heated discussion arose; the natives of Medina wished to promote one of themselves, and the men of Mecca pleaded for one of themselves. Finally the people outside Medina, under the leadership of Omar triumphed; but Omar did not cause homage to be paid to himself, but to Abu Bekr, the friend and father-in-law of the Prophet. The contest therefore ended in 632 A.D. in the triumph of Abu Bekr. Abu Bekr now assumed the title of Khalif-Resul-Allah, *i.e.* Representative or Deputy of the Prophet. He sent forth his armies for the extension of Muhammadanism and after several victories over the forces of the Byzantine Empire, conquered Syria. After a short reign of two years he died a natural death in 634 A.D. Before his death he nominated Omar as his successor, by whom Egypt and Jerusalem were annexed to the Khilafat. He assumed the title of Emir-ul-Muminni, *i.e.*, Prince of the Faithful, a title which all subsequent Khalifas retained. After a reign of eleven years he died; but before his death he had nominated six of the leading Emigrants, who should choose the Khalifa from among themselves—Othman, Ali, Zobair, Talha, Sa'ad Abi Wakkas, and Abdal Rahman. The last named declined to be a candidate, and decided the election in favour of Othman.

Othman was a son-in-law of the prophet, and during his reign (644—656) the Arabian Empire grew with extraordinary rapidity. Othman was murdered later on. The conspirators then elected Ali. The Shiahs regard him as the first true Imam, and honour him and his son Hassan almost equally with Muhammad himself. Ali was assassinated in 661 A.D., and contests arose as regards a successor to Ali.

Till now the Khalifas had either been nominated by the previous holder of the office, or elected by the people; but from now onwards, we find a different mode of appointment altogether. This henceforth became the usual one when a change of dynasty took place. It was the capture of the office by force of arms. The natives of Medina claimed the right to elect a successor to the murdered Ali, and chose his son Hassan; but men in Syria of the Quraish tribe claimed an equal right on the ground that 'their clan in pre-Islamic times was the most influential one.' The result was a Civil War, in which the Ommiades won the victory; and after destroying Ali's two sons, Moawijah, the Governor of Damascus, declared himself Khalifa.

Moawijah founded the dynasty of the Ommiades, making the Khilafat hereditary. He removed the seat of the Khilafat to Damascus. His armies ravaged Asia, and besieged Constantinople, but could not take it.

The Khilafat did not remain long in the family of Moawijah, and it frequently happened that a governor raised himself to a temporary independence; and rival Khalifas contended for power. The dynasty of the Ommiades in Asia terminated in 752 A.D., giving place to that of the Abbasiades, another branch of the Prophet's family. The Abbasiades went to war with the Ommiades, assumed the Khilafat and removed its seat from Damascus to Baghdad. But a branch of the Ommiades founded an independent Khilafat at Cordova, and another founded in Arabia, which subsisted till the 16th century. Abul-Abbas (750—754) was the first Abbasiade Khalifa. A number of Khalifas came after him, and many kingdoms were brought under their sway, only to become later seats of independent Khilafat. Thus we find that in 970 A.D. there were Khilafats—at Baghdad, at Cairo and at Cordova. In the eleventh century the Khalifas of Baghdad were still acknowledged the spiritual chiefs of all Muslims.

In 1258 A.D. Baghdad itself became the prey of a Mongol horde under Hulaqu Khan, who

sacked Baghdad, and slew the Khalifa and nearly all the members of his family. One member of the family fled to Egypt, where, under the protection of the Mamelukes, he retained his title, and spiritual power which he transmitted to his successors. Thus began the dynasty of the Abbasiade Khalifas of Cairo. They continued their reign there—they were allowed no temporal power—till the Turks conquered Egypt in 1517, where the last of them was carried to Egypt. He was forced by the Turkish Sultan Ottoman Selim to hand over the Khilafat, and since that time the Turkish Sultans have assumed the title of Khalifa. In 1922 the Khalifa was deprived of his temporal powers, and now to-day this institution of the Khilafat, which has such a history behind it, is attempted to be put an end to.

History therefore places at our disposal some methods of choice of a successor to the Khilafat. There was first nomination by the 'retiring'

Khalifa, which next gave place to a sort of election by the people. Later on, force was used in the capture of this office. Finally we find the 'retiring' Khalifa nominating his son as his successor, thus making the office hereditary. Which is the best method that can be adopted now, if the Ex-Khalifa resigns? The resort to force of arms is beside the question—it is impossible. The retiring Khalifa can in this case make no nomination. There remains therefore the method of popular election. Some ruling prince must be chosen. There may be rival candidates. Hussein has already proclaimed himself Khalifa, and Nizam's name has been suggested for the office. There might arise quarrels between Muslims of different countries, each country anxious to have the privilege of being the seat of the Khilafat. The problem, therefore, is not an easy one to solve. A Conference of all Muslims may be called at a central place, and the question of the Khilafat settled in accordance with law and historical precedent.

OUR AIM.

By DR. BHUPENDRANATH DATTA, M.A., Ph.D.

For the last two decades India is in turmoil. Different political parties are rising giving different ideals and programs of action. But none of them have touched the masses. So long all the attempts of the Indian politicians to carry the people with them have been a failure. The National Congress composed of Liberal Bourgeoisie was only a glorious debating place of prosperous lawyers and doctors. But with the inauguration of the non-co-operation movement, the masses have interested themselves in politics.

But behind the kaleidoscopic change in the arena of the Indian politics what philosophy do we find? If we make an analysis of the socio-economic factors that are playing in the Indian society for the last few decades we find that a class-struggle is going on in India. The fight of 1857 was the last attempt of the

feudal princes to regain their power in Indian society. With its failure began a new chapter in the Indian history. As a result of modern education, the Indian Liberal Bourgeoisie stepped in the place vacated by the aristocracy. This social class being imbued with modern thought had the slogan of 'democracy' on its lips and became the leader of the society. This class as yet having no cause to be inimical to the alien government began an era of timid politics asking for reforms and concessions etc. This class as yet was not the rival of the British Bourgeoisie in India, rather in the beginning it began its debut as a helper or critic of the government in the capacity of a loyalist.

But with the Swadeshi movement of 1906 a split occurred in the camp of the Bourgeoisie politicians. A few self-confident and resentful members of the class began to assert themselves,

and began to challenge the supremacy of the British bourgeoisie by asking for Autonomy. They were called the extremists in Indian politics. From the sociological side it was clear that the mentality of the party has arrived at the stage when they have become rivals of the British Bourgeoisie. By psycho-analysis we find that the hypnotism of anglicisation was broken by them. They have become assertive and therefore aggressive. But whatever be their innermost thought, they did not set the freedom of the Indian people or national independence as yet as their political goal. In the history of the evolution of Indian politics we find that as yet the class interest of the bourgeoisie section represented by the extremists did not impel them openly to demand for freedom. But side by side with the Extremist party arose a revolutionary group in India which aimed at complete independence of India. This group tried to recruit members from all classes, yet finding no lodgment in the hearts of the masses it remained confined to the intellectuals. As a result their attempts became sporadic and aimless. There was no lack of the spirit of sacrifice, bravery and cunning shown by them. But having developed no philosophy of its own, having no constructive program, no definite set of ideas, their work was confined to terroristic acts only.

Then came the world war. It came all of a sudden. The world was not prepared for it. Every thoughtful man had anticipated that as a result of industrial rivalries at a future date there will be a tremendous clash between the different world-powers. The Indian revolutionaries were not prepared for it. The story that the German militarists were in touch with the Indian revolutionaries in America is a lie. But when the war came the revolutionaries saw the opportunity that opened before them. They thought that the hour has come to strike. They thought that at the critical moment the Indians of all classes would rise for freedom. Even hope was entertained that the Indian princes would strike for liberty. Indeed the whole world was saying at that time, that that was the opportune time for India to fight for freedom. So technically speaking, the revolutionaries were not wrong regarding the advantage that was created by the situation. But the history of India at that time ran in another channel. The fight for freedom ended in sporadic attempts and

wholesale internments, prisons and hangings. In short the whole attempt was crushed.

In analysing the failure of 1915-16 firstly we find that the Indian fighters for freedom miscalculated their own strength. They always thought that though they were in minority they were the vanguard of the movement which will get a big following at the time of action and by their daring and pluck would be able to carry out their project. This hypothesis may have been true, yet we again venture to say that the revolutionaries miscalculated their own strength, as in a country like India with its multifarious and complex problems their expectations were more sanguine than what the facts warranted.*

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But the fault lay with the false political philosophy that was preached to them. So long the Indian youth was fed with the stories that the Indian princes are thirsting with the desire to regain their liberty, that the hatred of the foreigners and the desire for liberty are so great that the people would sink all differences and would rise in mass to fight for freedom. This false philosophy has been put forward under the name of 'nationalism'. I call it a false philosophy because we have no concrete data to build it upon. The word 'nationalism' has got a vague meaning especially in a country like India. If it means "India for the Indians only" then the term has got a meaning. But if it means that all the social classes, communities of different religions with different social-politics would under the magic name of 'nationalism' form together into a brotherhood and work for the national emancipation, then this word is a misnomer. Because firstly, India is not yet a nation, secondly India is inhabited by peoples of different religions, languages and interests. Indeed they have a common tradition and civilization and religions common to the various language groups; yet the particularisms which are rampant in India make it difficult to unite India as a homogeneous one or as 'one nation'. By psycho-analysis we find that the basis of modern Indian nationalism is common Indian interests as against the foreign interests. Of course history tells us that the

*The Government Censor seems to have been active here. A portion was blue-pencilled and apparently cut out. Ed. H. R.

basis of a nation-building is not dependent upon anthropological or language unity. A common geographical unity and a common historical and cultural development solidifies different peoples into a nation. India has enough of it, and if future India remains as a historic cultural unity then she can develop herself into a nation.

To-day the educated Indians speak themselves as a 'nation' and talk of nationalism. But those who are engaged in practical politics know it too well that these are only lip-words. There are no realities behind them. These are catch-phrases and empty-words. The consciousness of communal and provincial differences have gone too deep into their minds, the sham feeling of India as one nation with common interests gives way to outbursts of religious and provincial differences at a slight pretext! Besides these, there are differences of class interests, which in the hour of trial show themselves to be by far the greatest difficulty. In our enthusiasm for national liberty we forget that man is moved by his interests. As the man, so the class to which this socius belongs has particular interests of its own as against the other social classes. Human society is divided into different social strata with different interests, the one fight against the other. On this account society is a great place of war. Therefore human society is dynamic, and class-struggle is always going on inside it. So the talk of the unity of national interests is all nonsense. Now-a-days the word 'nationalism' has become an euphemistic phrase covering the class interests of that social class which has vested interests in society. In other words, it means that the dominating social class with vested interests wants to keep their *status quo* in society and their system of exploitation of the other social classes by appealing to the feeling of patriotism. This is the background of the philosophy of 'nationalism', of course under the magic spell of patriotism wonders have taken place in the history of the world. But the economic factors determine the course of history and the social classes are guided by their interests. Therefore the economic interpretation of history is the most potent factor in human society.

Applying this analysis to Indian history of modern times we find that the Indian social classes during the world war were moved by their economic interests and not by their patriotism. The Indian princes instead of striking

a blow for national or their own freedom all sided with the very alien government which tramples them under the feet, and persecuted the revolutionaries wherever it was necessary! Because, the Indian princes are ever afraid of the rising spirit of democracy which they know very well will sweep them away at the time of the readjustment of the society in the state of freedom. The Indian aristocracy exists to-day with the help of the alien government. They are the mainstay of the system of exploitation inaugurated by the British in that land. Bereft of the protecting hand of the British government the princes will collapse. Hence their class interests demand that they should stay on the side of the British government! Moreover the spirit of sycophancy inherent in a parasite class like this, impelled it to court the favour of the Suzerain power. For this reason, it is not the spirit of nationalism, on the contrary the economic motives which determined their courses in the world war.

Then comes the Indian Bourgeoisie, which also inspite of its quarrel with the British ruling classes helped vigorously the war measures of the alien Government. This class, inspite of its rivalry with the British Bourgeoisie sided with its rival in the hope that after the war, as a prize of the aid Home rule will be granted to them, which will enable them to take the reins of the Government in their own hands. As they did not like to endanger themselves in any way Home rule became their slogan, and they made a momentary truce. Therefore this social class also did not strike for freedom.

Then was left the masses—the dumb social class which was so long untouched by politics. Their fate was to suffer and to die for the exploiters. The masses were hounded by the Indian privileged classes at the behest of the imperial exploiters to be drafted in the army, to toil, to suffer, and to bear the burden of the enormous cost of war borne by India. The masses being disorganised, inarticulate and having developed no class-consciousness were led as dumb driven cattle to be slaughtered and be exploited for the imperial-capitalist war of the alien rulers. Only a handful of Indian labourers having caught revolutionary spirit while living abroad tried to make an uprising and coupled with them were the revolutionaries recruited from the student class at home and abroad who also tried to bring about a revolution. But the whole attempt all over

India getting no backing from the public was nipped in the bud between 1915-16.

This was in a nutshell the political situation of India during the world war. It has been said at the beginning that the failure was due to the miscalculation and to the false philosophy preached as nationalism. It has also been shown before that the social classes are moved by their class interests, and during the world war the upper social classes of India were actuated by their selfish desires. Hence any patriotic zeal directing towards a war of liberation was not entertained by these classes. On these accounts, to talk of a national unity or a national front against a common enemy has no meaning or application.

Thus in our analysis we have seen that since 1857, the feudal princes have lost their hold in politics, the liberal bourgeoisie fights shy of extreme issues and sigh after Home rule which is supposed to come from the British government as a boon. But a third factor has now entered the political arena—the masses. They are becoming articulate and expressing themselves through a class solidarity of their own. This social class from time immemorial oppressed and exploited by the privileged classes is going to play the most decisive role in future.

To-day the Indian masses are awakening. They, so long the negligible quantity in Indian politics, are becoming conscious of their own importance and worth. It is they who to-day are bearing the brunt of the fight for emancipation. In the days of trial the upper social classes actuated by their vested interests will desert the cause of independence. They are

already fighting shy of extreme politics, and are allying themselves with the foreign oppressors and they are a part of the system of exploitation installed by the British Government in India. In the hour of need, driven by their economic interests the Indian privileged classes will stand by their foreign exploiters against the Indian masses. Nationalism or national feeling shall not prevent them from betraying the cause of Indian independence when their interests demand otherwise.

Therefore, the cause of Indian freedom lies in other hands, and the work for it already gravitates in that direction. It is that class which has no vested interests to warp their policy, which has no hidebound polity which prevents them from becoming radical, which has nothing to lose but its chains, is fit to lead the fight for Indian freedom. That class is the Indian proletariat—the masses. On this account it is the duty of the workers for freedom to work amongst the masses, to elevate them from their squalor.

The aim of the workers of Indian freedom should be to organise the masses. The workers must leave their own class-interests and prejudices and preach a new philosophy to the masses without which they cannot be elevated. In order to raise the masses and to make them the heralds of New India, a new world-view embodied in a new social-polity has to be preached to them. As the masses are going to be the torchbearers of the fight for Indian freedom, it should be our aim to work among them and to make them class-conscious and thus bring about the desired change in India.

A LEAGUE OF NATIONS FOR INDIA.

By SARDAR DR. M. V. KIBE, M.A., LL.D.

Speaking at the inaugural luncheon of the British Indian Union presided over by His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught on July 2nd 1923 in London His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar observed as follows:—"The

ideal that appeals to me most for my country is that of the United States of India where each province and every important State can be in a position to work out its own destiny, can take from each the best it has to give, help each

other and co-operate with one another in matters of common concern, joining hands for a greater India, a greater British Empire."

Although this utterance was greeted with cheers by the distinguished audience present on the occasion it was left in darkness by the royal speaker as to the means by which the ideal he advocated was to be realised. Yet, if India is to become a world-power, as is the wish of all true patriots, there does not seem to be any other way to reach it. For as His Highness reminded the audience "I have so far thought of India as a whole. Will it be some news to you if I tell you that in India there are also such institutions as the Indian States. Their systems of Government are different to yours, but their ideals", His Highness emphasised, "for the British Empire are the same, for they stand second to none in their loyalty to the Imperial Crown."

But this problem is not a new one. As far back as the year 1877, the Sarvajanic Sabha of Poona in an address presented to Her Majesty Queen Victoria on the assumption by her of the title of the Empress of India expressed a hope "That an effort would be made to associate the great Native States in the practical work of administration of British India, and that the system of keeping Political Agents and Military Camps in Native territories will give way to more cordial association of them in the Councils of the Empire, though some organisation of a recognised diet or assembly where they could meet one another and the great Officers and Statesmen who rule India and discuss all Imperial questions regarding the policy of small Frontier wars with barbarous tribes, boundary disputes between Native States and similar differences between British and non-British territory, measures to be adopted with respect to rulers who misgovern their territories, questions of adoption, extradition, coinage and of Imperial Legislation, might be referred to such a Council?" In these suggestions truly lie the roots of a league of nations for India.

On the other hand no less a person than Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru from his place as the President of an important gathering of public men held at Poona on the eve of the close of the year 1923 seem to think that the time for carrying out such a suggestion as described in the previous paragraph had not come, since he gravely advised that the Indian States may be severely left alone in the sole charge of His

Excellency the Viceroy. As a matter of fact as a distinguished past member of the Government of India he must have known that the constitution allows no such course and important matters, at any rate, relating to the Indian States are dealt with by the Government of India as a whole.

The sanction for the existence of the Indian States are the Treaties or engagements entered into with them by the British Government, which have been guaranteed by the British Nation. Practices, indeed, have grown up which obscure the rights or privileges held under the treaties, but the reason assigned, which is also their course, is the elucidation of the terms of the treaties in the light of new circumstances and not to be in supercession of them. Such being the case, the supreme power will be willing to modify the practices if a better way for the accomplishment of the same object, could be shown and substituted.

It would also be in accordance with the international status acquired by the Indian States either owing to the personal merit of the rulers or due to the exigencies of the Empire. Rulers like those of Baroda have acquired an international reputation. A practice has now been laid down by which a representative Indian Ruler sits on the Conferences of the Empire or even of the world States. The famous treaty of Versailles bears the signature of an Indian Prince. It is inconceivable that with such a position outside, the Indian States as a class should continue in a position of subordination as indicated by the presence of Political Agents and Military Camps in their territories referred to in the address of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha.

The growing consciousness of self-determination met with all over the world cannot but make it inevitable that the interpretation put on the subsidiary alliances which amounts to making such allies subordinates, must give way to a better understanding of the real position of the parties. It may have been the case and physically it is yet true what a high Political Officer of the Government of India once sarcastically observed that a peon from his office would collect all the jewelled heads under his charge. But moral feelings of the present day would revolt against such an idea.

The problem in India is complicated by several factors. The British Government in India succeeded to certain existing traditions

and facts, as well as in order to establish stable Governments in the country it had to create new rights. This has led to the existence of States of sorts. The term Indian States includes such big and almost independent country as the Dominions of His Exalted Highness the Nizam, as well as a chief-ship extending over a few square mile and fully dependent on the paramount power. It is obvious that there can be no league of such states. Neither can an imperial diet consist of such incongruous elements.

Therefore it is conceivable that in order to avoid the perplexing complexities of the situation as well as to meet the growing self-respect of the Indian States that far-seeing Viceroy, well-versed in the diplomacies of the Eastern countries, Lord Hardinge, introduced the system of collecting together the Indian Rulers for consulting them, mainly as regards the education of their class. As the learned author of the "Report of the Committee appointed to work out the details of the scheme of constitutional developments in Mysore. (Printed at the Government Press, Bangalore in 1923) observe "A looser and more elastic tie is that of Leagues and Conferences, which work on the basis of free choice or acceptance and this was the system sought to be introduced by Lord Hardinge. His successor, Lord Chelmsford carried it further by introducing, "the principle" to quote the same authority again "the principle of the voluntary group carried from social and economic formations to the sphere of international or interstate aggregations." This led to the birth of the Princes' Chamber. "In these new experiments" as the Mysore report says "the free declaration by individual members of adherence to the decisions in Council have another source of validity than either the collective or the universal will". Therefore the decisions of the Chamber are not binding on the members composing it until accepted by them individually.

The Chamber of Princes is not and cannot be a federal body. It is a deliberative body and the votes of majority or minority are indicative of thought and have no binding force. Validity is given to its decisions only when they are accepted severally by the States. If this fact were more clearly realised then such misconception about it might be removed. As the Mysore report says "It is a looser or a more elastic tie than a federation."

But there is a natural reluctance to be bound by this "silken rope," which in the words of the late Lord Morley "may sometimes be a better and more durable bond than an iron rod." The reluctance is mainly due to the fact that the tie may be manipulated by the paramount power in order to further its own views and wishes. The self-consciousness of the States revolts from forging one more fetter by associating other states with the action of the paramount power. It probably demands that their original status be recognised and a better method than the bug-bear of brute force may prevail.

An independent state like Greece quails before the mailed fist of Italy. The new states created by the treaty of Versailles have no military force to back them—at any rate the free port of Danzig and the corridor to Poland from the sea exist by the good will of nations born of the force of morality and justice. But the system in India yet remains to be changed. What is perhaps most disconcerting to the Indian states is that such questions as were referred to in the address of the Poona Association as far back as 1877, *viz.*, questions regarding disputes between British and non-British territory, the measures to be adopted with respect to Rulers who misgovern their territories, questions of adoptions, coinage and Imperial legislation "are still under the shadow of Political Agents and Military Camps", figuratively of course. The Chamber of Princes has not and cannot replace them.

Nothing short of the ideal sketched by His Highness the Maharaja Alwar will satisfy the growing aspirations of the people of India. In a sentence it is as follows:—"The continent of India (British and Native) parcelled out into so many governments, big and small, each autonomous in its own place and measure, will form a constituent group,, within the world system known as the British Empire." (The Mysore report).

There are three different formulæ applicable to the situation described in the preceding paragraph. The first is a federal Government like the United States of America, the second is an Imperial Diet, very much on the lines of the German Diet, and last is Federated States, as is the union of South Africa, or in the commonwealth of Australia.

As regards the first formula it must be discarded as inapplicable to the situation in India

as a whole, since it implies the overlordship of a Sovereign Head, which would be incompatible with the status of independent states. The last formula also involves the carrying out of measures and policies by the vote of majority and is therefore incompatible with the recognised status of the component parts. These two principles are perhaps good guides for the federation of the provinces in British India but as already shown they do not remove serious objections to federation from the point of view of the Indian states. The Imperial Diet of Germany too left certain powers generally and additional ones in times of emergencies in the hands of the Emperor. It was no doubt a voluntary abdication of powers by the component parts for the common good. But such abdications can only be made by those who are possessed of their power in fact not by those who are not so situated. The Indian states have in practice gradually lost their powers but it will be against human nature to expect them to acknowledge it for *de jure* purposes.

The chief problem to be faced is that of the equalisation of the status of the component parts. There is the British India on one hand and the Indian states on the other hand. The problem is to a certain degree similar to that of the Indian nationality. There are the Hindus, Mahomedans and untouchables and minor communities like the Sikhs and Christians and Parsees and the differences between them delay the day of the Swarajya. Similarly there are almost independent states and fully dependent states in status yet both independent of one another. If the British Government were to enter into a federation, which must be on the basis of perfect equality with the former kinds of states, a hue and cry would be raised by the other kind of states, as they would be henceforth governed by the federation and not by an outside party as before. Their *amor proprius* would thus be offended.

On the other hand the resources of the states in the second kind of group may not be commensurate with the duties that might have to be levied on them, if their status were to be raised. So like the backward classes they would rather prefer the others to be dragged down to their level, than that the status of more fortunately situated, might be raised higher than even at present, if necessary.

It seems that a way for a similar situation that has been suggested from a leading plat-

form in British India might be followed in the case under consideration too. It has been suggested that the areas inhabited by the untouchables might be divided into spheres of influence by Hindus and Mahomedans and those people might be converted to either faith. However brutal the suggestion might seem in British India its principle, if applied to the situation of the Indian states might end in establishing a federation of the Indian states including British India. As far as their political rights are concerned states with lower political status might be absorbed by British India and by the bigger—in the sense of higher status—Indian states. Some chiefs, as in Japan, might for the common good, accept some sort of compensation for parting with their rights. Along with this the idea of raising the status of states in this group might also be entertained. The work will require patient research, persuasion, negotiations and time.

On the other hand the British Government too will have to give up some privileges which it has acquired by prescription or even by negotiations. The most glaring example of the assumption of such a right is the wide extension of the universally recognised right of extra territoriality possessed by independent states. So long as it was within bounds its application was reciprocal. Agents of Indian states in British jurisdiction were given the same rights as were claimed for the British Officers. But it has been gradually withdrawn and more rights demanded for the paramount power under "The foreign jurisdiction order in Council." Such accretions to the powers of the paramount Government will have to be cut down, side by side with devising better means of safeguarding the interests covered by them and enforcing justice and preventing the exercise of arbitrary power.

The steps indicated in the previous paragraphs having been accomplished, a League of Nations of India, on the lines of the war League of Nations might be created for general welfare of the country. It is, however, not necessary that all the steps advocated in the preceding paragraphs should be taken previous to the establishment of such a League. It seems unnecessary to wait for such a contingency. The only step that will have to be taken is for the paramount power to declare—that henceforth it shall confine itself to the rights possessed by it under the treaties and all questions beyond their letter will be referred to

the League of Nations of India. If this resolve is not confined to the paper only but put in force the next thing that seems to be required to be done is to form a League between British India and such Indian states as would be or could put in possession of such sovereign powers, as are possessed by the members of the League of Nations. In fact its rules and procedure could be *mutatis mutandis* applied to the Indian League.

A misconception prevails that perhaps a particular form of Government is necessary in a State which would be entitled to a membership of the League. It is not so. The League although so named is not a League of Nations but of Governments of States. The principal conditions laid down are that (1) it must be a

stable government, (2) it ought to be fully self-governing, (3) its conduct, including both acts and assurances, with regard to its obligations ought to be above board, and lastly (4) it ought to have a respectable size and population.

Most of the Indian states exercising higher sovereign jurisdiction could pass these conditions. Nay as has been shown elsewhere they could even stand for a membership of the World League of Nations. A League of Nations of India, besides strengthening their hand, would introduce in India, which has been since ancient time a world in itself, the same conditions and environments that a master mind has sought to introduce in the whole world, leading to peace, prosperity and progress.

STATE AID TO INDUSTRIES.

By MR. L. N. GOVINDARAJAN, B.A.

It has been continuously dinned into our ears that we shall be living in a fool's paradise if it is thought for a moment that State Aid can be an adequate substitute for the initiative and enterprise of the people themselves. We are not oblivious of the fact that the Government can only encourage and aid but cannot create Industries. It is true that though we need generous State help and vigorous Government action, Government cannot take the place either of the Expert or of the Capitalist. Unless and until men with Capital make up their minds to invest their money in Industries, instead of confining themselves to money-lending and investment on land, Industrial India is doomed to remain more an empty dream than a reality notwithstanding any conceivable change that may be made in the fiscal policy in the near future. We are prepared to admit that what India needs is help and backing but not control. No reasonable man will question the truth of the remark made by Professor Marshall, the *doyen* of Economists, that you may have flourishing industries, or flourishing bureaucracies, but never both.

Still all that we have said and admitted need not make us blind followers of the discredited Laissez Faire policy and sceptics of the value of State Aid in promoting our Industries. It was however Lord Morely who said that the State funds should be expended only upon familiarising the people with such improvements in the methods of production as modern Science and the practice of European countries would suggest. But he held that, further than this, the State should not go, and everything else must be left to private enterprise. But he forgot that in the peculiar circumstances existing in this country, any limitation of the functions of the State in accordance with his dictum will not prove of any advantage. There is no wonder then that there is an overwhelming unanimity in Indian public opinion that the Government should participate directly in the initiation and improvement of Industries and should help the Industrialists by experiment, advice, financial help and example.

The risks to which private enterprise is exposed in this country when embarking on Industrial schemes in new directions are pro-

verbial. Some contend however that India has one advantage in that Industries and processes that may be started here are almost always in an old stage in other countries though they may require a few modifications to suit Indian conditions. But the lack of private consultants and specialists and of information on the Industrial value of raw materials is a serious obstacle, especially to the success of small scale undertakings. Moreover the Indian investor is not prepared to risk his money in ventures unless they relate to Industries whose success is assured. Though there is Capital seeking Industrial outlets the directions in which it is being employed are very few.

PIONEERING AND DEMONSTRATION.

These two methods of Government Technical assistance represent the widest departure from the old *Laissez Faire* standpoint which restricts the Governmental functions to the individualistic minimum. By pioneering is meant the inception by Government of an Industry on a small commercial scale in order to ascertain and overcome the initial difficulties and discover if that Industry can be worked at a profit. It goes without saying that the Government should undertake the pioneering of new Industries, only when private enterprise is not forthcoming.

It is also desirable that the Government should establish and manage Demonstration Factories, the objects of which may be either Educational in which case they would serve as schools for the training of men as operatives, foremen or managers or experimental with a view to improve local Industrial products. They would serve the same purpose in industry which Demonstration farms do in the case of Agriculture.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE BY GOVERNMENT.

Having thus stated in broad outlines our views regarding the policy which should be pursued in helping the process of Industrialisation going on in our country, we may proceed to indicate in some detail some of the more important methods to effectively carry out this policy. For this purpose we may classify all our indigenous Industries into three distinct Industrial systems:—

- (1) Gigantic Industries carried on in big factories commanding markets over the whole country, as heavy chemical works, iron and steel works, Electro-

metallurgical and Electro-chemical works.

- (2) Small organized Industries carried on in work-shops or in tiny factories, as Engineering work-shops, tanneries, sugar-factories, rice mills and small textile mills.
- (3) Industries carried on in the home of workers, which we may conveniently designate as Cottage Industries.

The scale of operations is here small; little organisation is required; and the amount of output is sufficient to satisfy the Local market only.

In the case of the first group of Industries there is seldom any necessity for Technical assistance, they being under the control of Experts. These large firms will depend upon Government for help only to conduct Scientific researches, and to provide accurate economic data. Sometimes also the Government may conduct preliminary investigations regarding the quality and quantity of raw materials available and also the extent of the market open to such Industries. Technical advice as to the location of factories, and the design of the building may not always be out of place. The Imperial Scientific Services may with advantage be drawn upon to provide these highly specialised forms of Scientific and Technical assistance.

More direct Government assistance is required for promoting small organised undertaking of our second group. The small Industrialist frequently embarks on a venture without acquainting himself fully of the nature of business he intends to start. No expert advice is available to him and consequently he is led on simply to copy methods used somewhere else under different conditions. The provision of suitable technical assistance which is so useful to large Industrialists becomes to the small entrepreneur almost a necessity. In a country like India where a high return is expected on Capital much care should be taken over the preliminary inquiries before starting a new Industry. In addition to this assistance, useful work can be done by Government in helping managers of small-power plants to maintain them in good working condition. Something has already been done in Madras in this direction in respect of the numerous small pumping installations and rice-mills.

As regards the third group comprising the small cottage industries the necessity for technic-

al advice is obvious. The workers are uneducated without clear notions of their trade except what can be gathered locally. They have no access even to the Elementary Technical literature and they can be influenced only by ocular demonstrations carried on in their neighbourhood. In Madras the Government handloom weaving peripatetic parties have done much practical work in this direction. In Mysore the practice of sending round a skilled blacksmith equipped with necessary tools has resulted in popularising improved methods of smithery. These effective methods have to be resorted to owing to the fact that the rural artisans have no contact with the outside world.

From the point of view of Economic self-sufficiency and self-defence, the Government ought to encourage the development of essential new Industries of national importance. The material resources of India are capable of furnishing the raw materials of many industries which do not at present exist in this country. If the above-mentioned methods of State help are to be adopted by the Government an excessive administrative machinery involving much expense to the Government becomes a necessity. But in view of the increasing importance of industrialising Agricultural India such expense ought not to be grudged. In the words of Sir M. Visweswarajah the most conclusive reason for pursuing a vigorous policy of Industrial expansion is that it will arrest the growth of India's debt. Were even half the money which now leaves the country to pay for imports saved in this way, it would go to swell the country's liquid assets, promote local industry and trade, supply the capital required for Agriculture, help the labourers to obtain better employment and pave the way generally for a change in the country's position, from a debtor to a creditor nation. If the people resolve to manufacture their wants themselves, occupations will grow and new sources of livelihood will be created for large numbers of the country's unemployed and half-starving population.

GOVERNMENT PURCHASE OF STORES.

That the Government could do much to assist the development of Industries by the adoption of a more liberal policy than the present in regard to the purchase by Public Departments of such articles as can be locally manufactured is too obvious to need any detailed examination here. Though the fact that the rules regulating

these purchases have been altered from time to time in the above direction cannot and need not be denied, it would be idle to question the emphatic assertion made by many competent men to speak with authority on the subject, that the way in which these rules are being administered is not above criticism. The manufacturing capacity of the country has not been sufficiently utilized by the Government. There is reason to believe that a more sympathetic attitude on the part of the Government in this direction will go a long way in industrialising India. Articles such as Railway Stock, etc., now sent for from England will be available in India equally well both in respect of quality and price provided the businessmen in this country can safely rely on an established practice by the Government of local purchase.

GOVERNMENT AND INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION.

To create an industrial organisation comparable to that of Western nations and to form an industrial community capable of working such an organisation, certain positive measures are required as provision for Industrial and Technical Education. The system of education introduced by the Government for providing merely the administrative needs of the country neglected altogether Education of a practical character. Now the Government itself recognises the necessity for a greater diversity of occupation and with this view it is trying its best to give a more practical turn to general education.

(1) Technical Scholarships

One of the important results of the latest Simla Educational Conference called for by the Government was the establishment by the Government of India of Scholarships to enable Indians to proceed to Europe and America for Special Technical training. Though it was easy for our young men to get admission into the Educational Institutions in the West, access to workshops and therefore to Technical and Trade secrets was practically denied to them. Again many students have been granted Scholarships to go abroad for acquiring a working knowledge of an industry non-existent in this country. It is not surprising therefore that many promising students have failed to profit by the system and have been compelled to seek other means of earning a livelihood. In future at least only

those candidates whose experience and intelligence justify the expectation that their future services are likely to be a national asset to the country ought to be awarded these Scholarships.

(2) Primary Education.

It is agreed on all hands that one of the important causes arresting Industrial progress has been the ignorance, and conservatism of the workmen. It has been alleged however that the spread of education among the artisan class will tend to bring manual labour into contempt, and that the sons of artisans educated beyond the Primary Stage will show a tendency to forsake their father's callings in favour of clerical work. In reply to this assertion we may state that this tendency, if it arises at all is due to the wrong system of Education that is being made available to them. Others again argue plausibly that education in the early stages will lead to vanity rather than real efficiency. But employers of labour who can speak with confidence on a subject like this recognise the advantage of Primary Education among the labourers as tending to make them more intelligent and self-respecting. Government may also encourage the development of apprenticeship, by which we mean training for a career in a workshop by sight, imitation and example.

(3) Other Forms of Technical and Commercial Education.

Besides a general introduction of manual training Secondary Technical Schools for training Foremen and Superintendents and higher Technical Colleges disseminating a knowledge of Higher Mechanics and Chemistry to future Managers and Captains of Industry are in need everywhere. Government should also encourage the formation in India of Scientific and Technical Societies on the lines of London institutions. Industrial experimental stations like the one in Tokio or Osaka in Japan may be started at State expense to carry out experiments in manufacture and to test the latest Industrial process followed in foreign countries.

We need also a system of Commercial Education for training Bankers, Brokers, Correspondents, and Commercial Agents. The admirable success of German Industries is due to the superior knowledge possessed by the Captains of Industry of the demands of the market, local as well as foreign. If the Gov-

ernment supply Provincial and Imperial Trade Statistics, Agricultural Ledgers and Industrial Monographs, the work of the Commercial Firms can be conducted with greater efficiency.

Financial Assistance.

The financial difficulties of the Indian Industrialist are really great. There is a striking unanimity of opinion that the Government should come to the rescue of the helpless promoters of Industrial concerns. But considerable differences of opinion prevail regarding the scope and form of such assistance. This direct financial assistance is required primarily because it is believed widely that if the Government assumes part of the financial risks it would scrutinise the prospects of each undertaking carefully thus arousing a sense of confidence in the investing public. The primary difficulty in raising capital for Industries is not due so much to the inaccessibility of money as to the doubts which its possessors entertain of the prospects put before them by the promoters of Industries.

Government assistance may take various forms:—

1. Grant of a Loan.
2. Guarantee of a Dividend.
3. Subsidising of Shares.
4. Guarantee of a minimum return on Paid-up Capital.
5. Making grant, on favourable terms, of Government lands, raw materials, fire wood, etc.

If only the public becomes conscious of the possibilities of employing its money productively and if confidence is aroused as to the prospects of indigenous concerns by a scrutiny of the accounts by the Government itself, and if also direct State assistance is rendered in the initial stages, then plenty of capital now hoarded without profit to the country will be forthcoming and there will be no necessity hereafter to import foreign capital. Foreign capital has had a tremendous educative influence in this country, and there can be no doubt that the people will readily subscribe to all the promising Industrial concerns in the future.

If in addition to these forms of State Aid, India were to have the same and full liberty to consider her fiscal interests as Great Britain and the Dominions have, this fiscal autonomy will go a long way towards converting the agricultural India of to-day into the manufacturing India of to-morrow.

A NOVELIST'S IDEA OF THE EAST AND WEST.*

By MR. W. L. COMFORT.

As a very young man I was sent to Asia for newspaper work and a few years later sent a second time. It was in Chinese territory in the companionship of a white man with a philosophic mind, that I awakened to the first puny concepts of the meaning of the East and West; war, man's inhumanity, the startling ignorance of governmental managements and all kindred matters which make revolutionists, martyrs, monsters and saints. In my own body, so to speak, these fiery enthusiasms and passions began their play; not only the effects of the world's political incognuities and cruelties, but in my particular case a great ardor awakened also for religious knowledge belonging especially to the East. This knowledge slowly and surely disintegrated all my little protestant ideas of God and the isolated importance of the three-score-and-ten.

Through twenty years' work, it might be said that every line I wrote was touched with partiality for the East; but in every line, too, was the energy of the dream of the mating of the East and West. I found early that the Oriental young men in this country, especially the Indians, talked my language more intimately than American friends. Much of my work drew upon me an actual dislike from the American public because all that I did was so permeated and actuated by Eastern philosophy.

So much for the immediate background from which emerge the following observations:—

The nations of Europe at the end of the War were like a scattered group of empty but unwashed crucibles. The vast spiritual experiment, which the name Europe stands for, has not failed exactly, as I see it, but Europe itself has ceased to be the laboratory for experiment. America has become that; the invisible alchemists are here in America, and here the synthetic process of the experiment continues. America is nothing, if not the best of Europe to-day; in a word America is the protagonist destined to

play opposite the East in the next act of the world-play. America is the West.

I do not mean to forget Russia and the indications of re-birth in Germany. The terrifically intensive chastening of these two peoples has brought forth spiritual vitalities of their own to be reckoned with. Events of the present hour show Russia aligning herself with Asia; as for Germany, another must say. England, France and Italy, as national entities, have entered into decadence quite as certainly as Spain, Portugal and the Balkans, though their twilight is less dim. Again it may be said that nothing is lost. The spiritual essence of man or nation alone endures in any case. In the new laboratory experiment which America is, all valuable experience predatory and chivalrous alike, of the separate European nationalisms, is contained in the rough mass now here; and not one of the European nations, now so insanely malignant toward one another, but has furnished America with an invaluable quality in the making of a super-type, the nobleman of the future, destined to mate with the chastened feminine protagonist of the East.

Consider a young Indian at home in Bombay, after much travel, experience and study in the West, yearning to tell Westerners in Asia something to help them toward a happier condition in the East. Thus as an American I feel toward the Indian young men here. It is easy to prophesy, but difficult to approach the personal. This is the dilemma: After a twenty-years' course in Asia, I am now finding myself more American than before; not patriotically of course, not nationally, but answering to all the strains toward union, that the West as a whole must feel one day for mating with the East.

A truly regenerative mating in man or woman is entirely devoid of the glamor which belongs to the realm of fatuous love. I believe fatuous love for all things Indian is gone in my case; I believe for the first time, as a Westerner, I am prepared to bring a real love to the East. Now putting aside the Chinese

*Also appears in the *New York Orient*—Ed. H. R.

and Japanese, something is the matter with the Indians in America. . . . I have found in my Indian friends an intellectual awareness most acute. They are cognizant of the most advanced movements in remotest sections, and yet in actual doing they are soft-handed and inexperienced. I have found them making talk do, when action was required. The West is the Doer, the East is the Knower. Until each is essentially established in the other, there can be no possibility of union. Practically all that we as Westerners can know of spiritual life and force (up to the time when we begin to look for it in ourselves and not elsewhere), must come from the East. But here in the Realm of Doing, there are lessons as profoundly important for the East to learn. Since we have been lowered into avoirdupois, this must be part of the Plan. These lessons cannot be learned so long as the young Hindus scorn America on account of the pitiful poverty of our intellectual culture.

This is a subtle scorn. I have seen it back of eyes so trained in patience, back of lips so locked in silence, that without Indian training I should never know. Now scorn, and this is Indian teaching, is a vibration of the mind and not of the spirit; it comes to be from a non-mixable self-sufficiency, and where it exists, compassion and true sentiency cannot manifest.

America is a conglomerate. We have no culture to compare with yours, for we have not the spiritual enlightenment, nor the magnificent distances of background in time. Until fifty years ago, not one man in ten thousand in America dared to dream that his life stretched back of his mother's womb. But materials are here; we have sunk ourselves into materials. I believe it is part of the spiritual project for all men, East and West, so to do. I believe, after much conning, that errors quite as painful result from running away from materials, as from falling into their power. "There is corn in Egypt. Go thou down into her, O Soul, with joy. For in the Kingdom of the body, thou shalt eat the bread of thine initiation."

It is true that America appears to have fallen so deeply into the Egypt of matter that its soul is involved; still, the same happened to Israel at first. I would ask the East if its soul is not involved in its passion to escape from materials. Aloofness, absent-mindedness, abstraction—these are eccentricities sometimes

said to go with genius, but in truth they are but accentuated forms of separateness belonging to a mind enamoured of itself. The spirit is never aloof; it "geometrizes" in matter. It is down among men; it alone conquers materials. It has to do invariably with the unerring and memorable in deed and word.

The young Hindus in America are ready for sacrifice or any suffering. I have found them starving, walking the streets of American cities in hunger, touched with that poverty which diminishes because of its uncleanness. And these young men were possessed of intellectual equipment compared to which our so-called professors of learning were time-serving upstairs. But hunger and self-diminishment result from a clog somewhere between spirit and matter. Spiritual force, rightly used, masters materials; its nature is plenty, freedom from want; it manifests in beauty. Conscious spiritual life is grace as well as power; it has withdrawn from the man who shows an ugly line to the camera of the world. Without it, the man renders himself open to defeat in any undertaking. Freed from all truck and trammel of the human mind, poverty, illness, fear and the like, denote a lack of spirituality, nothing more.

I have longed for the Indian hills, the great silence, the monasteries, the masters. Tens of thousands in America share this yearning. But just so long as my hand slips here, so long as the little crude material lessons of the West are capable of showing me up, capable of breaking what little spiritual poise I have—my place is here. India has taught that we may only escape materials by mastering them. Shall not the East at large (and the East in each of us) find the West utterly adorable at last for supplying every fertile opportunity for conquest over the kingdom of materials?

I believe in many cases the obstruction between spirit and matter peculiar to the East is a preponderant intellectuality, yet India teaches the doctrine of the Heart. I spoke to a young Hindu of the stupidity of our schools, of the standardizing of the minds of the young through our school and college system. I declared that such representative men as we have, are significant in spite of college training, rather than because of it. To all this I found encouragement and sympathy from my friend and yet his every process of thought was academic and he used degree initials after his name.

Is it because I have looked to India for every good and perfect thing that I am disturbed to find learning rather than loveliness and intellectual rather than spiritual magnitude, among the

Indian young men and women in America? May not lovers ask such things of each other, those who have put glamor aside, yet still yearn for the union of the East and West?

INDIAN MUSIC.

By MR. M. S. RAMASWAMI Aiyar, B.A., B.L., L.T.

VII.

MODES OF MUSIC.

1. I have now a great mind to take you to a study of my *Sargam Notation* and *Theory of Music*. They are, however, serious subjects. Let us therefore first dispose of three minor (or less serious) subjects, viz., *Modes of Music*, *Kalakshepam*, and *Melody and Harmony*, which will form the subject matter, respectively, of the seventh, eighth and ninth articles. The tenth article will be on *Sargam Notation*; and the eleventh and last will be on *Theory of Music*.

2. Whereas, in European Music, the various Modes of Singing are Single Chant, Double Chant, Kyrie, Hymn, Part-Song, Glee, Madrigal, Motet, Anthem, Solo, Duet, Fugue and Chorus; whereas, in Hindustani Music, those are Alapana, Dhrupad, Khyal, Tappa, Ghazl, Horee, Tumbarre, Rikhta, Dadra, Chatranag, Lavant and Thillana; the Modes of singing in Karnatic Music are Alapana, Thana, Pallavi, Swara, Varna, Ragamalika, Swarajit, Krithi Kirthana, Pada, Javali, Thillana, Thiruppuhal, Thevaram and Themmangu.

3. What is *Alapana*? It is an elaboration of a musical scale, Râga—as we call it. The tune produced by a particular series of swaras, both in the ascending and descending order, having a strict regard to the inevitable laws of *Vadi* is a Râga. Remembering the particular series of swaras selected, if you permute and combine them in as many ways as you can and sing them, without however pronouncing the swara letters but by your cultivated voice; you get your *Alapana*. The sweeter the voice, the more beautiful the *Alapana*; and the wider the

range, the more sublime it becomes. One peculiarity in *Alapana* is that it is controlled neither by *salithya* (wording) nor by *thala* (time-keeping); it is a free rendering of the voice, untrammelled by the limitations of songs. It is a mode peculiar to, and found only in, India, especially South India.

4. The most remarkable person for *Alapana*, within living memory, was Maha Vythinathier who could, by dint of his gifted voice, unrivalled in clearness and sweetness coupled with a special capacity for rapid performances, move the audience to tears or raptures and allure, instead of forcing, their admiration. The modern singers have unfortunately brought *Alapana* to a dead level. It does not occur to them that each Râga has a predominant *Bhâva* or *Rasa* for delineation and our ancestors have even concretised some of the more important Râgas into pictures. *Thôdi*, for instance, represents majesty and *Asâveri*, grief. Hence Thiagaraja's well-known song, *Koluvamaregada*, meaning "Is not Râma in Durbar with all his paraphernalia?", is rightly sung in *Thôdi*; and the same author's *Samayamuthe-lisi*, meaning "what is it to me—whether the wealthy men live or die, if they do not by their riches acquire *punya* or virtue?", is rightly sung in *Asâveri*.

5. Next *Thana*. *Thana* is but rhythmic *Alapana*, wherein you have the same succession of notes, the same regard to the laws of *Vadi* and the same kind of permutations and combinations of the selected notes. Only you have to sing *Alapana*, as described above, a little rhythmically, with pronouncing the letters *tha*,

ha, na ; and Thâna comes out in all its grace. Patnam Subramanier was its best exponent.

6. Next *Pallavi*. Pallavi is peculiar to the Karnatic system and is found nowhere else, not even in the Hindustani system. Unlike Alâpana or its allied Thâna, wherein the field is so wide and undefined that the singer, in the flight of his imagination, can roam about and degress to any degree, without even returning to the starting point provided his digression carries with it its own delight ; Pallavi, by virtue of its *avarthanâs* or turns, limits the scope of his imagination to the scale of the thâla. It is a bit of Musical strain or burden, wherein the singer is bound to return to the starting point, after the exhibition of the flights of his imagination. *Sruthi* or drone alone, like a fondling mother, guides the imperious singer of Alâpana ; while, in Pallavi, the father's discipline of *Layam* or Time-keeping comes in to control him. Hence the old adage—

श्रुतिमोतालयः पिता Pallavi has been described as a bouquet of tender leaves and petals. Just as a florist selects tender shoots and beautiful flowers and artistically arranges them into a thing of beauty, which is a joy forever ; so, does the Karnatic Musician pick up the most flowery and sweet combinations of notes to manufacture the Pallavi. It is an *extempore* Musical discourse. It frees the singer from the constraint put upon him by the style of a particular composition. The *Krithis* are the special essays of particular masters to be studied and delivered from memory,* without swerving to the right or left. But the Pallavi is the essay of the singer himself. The style of the Râga must no doubt be preserved ; and the measure of the Thâla must rigorously be kept up. All else is the choice of the artist. He may pile sangathis on sangathis, turn from râga to râga and even resort to a variety of thâla combinations. He may, like a skylark, float in the firmament high and fly whithersoever his fancy, taste or ability may lead. But come back he must and finally take relief in the *eduppu* or the initial letters of the thâla originally allotted to them. The best exponents of Pallavi-singing were Periya and Chinna Vythies of Sivaganga, Kunrakudy Krishnier, Patnam Subramanier, Maha Vythinathier, Parameswara Bhagavathar of Palghat, Coim-

batore Raghavier and last, not least, "Shadkâla Govindan".

7. To-day pallavi-singing is at a discount. But four or five decades ago, it was in its fullest swing. Duels, unheard of to-day, often used to take place then. I have myself seen, about 1886, and enjoyed the beauty of Kunrakudy Krishnier and Patnam Subramanier *duelling* with each other in the matter of pallavi-singing,* like two big intoxicated elephants in the arena at Baroda which, with their limbs outstretched, rush upon each other, each trying to push, with all its strength, the other back but in vain, till at last Mahouts intervene and separate them by applying a little fire between them ; or like two big water-fountains which, rising one above the other, curve down in magnificent showers and deepen the doubt of the on-lookers as to which of them is more attractive. A similar duel Maha Vythinathier and Coimbatore Raghavier had fought at Trivandrum, about 1872, in the august and patronising presence of the then Maharaja of Travancore—Ayillium Thirunal.

8. Why should the duel, I may be asked, be confined to pallavi alone and not extended to other species of singing ? Varna and Alapana stand on two different footings, while pallavi stands on a third footing. Varna and all that follow it form so many pieces of memory work which, whatever may be the number of singers, will have only to be repeated, parrot-like, in one and the same manner and which creates a necessity more for co-operation than for competition. As between Alapana and pallavi, the former is unrestricted and covers over an unlimited area, while the latter is restricted and covers over a limited area. In the former, it is possible for two or more fighters never to approach one another, inasmuch as there is no common point for them to start from, as in the case of pallavi, but ever to keep themselves at a respectable distance from one another and develop the raga each in his own peculiar way, so that if one, like Maha Vythinathier, claims credit for beauty : another, like Raghavier, claims credit for sublimity : while a third, like Krishnier, claims credit for symmetrical grandeur. But in the case of pallavi-singing, the time-limit, the starting point and the necessity to turn back off and on thereto force

*Singing by reading is happily unknown in India.

*"Chandamâma andariki," in Sankarâbhavanam was the Pallavi sung by them.

the fighters to meet many a time at the starting point and rub their shoulders and enable the hearers to estimate the fighters' comparative merits and demerits. In short, Alapana is a field neither for co-operation nor, for competition; Varnam and other modes of singing present a field eminently fitted for co-operation; while pallavi alone forms a field suited to competition. Hence *duel* is out of the question in all cases except pallavi.

9. Next *Swaras*. This is another phase of pallavi-singing, not known to any other system, not even to the Hindustani system, of music. Instead of using your voice as you did in singing pallavi, you have now to use your tongue by expressly singing the very notes and pronouncing their letters. All the rules applicable to pallavi-singing are equally applicable to swara-singing. The swara combinations, artistically arranged, are one after another prefixed to the burden and the method of such prefixing are manifold, now trembling, now straight-going, now crooked-going, now jumping from above, now flying from below. China Vythi and Maha Vythinathier were reputed to be excellent swara-singers.

10. Next *Varnas*. Varnam means color. Hence varnam-singing must needs indicate the particular color or quintessence of the rāga selected. Varnas may be described as the repositories of some of the more important phrases and idioms, so to speak, of Rāgas, expressed in two sets of swaras adjusted respectively to two burdens, kept under the control of one thāla. Some of them are adapted for dancing. They will invariably be long compositions. The best exponents of this species of singing were Govindasami, Swathi Thirimal, Vadivelu, Ponnyya, Kuppier, Chitty, Venkatramier and Subbarama Dikshithar.

11. Next *Rāgamālikas*. Varnas, as a rule, begin and end in the same rāga. Some varnas, especially, when they are unusually long, have been, with a view to avoid the monotonous tune, made to change their rāgas at every step. To them the name of Rāgamālikas is given. The exponents of Rāgamālikas were Subbarama Dikshithar and Subramanier.

12. Next *Swarajiths*. This must properly be called 'Swarajathis', for it is nothing else than a species of Varna with Jathis (which are the outward manifestations of thāla) instead of Swaras, or very often with an admixture of

Jathis and Swaras. Kunrakudy Krishnier brought Swarajiths into prominence.

13. We now come to *Krithis*. This species is something like Sonnets in English Poetry. A Krithi is usually short but sharp. It consists of a burden called Pallavi, an auxiliary called Anupallavi and an elaboration called Charanam. The words Pallavi, Anupallavi and Charanam indicate respectively the leaf, the stem and the root of the tree of a Krithi. In point of metre, the scope of the Charanam will usually be that of the Pallavi and Anupallavi put together, so that the elaboration may gracefully fit in with the burden Krithis, unlike Varnas, are entirely free from the intermixture of Swaras and have been all along used for devotional purposes. Krithi-singing forms, in South India, the mainstay of a music performance. You may dispense with Varnas and their paraphernalia; you may dispense with Padas, Javalis, Thillanas and Themmangus which, by sufferance only, are allowed to peep in at the fag-end of the performance; you may dispense even with Alapana, Pallavi and Swaras. But dispense with Krithis you cannot, inasmuch as they form the keystone of the arch of a music performance, while all other species of singing (except perhaps Pallavi) form so many minor stones playing only a subordinate part. On a further consideration, it will appear that even Pallavi forms part and parcel of Krithi-singing, inasmuch as it is, as it ought to be, nothing else than an elaboration of the Pallavi portion of a Krithi.

14. *Kirthanas* are nothing but Krithis with two or more Charanams. It is mainly the number of Charanams that makes all the difference between Krithis and Kirthanas. In a Krithi, tune and sangathis are the guiding factors, while, in a Kirthana, praise and prayer or narration are the guiding factors. Be it noted that Krithis and Kirthanas are alike free from solpha passages which form the characteristic features of Varnas, Rāgamālikas, and Swarajits. Krithis, like Thiagaraja's, will be appreciated only by the initiated; while Kirthanas, like Nandanar Kirthanams, will be appreciated by all.

15. *Padams*, like Lyric Poetry, are love songs, throughout which an undercurrent of philosophy will invariably run. The love between a god and a goddess—Subramaniam and Valli for example—will usually be the subject-matter of 'padams', in singing which you will not find that graded, systematic and symmetrical evolution of sangathis of a Krithi nor the sing-

song monotony of a Kirthana, but, in their stead, you will have the most catching turn and sharp contrast of the raga embodied there. Sometimes padas will be very plain singing from start to finish.

16. *Javalis* are also love-songs and may be defined as padams of a lower order. That is to say, while the method of singing them both is the same, the love inculcated by padas is high and points to noble God; but the love inculcated by *Javalis* is low and points to base man. Padas may be long but *Javalis* must be short.

17. A *Thillana* is defined to be a song consisting mostly of *jathis* or manifestations of a thala, at times tacked on to some wording with a view to relieve the monotony of the *jathis*. It gives more work to the tongue than to the voice. It is neither tune nor poetry but entirely a matter of rhythm. The birth of *thillana* was in North India wherein the rhythmic influence of music has not yet waned in preference to tune which to-day is the monopoly of South India. Due to the untiring energy of Patnam Subramanier and Kunrakudy Krishnier, the singing of *thillana* has been considerably developed in South India.

18. *Thiruppuhal* is an offshoot of *thillana*. Both *thiruppuhal* and *thillana* lay stress on rhythm and revel in its varieties. But while *thillana* stops with mere rhythm and appeals only to intellect; *thiruppuhal* goes a little further and, in conjunction with poetry, appeals to the emotion as well.

19. *Thevaram* is a Dravidian style of singing in praise of God. Though nowadays an Aryan tinge is given to it, it properly belongs to the Dravidian system, where of the various ragas or *panas* are *Innisai*, *Indolam*, *Padi* and so forth. It is a matter for regret that the Dravidian system has become a *fossil* in South India, except in a corner of Travancore, where it lives under the name of *Sopanam*.

20. *Themmangu* must properly be called 'Thenpangu' which means the Southern style. *Themmangu*, as it is, forms the vulgar phase of the Dravidian Style, even over which the Aryan breeze has already begun to flow.

21. There are yet three other modes which are however solely used for learning music and not for display. They are *Saralis* (or *Swaravalis*), *Alankaras* and *Githas*. Mere permutations and combinations of swaras, though graded and graduated, form *Saralis*. When a variety of *thālas* is introduced, they take the

name of *Alankaras*. When again a variety of ragas is introduced, they take the name of *Githas*.

VIII.

KALAKSHEPAM.

1. The word 'kalakshepam' literally means *pastime* or any means whereby the time is not felt heavily but lightly passed over. In this literal sense, a game of cards is *kalakshepam*; and so is a drunken quarrel. But this is not the meaning given to the word now-a-days. *Kalakshepam* is now regarded as a form of public preaching *plus* music; and when a person is invited for a *kalakshepam* party he never misunderstands it for a game of cards or even a drunken quarrel, but goes straight to it with the certainty of being entertained with something of music and something of preaching.

2. Its natural origin has been successfully hit by Mr. Addison whom I cannot resist the temptation of quoting in detail: "There is nothing which we receive with so much reluctance as Advice. We look upon the man who gives it to us as offering an affront to our understanding and treating us like children or idiots. We consider the instruction as an implicit censure and the zeal which any one shews for our good on such an occasion as a piece of presumption or impertinence. The truth of it is—the person, who pretends to advise, does, in that particular, exercise a superiority over us; and can have no other reason for it but that, in comparing us with himself, he thinks us defective either in our conduct or our understanding. For these reasons, there is nothing so difficult as the Art of making advice agreeable; and indeed all the writers, both ancient and modern, have distinguished themselves among one another, according to the perfection at which they have arrived in this Art. How many devices have been made use of, to render this bitter potion palatable? Some convey their instructions to us in the best chosen words; others in the most harmonious numbers; some in points of wit; and others in short proverbs. But, among all the different ways of giving counsel, I think the finest, and that which pleases the most universally, is FABLE, in whatsoever shape it appears. If we consider this way of instructing or giving advice, it excels all others, because it is the least shocking and the least subject to those exceptions which I have before mentioned. This will appear to

us, if we reflect, in the first place, that upon the reading (or hearing) of a Fable, we are made to believe we advise ourselves. We peruse the author (or, for that matter, we listen to the story-teller) for the sake of the story and consider the precepts rather as our own conclusions than his instructions. The Moral insinuates itself imperceptibly; we are taught by surprise and become wiser and better unawares. In short, by this method a man is so far overreached as to think he is directing himself, while he is following the dictates of another, and consequently is not sensible of that which is the most unpleasing circumstance in advice. In the next place, if we look into human nature, we shall find that the mind is never so much pleased as when she exerts herself in any action that gives her an idea of her own perfections and abilities. This natural pride and ambition of the Soul is very much gratified in the reading (or hearing) of a Fable. Everything appears to him like a discovery of his own. This oblique manner of giving advice is so inoffensive that if we look into ancient histories, we find the wise men of old very often choose to give counsel in Fables."

3. One notable instance is given by Mr. Addison himself: "Sultan Mahmoud, by his perpetual wars abroad and his tyranny at home, had filled his dominions with ruin and desolation and half unpeopled the Persian Empire. The Vizier to this great Sultan pretended to have learned of a certain dervish to understand the language of birds, so that there was not a bird that could open its mouth but the Vizier knew what it was it said. As he was one evening with the Sultan, on return from hunting, they saw a couple of Owls upon a tree that grew near an old wall out of a heap of rubbish. 'I would fain know,' said the Sultan, 'what those two Owls are saying to one another; listen to their discourse and give me an account of it,' The Vizier approached the tree, pretending to be very attentive to the two Owls. Upon his return to the Sultan, he said: 'Sir, I have heard part of their conversation, but dare not tell you what it is.' The Sultan would not be satisfied with such an answer; but forced him to repeat word for word every thing the Owls had said 'You must know then,' said the Vizier, 'that one of these Owls has a son and the other, a daughter—between whom they are now upon a treaty of marriage. The father of the son said to the father of the daughter in

my hearing:—'Brother, I consent to this marriage, provided you will settle upon your daughter 50 ruined villages for her portion'. To which the father of the daughter replied:—'Instead of 50, I will give her 500, if you please. God grant a long life to Sultan Mahmoud! Whilst he reigns over us, we shall never want ruined villages'. The Sultan was so touched with this news that he rebuilt the towns and villages which had been destroyed and from that forward consulted the good of his people."

4. For this long quotation, I hope you will excuse me; for, does it not give you delight and at once insight into the origin of our Institution of Kalakshepam, which is nothing but Story-telling interspersed with music? Our ancients had already anticipated Addison and presented to the world the old, old PANCHATHANTHRA, from out of which Æsop's Fables, Boccaccio's Decameron, and even Arabian Nights sprouted.

5. The historical origin of Kalakshepam may be traced back further than even Panchathanthra, that is to the time of the very Vedas. For, we hear that Kalakshepams used to be held during the intervals of Vedic Yaugas or sacrifices and they consisted in the recital, for the benefit of those that were not privileged to study the Vedas, of stories contained in the various Upanishads. Later on, rhapsodies of the Epics took the place of Kalakshepam, as in Greece. For, do we not hear of Kusa and Lava having rhapsodised the Ramayana before Rama himself? It was however from the time of Lord Buddha that the modern phase of Kalakshepam has had its beginning.

6. It is rather curious to note that, while the people wanted more and more of Kalakshepam, Buddha and his followers were bent upon giving them more and more of dry public speaking *minus* music. For, it is a historical fact that the Buddhists and the Jains did not favour music, in its practical side, on account of their puritanic principles, however much—strange to say—some of them delighted to write on its theory and science; and that both Buddhism and Jainism developed in their later stage, an extremely perverted view on the philosophy of desire. One of their chief tenets, every school boy knows, was the extinction of desire. They worked up this tenet a little too much and argued fallaciously thus: "the Rose is good but its thorn is bad; since they persist in growing together, both of them must be discarded". The

idea of plucking the rose and chucking the thorn was not within their purview. Hence, together with the thorn of its baser side, the very rose of music was attempted to be destroyed. Thank God that the Guardians of Humanity deported Buddhism to East Asia and interned Jainism in Mount Abu.

7. With the disappearance of these two enemies of music, Sangitham began to flourish again; and with it, the Kalakshepam too. While we have to thank Buddha for inaugurating the system of public preaching, we must feel grateful to the various kings of the Gupta period for patronising the system of Kalakshepam. "The intelligent patronage," observed V. A. Smith in his *History of India*, "of a series of able and wealthy (Gupta) kings for more than a century had much to do with the prosperity of the arts and sciences". Lectures on Bhakti interspersed with music—the nucleus of modern Kalakshepam—were delivered in all temples; and Sanskrit dramas written even by kings, like Sri Harsha, served to give music an operatic turn. Indeed the temples and the theatres became great schools of music, during the Gupta period, which enhanced the value of Bhakti lectures on the one hand and furnished, on the other, a keen interest opposed to the otherwise dry stage-representation. Hence it was that I said that we should feel grateful to the Gupta kings for their kind and intelligent patronage of Kalakshepam.

8. Jayadeva's *Gitagovinda*, which appeared in the 12th century, marked a distinct period in the growth of Kalakshepam. It was a lyrical composition celebrating the love between Radha and Krishna and thus gave the anxious people not only materials for public preaching but also sweet music besides. Even to-day, orthodox preachers attach a very sacred importance to *Ashtapadi* (which is another name for 'Gita-govinda'); and heaven knows with what ecstasy they sing the songs contained therein.

9. With the advent of the Muhammadans in the 13th century, music and Kalakshepam began to decline for the early Muhammadans were not only great iconoclasts but also heartless discouragers of learning and all arts. Fortunately, South India was, even in the 13th century, free from any Muhammadan attack; and Aladdin did not cross the Narbada. Of the various South Indian States, the Pandyan Kingdom was at its lowest ebb and even the Chola Kingdom had lost much of its former splendour. But the

Bellals in the south and the Yadavas in the north rose into power and enjoyed eminence.

10. Now, Aryan music, that left North India for fear of the early Muhammadans, was able to reach the Yadava Kingdom and its further progress southward was, for the time being arrested. Hence arose in Dowlatabad, the capital of the Yadava Kingdom, a very great musician, Sharangadev by name, who, basking in the sunshine of King Simhala (1210—1247), produced that immortal work, *Sangitharatnakara*, which even now stands as the demarcation line between the Hindu and Muhammadan periods of Indian music. Hence also the Maharattas, the principal inhabitants of West India, in and around the Yadava Kingdom, became enamoured of music and consented to be willing repositories of the sacred institution of Kalakshepam. It is to be remembered that the tharanganis, dhandies, ovis and sakies with which the modern South Indian Bhagavatha* chooses to delight his audience are all of Maharatta origin.

11. In the next century (14th), music revived in North India. And Lochanakavi's *Ragatharangani* entered its first protest against the ancient Moorchana-Jathi System; put an end to the confusion of the "three key-notes"; proclaimed the supremacy of the modern shadja tonic (middle C); reduced Sharangadev's 22 notes to the modern 12; and inaugurated the genus-species system of expounding ragas which, in the hands of Venkatamakhi, crystallized itself into an unalterable Code. Along with this revival of music, Kalakshepam too lifted its head, though it was not recognised as a regular institution in North India, till Chaithanya's Bhakti-revival of the 15th century gave it a fresh impetus.

12. By this time a new school of music, called the *Dhrupad* School of Gwalior, came into existence and encouraged only classical music as opposed to *Tappa* or non-classical music. The deep, slow and long-drawn music of the new school, investing it with an air of awe and solemnity, was soon engrafted upon the system of Kalakshepam which became thereby immensely enriched.

13. While North India Kalakshepam had its own vicissitudes under the Moghuls of the 16th and 17th centuries South Indian Kalakshepam went on growing, as has been said, in the hands of the Maharattas and slowly travelled

*'Bhagavathar' means a religious preacher.

from West India down to Madras and took a stronghold there from the latter part of the last century. How South India Kalakshepam travelled from West India even to Tanjore will be clear by a reference to any historical atlas of India wherein the Maharatta Kingdom, which was powerful in the 17th century under Sivaji and in the next century under the Peshwas will be found to comprise the whole of West India and the western portion of the Modern Central Provinces as well as the scattered tracts of Bellary, Bangalore, Vellore, Arni, Jinji and, last but not least, the fertile delta of the Cauvery with Tanjore as its capital. And, again, as to why South Indian Kalakshepam flourished, while its North Indian type languished, in the last two centuries, we have but to take notice of the fact that musical compositions, which formed the real and substantial manure to fertilise the field of Kalakshepam, were plentiful here and rare there. For while the *mama* for book-writing was rampant in North India, the whole of South India was going ahead in the matter of musical composition. Purandra Doss, for example, wrote many a beautiful song in Kanarese. In Travancore, Swathi Thirunal (1829—1847) composed his devotional songs and Govinda Marar (1798—1843) his erudite Varnas. In Thiruvallur, Muthuswami Dikshithar (1775—1835) improvised his famous Sanskrit songs; while, at Tanjore, the epoch-making Thiagaraja (1759—1847) poured out his fascinating *krithis*.

14. Now, as soon as the Maharatta system of Kalakshepam reached Tanjore, it had to dash itself against its formidable rival, the Dravidian system, having its own sacred literature of Thevaram, Thiruppuhal, Thiruvachakam and Thirukural. There arose, at this juncture, a celebrated person (for God in the plenitude of His Wisdom gives man timely agencies)—I say, there arose a remarkable performer of Kalakshepams, Krishna Bhagavathar of Tanjore, who brought about, as it were, a chemical combination of the two systems that met at Tanjore and produced a third and new system, deprived of all the angularities of its originals. With his keen and observing eyes, he found that, while the songs of the Maharattas were short and crisp and excited but emotion, those of the Dravidians were long and tedious but inculcated devotion; that the music of both the systems was all the same in its recitative, not lyrical, stage; and that the way of story-telling was in the one a way of brain-confusing digression and in the other of sleep

producing length. He therefore steered clear of all these defects and even others such as vulgarities, irrelevancies, and staleness; and like a good captain, conducted the barge of Kalakshepam along the ocean of his audience with the help of the well-regulated stream of religious and devotional stories and the fine sails of lyrical songs, as well as with the safe boats of the Dravidian sacred literature.

15. The modern performers of Kalakshepam are but imitators, one way or another, of that famous Krishna Bhagavathar. One may be more learned, another may command sweeter voice, and a third may even pride himself on a nimbler leg. But the hard fact remains that all subsequent Bhagavathars have been like so many trains, good, bad or indifferent, but all running on the rails laid out by that great fore-runner. The various factors which contribute to the success of a modern Kalakshepam are peculiarly his own. The *prathamapada* or introductory songs to enliven the expectant audience; the *dhrupad* or the deep, slow and long-drawn music to invest the performance with an air of awe and solemnity; the *upakrama* or the text of the sermon to make known to the people the subject; the telling narration of a story, coupled with classical music, to illustrate the text chosen; the witty sub-stories and lighter songs to form a relief for the otherwise monotonous narration; and the *upasamhara* or conclusion to draw a moral from the original text or from the story told to illustrate it—all these are today being faithfully followed in the same way as they were first exhibited by that great margadarsi.

16. I said that Krishna Bhagavathar found Recitative Music but used, in his Kalakshepam, lyrical music. Wherefrom did he get the latter? I answer without hesitation that he got it from the fascinating *Krithis* of Thiagaraja. Patnam Subramanier and other musicians, pure and simple, were already making use of them. But the Bhagavathar's, especially Krishna Bhagavathar's predecessors, were, as a class, conservative and entertained a doubt whether it would be after all proper on their part to give up their time-honored recitative music for the new lyrical style. But Krishna Bhagavathar boldly introduced the innovation with the result that the Kalakshepam has been, since his time, rising more and more into popularity even amongst the classes, as opposed to the masses, for whose benefit it had been, doubtless, originally intended. If, as Rev. H. A. Popley

observed in his *Hand-book of Lyrical Evangelism*: "Music is a powerful means of creating an atmosphere, and it is a truism that the atmosphere is the most important thing in a religious service." I contend that lyrical music is a powerful means of creating a purer atmosphere. I am tempted here to take you along the development of Indian music from its recitative stage to the lyrical one. But I fear it is a pretty long story; and I therefore refer you to my article on *Origin and Function of Music* as well as to my *Life of Thiagaraja*.

17. When once the principle of *lyrical* or high class music in the field of Kalakshepam was recognised, a mighty revolution set in. The field of music gradually became deserted and that of Kalakshepam came to be more and more overcrowded. Singers, whose musical talents were below the mark for a 'pure and simple' musical performance but above the mark for the purpose of a Kalakshepam, thought they could please the classes with their classical music and the masses too with their ordinary folklore. This accounts for the rush, in the beginning of the present century, of indifferent musicians into the field of Kalakshepam and also for the idea that whoever despaired to succeed as a Sangitha Vidwan could cut a figure as a Bhagavathar.

18. It was only when, a few years back a wrong step was taken, *viz.*, of receiving good music as a sufficient compensation for bad preaching, instead of a brilliant ornament to good preaching, that the already overcrowded field of Kalakshepam became further overcrowded with all sorts of Bhagavathars and that the hitherto strong edifice of Kalakshepam began to show signs of crumbling here. When finally unlearned, or parrot-like taught ladies made bold to enter, on the strength of their music, the field of Kalakshepam and play the role of Bhagavathars, the crumbling portions sustained a precipitous fall. But thank God that the coming down of some portions of the edifice did not involve the destruction of its builders as well. We have amidst us some leading Bhagavathars who could, if they chose, rebuild the fallen portions and bring the edifice, as a whole, back to its pristine glory. I may even state that a few of them have already begun to renew the structure. Suggestions have been thrown out that no Bhagavathar should be allowed to face an audience, unless he produced, whenever required, his credentials granted to him by one of the Religious Heads or even one of the leading

and senior Bhagavathars, certifying that he had undergone the necessary previous training and discipline both in the matter of music and preaching. This arrangement, it is hoped, will purge the field of Kalakshepam of its undesirable elements.

19. I have done with the history of Kalakshepam. There yet remains to be told what place Kalakshepam occupied in the story of Hinduism or, in other words, what use was or ought to be made of it, in the matter of teaching and preaching the principles of Hinduism or, for that matter, of Evangelism too.

20. In the latter part of the last century, opinions became sharply divided as to whether the system of Kalakshepam was intended for the benefit of the classes or of the masses. There were philosophers or so-called philosophers who cared only for abstruse philosophy or abstract metaphysics and regarded the Bhagavathar as wasting his time in singing or story-telling, instead of drawing a scholarly distinction between Sankara's *Advaita* and Ramanuja's *Vishishtadvaita* or between the doctrine of transmigration and the law of karma. There were certain others, Bhakthas as they might be called, who would like to tread in the main line of Bhaktimarga with however a side-peep into the higher Gnana and who would at one time sit with men of fastidious taste to listen to a learned discourse on high philosophy and would, at another time, sit along with the masses to enjoy a popular Kalakshepam. But the large majority of the people come under a third category and are of emphatic opinion that the kalakshepam is, at it has all along been, eminently a matter of mass movement; that the performer of Kalakshepam must needs make it a point to satisfy the masses more than the classes; and that to expect from a teacher of the masses a lesson worthy of being learnt by the classes is as absurd as to expect a Professor of Chemistry to teach you the substance of the four Mysore Wars or draft for you a Memo of Appeal to be filed in the High Court.

21. My own view of the institution of Kalakshepam is a compromise of all these three views. I have often regarded the position of a Bhagavathar as similar to that of the Editor of a newspaper. What do you find in a newspaper? It opens with advertisements; only a certain class of its readers will anxiously peruse them, not all. Turn, then, to the leader; it is on the Mosquito Problem; doctors may read it and

others are likely to skip over it. The next article is on the recent discovery of an inscription at Thirukkalikunram; the historian, or perhaps the antiquarian, may read it and others will skip over it. The next article is on an interesting point of Law; the judges and lawyers may read it and not others. The next article is on the latest method of teaching Geography; the poor schoolmasters may read it and not others. The next article is the arrest of Mr. so and so; perhaps all will read it, it being sensational news. Thus it is clear that the contents of a newspaper do not—nay, cannot—please all the readers alike. Every reader must therefore remember that the newspaper is intended not for him alone but also for so many others having so many tastes, all different from his. So, when he finds in it articles that do not interest him, he must think that they must be of some interest to others but should not condemn the newspaper, as a whole, as being the product of a needy blockhead.

22. Similar to the position of the Editor is, I repeat, the position of the Bhagavathar. I regard the big assembly he has to face as a world in itself, though in miniature. Some may have come for music alone; some for discourse alone; some for the beautiful violin-playing; some for the sublime drum-play; and some for satisfying their idle curiosity. It is not possible for one poor individual Bhagavathar to satisfy, equally, the different tastes of a hydra-headed assembly. He should be judged in fairness. If the Bhagavathar waxes eloquent in his discourse, the music loving portion of his audience must patiently wait for their turn. Again if he goes on with his enrapturing music, the discourse-loving portion of his audience must remember that they have already had their turn and that the other portion must likewise have theirs. But a well-trained Bhagavathar, having a mint of philosophical principles, a fund of epic or puranic or theological stories, a store of soul-stirring songs, and a great deal of common sense will, I am sure, not find it difficult to interest even a hydra-headed assembly.

23. In writing the *Life of Thiagaraja* I had occasion to make reference to Thiagaraja's father, Rama Brahman, as being an out-and-out Bhagavathar; and my description there of his position as a Bhagavathar will be of some interest to you. "Rama Brahman regarded himself as the legate of the skies, his theme

Divine, his office sacred and his credentials clear; and he delighted to think that he had the rare privilege of being a negotiator between God and Man. He might well be proud of his Bhagavathar's position. For, if the whole of humanity is regarded as a big army marching towards the goal of salvation, Bhagavathars may be said to lead the van, while judges of law courts may be said to bring up the rear. While it is the function of both to lead man to the right track; Bhagavathars can perform this with greater success than judges. Murderers may be hanged; but murder will never cease. If however, positive maxims of advice are proclaimed by the preachers, how many crimes will disappear from the world. Indeed the Bhagavathar's mission is noble and their function is sacred. They establish the strong, restore the weak, reclaim the wanderer and bind the broken heart." Thus the position of a Bhagavathar, like that of the pulpit orator, must ever stand acknowledged as the most important and effectual guard, support and ornament of virtue's cause. Hence it behooves every Bhagavathar and, for that matter, every pulpit orator to be very careful of his life and manners,

"To bid the pleadings of self-love be still,

Resign his own and seek his Maker's will,

To spread the page of Scripture and compare

His conduct with the laws engraven there;"

and also not to render himself liable to the poet's attack, *viz.*,

"Some decent in demeanour while they preach

That task performed, relapse into themselves;

And having spoken wisely, at the close

Grow wanton, and give proof to ev'ry eye,

Whoever was edified, themselves were not."

There is still a further value in the institution of Kalakshepam, that it produces, preserves, protects and promotes sacred literature and sacred music. Thevaram. Thiruppuhal and Nandan Charitram—to take only a few—are all so many offshoots of the institution of Kalakshepam. The modern way of performing Ramayanam Series, Mahabharatam Series and Bhagavatham Series and thereby popularising the principles of itihisas and puranas as well as the stories embodying them, would not have been thought of, but for the institution of Kalakshepam.

24. The effect of Kalakshepam on music is very wholesome, at least, as wholesome as the eight Gregorian Modes are said to have been in western Christendom, during the time of Charle-

magne. Kalakshepam, as the Gregorian Modes once did in Europe, keeps the running water of music in India crystal and pure and never allows it to get muddy. Sir Hugh Allen, Principal of the Royal College of Music, London, complained: "Music tends to go to the baser side; and commercialism has driven the musicians to adjust their arts to suit the taste of the largest numbers". This sort of fear India has not; because of the preserving hand of the institution of Kalakshepam.

25. Rev. H. A. Popley (Y. M. C. A., Madras) has given the following account of the history of Kalakshepam in Christianity:—"There is no doubt that the Institution of Kalakshepam is linked on to Roman Catholicism and that it is much more common for Roman Catholics to gather together in their houses and halls and have regular Bhajanas than for Protestants. Owing to the influence of men like Beschi and Robert de Nobili, Roman Catholics got into sympathy with indigenous ideas and methods. Vethanayagam Pillai's book of songs called Samrasa Keerthanai is an illustration of this.

26. "Among Protestants Vedanayagam Sastri and his family were among the first definitely to take up this method. They started a school of music and of Kalakshepam in Tanjore and practically every branch of their family has taken it up in some form or another. Vedanayagam Sastri composed a large number of Biblical dramas dealing in an imaginative way with the story of salvation. It was natural that in Tanjore, which is one of the great centres of original music in South India and the home of Thyagaraja, South India's greatest musician, this development should make its appearance in the Christian Church.

27. "In the Maratha country also among the Christians the Keertan, as it is called there, is very popular and has been from early times. The Keertan is a musical and dramatic performance of a Bible story. As Mr. Ramaswami Iyer has told us, Maharashtra is the original home of the Kalakshepam. It is interesting to note that Maharashtra has produced one of the greatest Christian poets of the age, Narayana Manan Tilak.

28. "Following upon Vedanayagam Sastriar, Abraham Pandithar of Tanjore sought to develop music in every possible way and helped forward the Kalakshepam very considerably. About twenty years ago, in addition to the com-

positions of Vedanayagam Sastriar there were a few musical dramas of Old Testament and New Testament stories such as Joseph, Esther, the Prodigal Son and so on.

29. "It was however the custom to use these rather for the entertainment of Christian audiences than from any evangelistic motive. Vedanayagam Sastriar and his family used to perform their Kalakshepam regularly in Hindu homes and palaces and they were very much appreciated by the Hindus. No doubt they had their evangelistic use but that was not the principal motive behind them. It was about twenty years ago that the definite evangelistic value of the Kalakshepam came to be recognized and attempts began to be made to utilise it. Mr. L. I. Stephen, who was then working with the London Mission in Madras as a special evangelistic worker, began to adopt this method in Madras and also in his tours in the Mofussil. He had already composed a number of songs having as their object the presentation of Christian truth in the vehicle of music. He was a student of Johannes, one of the most skilful musicians in Madras and had acquired a very wide and thorough knowledge of Indian music. As a result of this development it was decided to publish a small book on Bible stories rendered into simple lyrics which could be used as the basis for Christian Kalakshepams. This was published in the year 1914 under the title of the *Hand-book of Musical Evangelism*.

30. "A collateral development which helped this forward was the growth of musical festivals in the Madura Mission. Their great September Festival has for many years included a special musical festival in which some Christian drama or other has been musically rendered. The appeal of these not only to the Christian community but to the Hindus and Mahommedans of Madura has been noted and commented upon.

31. "As a result of this development in South India similar movements have been started in Western and Northern India. A school has been held in Western India for one or two years and schools are proposed for the United Provinces and Bengal. It has led to a considerable development of the study of Indian music in schools, particularly in girls' schools. That is however outside our purview at present.

32. "The Hindu method of Kalakshepam has been very well described by Mr. M. S. Ramaswami Aiyar in his informing and interesting essay; so, it is not necessary to say anything

further on that head except that the important point that emerges is that the Kalakshepam in Hinduism is meant to be at its best a vehicle of prophetic utterance.

33. "In Christian evangelism the use of the Kalakshepam involves two things. First, an attitude of sympathy with Indian thought and methods. It means that our aim is not denunciation or compulsion, but persuasion and illumination. Secondly, it involves the method of conveying truth by means of story and song in a dramatic fashion. It represents the picturesque and discursive method of Hinduism rather than the dogmatic method of Christianity."

34. In fine, I shall close this subject with drawing your special attention to some of the more dangerous pitfalls of Kalakshepam which even a foreigner like Rev. Popley was able to recognise, *viz.*—

"(1) Over-emphasis on the musical side so that the impression carried away is simply one of good music.

(2) Over-elaboration of the story resulting in a blurred picture.

(3) Excessive discursiveness so that the central idea is lost. Sometimes this shows itself in an over-loading with humorous illustrations. A little humour is a good thing, but like too much salt it spoils the dish. The gift of humour is a dangerous gift and should be used in moderation.

(4) A tendency to mere emotionalism and compromise.

Sympathy may degenerate into sentiment and love of popularity may lead to compromise.

The only way to avoid these dangers is to have a strong spiritual life and a clear knowledge of the Truth and close communion with God."

IX

MELODY AND HARMONY.

1. Lord Sydenham, an Ex-Governor of Bombay, once addressed the students of the Bombay Gandharva Mahavidyalaya thus:—"In the direction of harmony, the West has gone much further than the East and is still moving. It is in the structure of its harmony that the Western music is more complex than the Eastern. This difference of musical taste, however it may have arisen, has an important result in the absence of concerted music in India. The

co-operation of large numbers of voices or of instruments in producing a joint effect of powerfully reacting upon performers as well as audiences cannot find a place in the musical education of the Indian people. India cannot adequately realise the exaltation of spirit, the excitement and the vivid impressions which are created by the noble choruses of a Handel's Oratorio, by the symphonies of the great European masters and even by the choral singing of a regiment on the march or of a gathering of Welsh holiday-makers. I confess to my mind this seems to be a *want* in the music of India.'

2. The late lamented Sir T. Muthuswamier, High Court Judge of Madras, diluted the Lord's one-sidedly strong opinion in his own characteristic way:—"By *mutual contact*, both systems *may* gain from a scientific point of view!"

3. Mr. A. M. Chinnaswami Mudaliar, author of *Oriental Music*, opposed the Judge and observed:—"The laws of modern European Harmony, which recognise no *rāgas* at all and permit the interpolation of accidentals foreign to the melody-moulds are quite ill-suited for oriental music." Mr. T. A. Ramakrishniah, an ex-Sub-Judge wrote to the *Madras Hindu*:—"Indian music is, like the Pacific Ocean, passive, calm and serene; while the European music is, like the Atlantic Ocean, stormy, aggressive and boisterous. It is true that the Panama Canal has connected both the oceans. But has it changed the nature of the waters?" Again, "Indian music," observed Tagore, "is like the night pure, deep and tender; while the European music is like the day a flowing concourse of vast harmony, composed of concord and discord and many disconnected fragments. They both stir us; yet the two are contrary in spirit. But that cannot be helped. At the root, nature itself is divided into day and night, unity and variety, finite and infinite. We Indians live in the realm of night and we are overpowered by the sense of the One and Infinite. Our music draws the listener away beyond the limits of everyday human joys and sorrows and takes us to that lonely region of the soul which lies beyond the phenomenal universe, while European music lead us to a variegated dance through the endless rise and fall of human grief and joy." Mr. C. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, a member of the Music Committee constituted by the Government of Madras wrote to me on 9th October, 1921: "You know that I agree

with you on all points and only regret that those in power and wealth are too careless and indifferent to the excellences of our system and too partial towards the *dry, angular and curvelless music of the West, with its pretended Harmony which is after all artificial.*" Mr. Krishna Row, B.A., of Mysore, confirmed Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar when he observed: "The element of harmony of the West is present in nature more where there is discord than concord. Absence of proper illustrations from Nature of the existence of harmony for the expression of internal emotion strengthens our view that it is only a work of *artificial* innovation." He then proceeded to explain why such an 'artificial' harmony became so popular in Europe: If we analyse what charm there is in cricket, chess, cards or the paper-chase we shall find how, even with materials which are by themselves totally void of any higher purpose, artifice can weave a web of imaginative pleasure and attract a host of admirers. When we see how fortunes are staked on the results of cricket matches and how intoxicated are players while engaged in cards, is there any wonder that harmony should find a large number of supporters?"

4. Even in Europe, Tartini loved harmony and Rousseau loved melody. In this doubtful condition to which of the two—Melody and Harmony—should India give the palm?

5. But what is meant by 'Melody' and 'Harmony'? That we must first understand. The vital point of difference between the two lies in whether the notes in a given octave are produced *successively* or *simultaneously*. In the former case, you have 'Melody'; while, in the latter, you have 'Harmony'. Touch, for instance, *Sa—Pa—Sa successively* and you get *melody*; and touch the same 'Sa—Pa—Sa' *simultaneously* and you get *harmony*. Melody can be produced by one voice, while harmony can be produced only by two or more voices. Melody encourages *individualistic* music and asserts the superiority of voice over instruments; while harmony leads to *concerted* music and drowns the voice in the ocean of instruments.

6. Mr. Krishna Row gives us two happy illustrations to bring home, even into the minds of children, the real difference between melody and harmony. "When a feeling agitates a person, it exhibits itself by means of a continued voice, which is only a flow of a single sound varying in pitch here and there. On analysis it will be found to resemble a chain of

single notes, which succeed one another. It is impossible that at the same time two notes can sound together; for, in melody which expresses the feeling of the heart, single sounds succeed one another. But when a person stands on the shores of a mighty ocean, a feeling of grandeur enters into his heart. The waves beat against the shore in rapid succession; various birds hover over it here and there with their sweet sounds; the hissing of the wind and the bustle of the people add a charm to the scene. What kind of music can express the feeling thus aroused? It is only the 'harmony' of the West. One instrument expresses the splashing of the waves; another represents the hissing of the wind; a third represents the cries of the birds; and a fourth expresses the sounds of human voices. All these sounds, though each varies in intensity in its own course proceed simultaneously and constitute music, which is termed Harmony in the West."

7. Oliver Goldsmith, in his *Deserted Village*, gives us a fine example of harmony of sounds in Nature:

"Sweet was the sound, when oft, at
evening's close,
Up yonder hill the village murmur rose.
There, as I passed with careless steps
and slow,
The mingled notes came softened from
below;
The swain responsive as the milkmaid sang,
The sober herd that lowed to meet
their young,
The noisy geese that gabbled over the pool,
The playful children just let from school,
The watch-dog's voice that bayed the
whispering wind,
The loud laugh that spoke the vacant mind.
These all in sweet confusion sought
the shade,
And filled each pause the nightingale
had made."

It is this "sweet confusion" of sounds that the Westerners choose to call Harmony in music.

8. You will now be in a position to understand that an Indian mind is meditative, while a European mind is demonstrative; that the mind-impression affects an Indian, while the sense-impression affects a European; that melody comes from the mind-impression, while harmony comes from the sense-impression; that melody lets emotion *out*, while harmony lets

emotion *in* ; and that, finally, harmony causes emotion, while emotion causes melody.

9. Lord Sydenham regrets that harmony is still a want in India. But is not melody still a want in Europe? Why is he more anxious to thrust harmony into India than to take in melody into his country? The truth is that our ex-Provincial Satrap quite forgot that the Indians had intuitively perfected their Melody, while the Europeans had disregarded the melodic system, clean jumped over it and developed the system of Harmony ; that while the Indian system remained fully true to Nature, the European System leaned more and more to artifice ; and that while it is a luxury for the Indians to become acquainted with Harmony, it is a sheer necessity for the Europeans to get to know, and cultivate, the rules of Melody.

9. Let us seriously consider whether we really want Harmony. Harmony in a sense, we already have. I will in this connection let Dr. S. N. Tagore speak for me. "Hindu music" he says, "is not devoid of harmony even in its limited sense and the first note, when sounded, ever blends readily with successive notes into a *harmonious* relation so as to create pleasure—". But the idea of Harmony

in Europe is the practice of singing by different persons with different instruments, as soprano, alto, tenor, bass, etc., sometimes mixed up with a thunder here and the warbling of birds there. Do we want that kind of Harmony? That is the question. Mr. Chinnaswami Mudaliar answers: "There is really no necessity to fuse Melody and Harmony. Each system has its own charms and can be enjoyed best on its own ground." Surely a fusion of the two will end in the production of a hybrid. And to complain that Indian music has no Harmony is tantamount to complaining that there is no Sun in the night.

10. I, for one, would suggest that the Indian Musician may learn Harmony of the West as a matter of curiosity but ever keep it distinct from the Indian System in which it should never be engrafted. I would further inform Lord Sydenham that he and others of his opinion "cannot adequately realise the exaltation of spirit, the excitement and the vivid impressions which are created by the noble" songs of Thiagaraja, by the spirited Krithis of Dikshithar and even by the choral singing of Gopalakrishna Bharathi's Pulisars—all being fortunately untainted by an artificial and "pretended" Harmony.

JANE AUSTEN.

By MR. D. N. GHOSH, M.A.

Readers of fiction in these days find it difficult to appreciate the delicate art of Jane Austen's novels. Bred in the cult of Ibsen, they find only meaningless trivialities in her works, which fail to satisfy their temperamental needs. Certainly this is natural ; for the most revolutionary of centuries has passed over our heads since Walter Scott fell in love with Jane Austen's art, and even in her own age she was something of an inexplicable anachronism. She was a *classic* writing in *Romantic* age,—a classic in the sense that Addison and Goldsmith were, and Landor and Keats were not. Although the *Lyrical Ballads* synchronised with *Pride and Prejudice*, in spirit they were widely separated.

If Jane Austen at all cared for the new movement, it was to make fun of it in the delicious vein of one of her favourite heroine. What her feelings towards real romance were, we have hardly any means of knowing ;—perhaps they were not very complementary. But certainly the pseudo-Romanticism of German extract,—the Ballads of Monk Lewis, or the *Tales of Horror* by Mrs. Radcliffe—was regarded by her with feelings of contempt which found masterly expression in her *Northanger Abbey*. So complete was her detachment from the spirit of her age that she was able to escape the influence of Rousseau, to which even the matronly and reserved Miss Edgeworth fell a prey.

Indeed the tastes of Jane Austen were frankly anti-romantic. This is conspicuously displayed in the attitude of reverence she always displayed for the tales of Crabbe. She affiliates herself quite naturally to that school of writers of whom Goldsmith was the last accomplished representative. The most superficial reader will be struck with the resemblance of *Pride and Prejudice* with *The Vicar of Wakefield*. The difference is, of course, palpable. While Jane Austen with admirable artistic judgment eschewed the heavy didacticism of Goldsmith's novel, she was unable to re-capture the kindly humour of *The Vicar* which exhales a graceful aroma through the book. In Goldsmith we admire the rampant tenderness of that spirit of humanism which was fostered by the revolutionary principles and which reached its perfection in Lamb's *Essays of Elia*. But Jane Austen has the traditional 18th century manner,—satiric, sarcastic and reserved. Her tastes were moulded on the *Spectator*, her criticism of which in the *Northanger Abbey* must not be taken to represent her own feelings but as inspired rather by the dramatic exigencies of her art. Her literary style again was acquired from Johnson. In another way, she reproduced the 18th century comedy of manners which Sheridan had carried to a point very near perfection, and which persists even to our days, in the dramas of Oscar Wilde, Sir James Barrie and others.

In a luminous sentence, Mr. Chesterton has summed up the secret of Jane Austen's art. It is this,—“Jane Austen knew what she knew, like a sound dogmatist; she did not know what she did not know, like a sound Agnostic.” This sums up her excellence as well as her defect. Her experience of life was limited to the common-place monotony of a middle-class society. And out of her well-defined limits, she never ventured out in the search of that out-of-the-way knowledge of human nature that again and again marred the best attempts of Charlotte Brontë—her severest critic. “Three or four families is the very best thing to work on,” she said, and worked on this principle. Indeed, her remarkable perception of her own limitations in the art of creative fiction is a testimony to her shrewd common-sense and sanity. It comes out strongly in the dignified and polite refusal that she sent to the Librarian of the Prince Regent, when he requested her to write a historical novel glorifying the house of Brunswick. Not even ambition could delude her to an attempt of what

(to her) was an impossibility. Jane Austen's work is defective in so far as a limitation is a defect. It is at the root of that facility with which she glided on to reproductions of similar situations in different novels. It is a defect which we notice in many of our modern accomplished lady novelists in Bengal—notably Sm. Anurupa Devi and Sm. Indira Devi. It also explains the want of variety in incidents which is an infinite source of monotony to the average reader of fiction, who seeks sensation rather than subtlety.

But these defects were more than counter-balanced by her consummate powers in the representation of common-place reality and its investiture with all the impalpable atmosphere of romance. Variety of incident is compensated by variety of characterisation. In the bye-ways of life there may be much to interest us, but in the high-ways, we are usually unobservant of petty details, engrossed by the totality of our collective impressions. It was reserved for Jane Austen to transform with the magic perfection of her art the most trivial incidents of daily life into charming novelties, throbbing with life and vitality. Here we have the true artist; who can arrest for us those fleeting imperceptible elements which, though we do not regard them—in fact we ignore them—yet in reality form the greater portion of our life. Does not Jane Austen illustrate Browning's splendid conception of the function of the artist—

For, don't you mark, we're so made, that
we love

First when we see them painted, things
we have heard,

Perhaps a hundred times, nor cared to see;
And so they are better, painted—better to
us,

Which is the same thing. Art was given
for that.

The great secret of Jane Austen's art is the aristocratic reserve of her expression. She has the delicate artistic reticence, the self-suppression of emotional hysteria so characteristic of the “classic” art. This is what Charlotte Brontë adversely criticised as want of poetry. Charlotte Brontë is notoriously effusive. What she called poetry and sentiment is what we would call theatricality and sentimentalism. She was carrying on the Byronic tradition in fiction along with Disraeli and Lytton. If we place M. Paul or Mr. Rochester beside Jane Austen's Mr. Darcy or Mr. Knightly, the difference becomes

obvious. Jane Austen represents in the midst of the emotional disturbance of the Renaissance of Wonder the traditional reserve of the 18th century. The self-effacement of the artist is complete. The most sensational incidents in her fictions—though few and far between—are treated with a detachment which takes away the fire but leaves behind something that is quintessential for real enjoyment. She was not "passion's slave." Critics have noted her "balanced temper." Unlike Richardson (whom, however, she seems to have admired) she never sought to accentuate the vigour of emotion or the depth of sensibility. Richardson's pathos often reminds us of the heroics of Otway and the Restoration dramatists. But Jane Austen is free from all such extravagance and carries us back to Addison.

Another fundamental characteristic of Jane Austen's novels is her sense of humour. Macaulay, with his usual taste for hyperboles, has immortalised it as Shakespearian, which it most manifestly is not, as its basis is not sympathy for human failings. Jane Austen's humour partakes more of the nature of delicate caricature. She had an exquisite sense of proportion. She admired sanity which depends on totality of comprehension. The frailties of mankind appear pitiful because of a deficiency against the background of exaggerated seriousness which mankind places upon life, and she regarded them more with scorn than with sympathy. "What do we live but to make sport of our neighbour and laugh at them, in our turn,"—she makes Mr. Bennett say, and it is a precise statement of her personal attitude. But the laugh was not that of sympathetic interest. Her worst character has no part in her sympathy. The officious insolence of Catherine De Burgh, the hypocritical philanthropy of Mrs. Norris, Mrs. Elton with her Maple Groves and Mr. E.I., or Isabella Thorpe with her mercenary selfishness are pitilessly represented. Even those characters which are not wicked, she cannot resist the temptation of ridicule. The garrulity of well-meaning innocence has been immortalised in Mrs. Bates. Mrs. Bennet with her vulgar propensities is a masterpiece of ridicule. The valetudinarian Mr. Woodhouse, the cynical Mr. Bennet, the benevolent but reserved Sir Edward Bertram, the supercilious politeness of General Tilney afford us examples of this power in modified setting. We may note in passing that whatever sympathy

Jane Austen expended over her characters, she did in the portraiture of the fathers in her novels,—in this affording a striking contrast to the manner of Shakespeare, who with a few exceptions, never lost an opportunity of satirising the fathers in his plays. Of course, Jane Austen's masterpiece is Mr. Collins. He will take his place among the immortals in fiction. There is nothing like him in English literature. He is a representative of Jane Austen's art as Falstaff is of Shakespeare's, Uncle Tobias of Smollett's, Parson Adams of Fielding's, Dugald Dalgetty of Scott's and Pickwick of Dickens? The caricature is perfect and inimitable. Indeed Jane Austen's delicate sense of the ironic comedy of life is one of the few perpetual delights of literature.

The basis of this, we have observed, lies in her taste for symmetry and proportions. "Follies and diversities, whims and inconsistencies" did divert her as it diverted her favourite heroine, and she laughed at them by caricaturing them. In this she resembled Dickens, with a fundamental difference. Her exaggerations did not violate the truth of her delineations. She knew that "one touch of nature makes the whole world kin" What she does is to emphasise the individuality of each by a subtle exaggeration of the particular idiosyncracies peculiar to each. Somewhat censorious in life, as her biographer shows, her temperament is reflected in her work where she judged each character by rigid standards of natural proportions. It is not difficult to realise her personal sympathies and antipathies found their best reflection in Emma and Elizabeth. Elizabeth, indeed, may be looked upon as an instance of dramatic self-portraiture.

But what gives Jane Austen her best claim to a place beside the greatest English writers, is her sense of architectonic, which is the law of proportion applied to the art of developing a story. No English novelist before her or since has shown an equal power in constructing a coherent, consecutive story. There is not an element that is superfluous. In this she is a *real* classic. A critical examination of the plot of any of her novels will show with what splendid art she utilises small,—apparently insignificant touches—in anticipating the incidents that follow. It is these which enable her to manage the greatest transition of feelings with the least violence to our tastes. For example, we are not taken by surprise when Knightley proposes to

Emma and is accepted by her. There has been no direct prelude to real love, and yet we feel with Mrs. Weston that after all and above all it is the most natural thing she could do. It is because Jane Austen had charged all that they had said and done before the happy climax with more meaning than meets the eye. Greater is the triumph in *Pride and Prejudice*. Elizabeth passes from active hatred to active love for Darcy. What are the accessories? We hardly know. That Elizabeth, so eminently sensible, should be won over by the fatuous gossip of a devoted servant or allured by the splendour of Pemberley does not seem possible to anyone. Darcy's help in securing Lydia's marriage is a later incident. In one slight touch, it seems to us, the transition has been effected, and that touch is the deft touch of a master. When Elizabeth saw Darcy's picture at Pemberley, she could detect in it the smile she had often seen when he had gazed at her. Jane Austen carefully reminds us of that. It is slight and hardly perceptible, but the effect on the reader is complete. The charm of reminiscence pervades that single touch. In *Mansfield Park* again, Edmund's proposal to Fanny, after he gave up Miss Crawford is managed with a convincing artistic sureness. In all cases, there is the stamp of absolute inevitability. We are never startled or shocked:—No, not even when Harriet (in *Emma*) makes four consecutive changes in the course of a single year.

This achievement has been possible because the stories have been so closely knit, that each element of it, however insignificant, is full of meaning and quite indispensable. The absence of superfluity is apparent at every step. Jane Austen is fastidious. She primes everything that is not quintessential. In this she is unique in English literature, which has always proclaimed the grotesque anarchism of the Teutonic temper. Hence not one among the greater English novelists—Scott or Dickens, Thackeray or Meredith, Wells or Bennett can be exempted from the charge of aimless prolixity. Jane Austen always subordinated her stories to the strict discipline of necessity. What was not absolutely necessary for the comprehension of a situation or a character, she rigidly excluded.

Jane Austen is not a satirist. She did not aim at purging the human mind of its absurdities by subjecting it to a process of ridicule. In other words, she has no other purpose in writing her novels except that of exhibiting different

types of human character brought into social interaction.

So that in spite of her limitations—and they are rather of a negative order—she stands out as the most perfect literary artist of the period,—of any period of English literature. It is true that she is incapable of the paths that made Thackeray or the sublimity that often characterised Dickens's most fantastic creations. It is true that she lacked the depth of George Eliot, her psychological insight, her "religion of humanity." It is true the passions that stirred the genius of C. Brontë left Jane Austen cold and uninspired. And it will be absurd to mention the obvious simplicity of her art in the same breath with profound complexity of Meredith's. Neither can we go to her for that wide and extensive acquaintance with human specimens that we find in Shakespeare or Scott. There is justice in C. Brontë's remark—"What throbs fast and full, the unseen seal of life or the sentient target of death Miss Austen ignores." Love in her novels is as reserved a sentiment as any other feeling. But the *dénouement* of her plot, the art with which the events are interwoven, the teleological design of the whole work, the total absence of irrelevant or incoherent details, are bound to command our highest respect. There are many who bring against her the charge that she does all this with the most commonplace limitations. Jane Austen herself acknowledged it. But while not depreciating (far otherwise) the Shakespearian profundity, subtlety or extensivity of comprehension, the art that can transmute such dainty trivialities into charming novelties must by no means be despised. To-day, there is a tendency to exaggerate the artistic value of mere sensations. But even an ordinary writer by the crudest appeal to our instinctive aversions for the pathetic aspects of life can enthral our attention if not our admiration. In the name of realism, the modern writer hunts for the most sensational incidents that can happen in real life and exploits them for the purposes of his art. But the primary aim of art being the creation of pleasure, it should be realistic so far as it helps him to achieve this aim. Hence the function of the artist is to use his faculty of selection. It is this faculty which Jane Austen possesses to perfection. Thackeray and Dickens have much to do with the worship paid to realism as such. It has led, even in their case, to the mixture of exaggerated humour with overdone

pathos. If Jane Austen has never risen to the heights scaled by her more brilliant successors, she never descended to undiluted pathos, as most of them very often did. The perfect equilibrium that characterises her writings is a testimony to her consummate craftsmanship. Her caricatures are so subtle, so splendidly undemonstrative, that enjoyment baffles analysis, and it takes us time to realise the *finesse* of her art. Her incapacity for absolute sympathy with her creations giving rise to a lurking irony, enables her to draw extremely life-like characters. Fanny Price is perhaps the weakest, but yet she appeals to us with the touching pathos of helplessness. Catherine Moreland excites our laughter again and again, but do we not all sympathise with her? And in spite of her romantic hallucinations we appreciate the essential amiability of her character. With many—certainly with her creator,—Emma Woodhouse has been a great favourite, and yet how obvious are her faults. And it would be difficult to find in the whole range of fiction, a character more loveable than Elizabeth Bennet. Critics of such different tastes as Bradley and Saintsbury, have united in falling in love with this brilliant masterpiece of creative imagination, because in spite of her 'pride and prejudice', she is so human. "Disdain and joy ride sparkling in her eyes". Shakespeare has given us Beatrice, who could alone stand beside Elizabeth Bennet and maintain her brilliance unimpaired.

Not only Jane Austen's heroines superior to those of any other novelist, her heroes compare favourably with those of other novelists. Certainly, no woman has been able to rival her. It is usually the practise for women writers to regard men either as bullying brutes or as chivalrous Knights of Medieval Romance. Jane Austen did neither. "She could describe a man coolly," said Mr. Chesterton, "which no other lady novelist could." And Mr. Elton said. "She is the woman our enemy", and as such she knew all our masculine weakness and strength,

wherein we are great and wherein we are not.

Mr. Chesterton said the right thing also, when he described her as "that most exasperating thing an ideal unachieved." And she is ideal solely because she was never ashamed of her own limitations, never cared to describe what she did not know, never wished to apply the cheap stimulus of sensations. Perhaps the most sensational events in her novels are those elopements which she often described. But here also her disposition was to utilise them as elements essential to her story. She is the supreme craftsman who subjects everything to the necessities of her art. Landor, the most classical of writers, has summed up in his own inimitable style, the qualities essential to true art, and they apply peculiarly to the writings of Jane Austen. "To constitute a great writer, the qualities are adequate expression of just sentiment, plainness without vulgarity, elevation without pomp, sedateness without austerity, alertness without impetuosity. Vigorous *that* appears to ordinary minds, which attracts the vulgar by its curtness and violence; but coarse textures are not always the strongest, nor is the loud voice always the most commanding." Here we have the precise reason why Jane Austen is looked upon with disfavour by a class of readers, while to others she represents the summit of perfection. Fanny Burney and Miss Mitford,—the former her teacher, the latter her disciple—illustrate how inimitable is her art; and it is further illustrated by the dismal failure of Lytton's *The Caxtons*. She belongs to the great classics of literature;—age cannot wither her charms nor custom stale her infinite variety;—and for all our cravings for sensationalism and realism, we must always turn with a sense of relief and pleasure to the quiet fascinations of her novels, and join the company of her incomparable creations to partake of their wit and humour, their oddities and absurdities, their joys and their sorrows

SEPARATION OF RAILWAY BUDGET.

By RAI SAHEB CHANDRIKA PRASADA.

The question of separation of the Railway Budget from the general budget of the country affects very large issues. It is necessary to consider those issues before coming to a decision on the matter. The proposal is financially unsound and it is surprising that the Finance Department of the Indian Government has not opposed it. The recommendation of the Acworth Committee was based upon superficial considerations without going deep into the higher questions of railway finance and the general principles which were laid down by financial experts of the British Parliament in the seventies of the last century for the guidance of the Secretary of State and the Government of India. It is a pity those safeguards were set aside by the Railway Committee of 1884 and again by the Mackay Committee of 1907-8. The results so far are very unsatisfactory. The whole situation is in a mess and heavy losses have been occasioned to the country. As this question has been raised, it is highly desirable that the matter should be carefully examined and thoroughly gone into, so that there may be no further loss to the country.

The proposal originated with the Acworth Committee, who recommended the separation of the Railway Budget chiefly upon the ground that sufficient funds were not allotted for the requirements of the railways, that works in progress were stopped owing to sudden stoppage of funds, causing serious loss. Had those lines been completed without interruption, they would have been earning revenue while by the interruption there was loss on the capital expended before the interruption.

No doubt that was a defect in the old financial system of the Indian Government, but it appears to have been already remedied as far as possible by the arrangement under which the Assembly has voted a sum of 150 crores for five years. As that defect has been remedied without separation of the Railway Budget, there is no need for the separation on that ground. Similar arrangements may be made for the future as well.

The stoppage of funds was caused by the tightness of the money market under exceptional conditions due to war, famine, etc. If those conditions occur again, would the Railway Commission find a continuous supply of funds for the railways? It will be more difficult for the Railway Commission to raise loans where the Government is unable to raise money. The Railway Commission is a part of the Government of India. How can a part succeed where the whole has failed? The Government of India raise their loans on the security of the general resources of the country including railway revenues; while, the Railway Commission might offer the security of railway revenues only. The credit of the Government is decidedly higher than that of the Railway Commission. The Railway Commission will not therefore be able to raise loans on more favourable terms than the Government of India. The separation of the Railway Budget would not therefore give any advantage in the matter of railway loans.

A private company undertaking the construction of a new railway, raises the funds by shares. Its work goes on uninterruptedly until the line is completed. The Government of India also can do the same by raising loans in times of peace. But in war times, neither the Government nor a private company can raise much money except on high rates of interest. During the late war, the guaranteed companies completely failed to raise any capital. As a matter of fact, the companies raise their loans on the guarantee of the Government.

There is one way of strengthening the position of the Government or the Railway Commission, and that could be done by accumulating large funds earmarked for railway purposes. But prospects of such overflowing funds are not in sight; not even by extra taxation or increased rates and fares, both of which are undesirable. Extra taxation depends upon the capacity of the people. Government have already pledged that extra taxation will not be levied for railway purposes. Raising of Rates and Fares is no doubt a form of extra taxation but high charges

would give diminishing returns and the object would eventually fail. If it be possible to accumulate a large fund by any other means, it could be done without the separation of the Railway Budget. The Finance Department may keep the Railway Reserve Fund like the Gold Reserve Fund. Thus, there is no real need for the separation of the Railway Budget. However, it is very improbable that large sums of money can be accumulated out of the surplus profits of the railways to supply anything like 30 crores of rupees annually for capital outlay on the State Railways. The accumulation of large sums in the Reserve Fund will depend upon railway profits. Have the railways made such profits in the past 75 years as would enable the Railway Commission to accumulate large sums in the Reserve Fund? The accounts show that the railways have not even discharged their own liabilities in the past.

Appendix 8 to my Economic and Financial History—"The Indian Railways"—clearly shows a net loss of 300 crores from 1848-49 to 1919-20. Of this sum 18.75 crores were probably chargeable to capital, leaving a net loss of 281.25 crores on 31st March 1920. Taking the subsequent figures, the net loss rose to 322 crores on 31st March 1923. As the railways have not been able to clear all their liabilities in the past, it is hardly possible to accumulate large surplus profits in the future.

The separation of the Railway Budget as proposed by the Hon'ble the Commerce Member merely increases the autocracy of the Railway Administration. The country will not allow such autocracy. Autocratic system of Government stands condemned to-day more than ever before. It is idle to put it before the country under the veil of a separate budget.

The Railway Administrations are well-known to be autocratic. By their sweet will, they allow fabulous salaries, allowances and privileges to their favourite officials, adding largely to the railway expenses. During the recent years, they have enhanced the passenger fares to a prohibitive extent, repeating the history of the sixties of the last century; the law of diminishing returns has set in, as is evident from the statistics published in the recent administration report for 1922-23. The service rendered to the large masses of Indian travellers is very unsatisfactory, while burdens are being increased and thrown upon the people of India. If further powers as now proposed be given to the Railway

Board, its autocracy would be increased to the detriment of India and Indians. The proposal for the separate budget should be rejected specially on this ground.

The financial unsoundness of the proposal is still more important and calls for a special notice. Neither the Acworth Committee nor the Hon'ble the Commerce Member has shown that the railway investments of the Government of India are profitable. The statistics given in para. 63 of the Railway Committee's Report of 1921 are not accurate. The percentages of profits shown in the accounts have been calculated upon incomplete figures of State outlay. The capital account of State Railways does not include large sums of money which have been paid out of the general revenues of India to meet the deficits of guaranteed interest or of the working expenses from 1848-49 to end of the last century.

The instance of surcharge on goods traffic referred to by the Hon'ble the Commerce Member as a ground for separating the Railway Budget is irrelevant. The surcharge was a wrong measure and should not have been introduced by the Government. It was introduced with the object of increasing the general revenue. That should not have been done and objections were justly raised by the railway administrations. That mistake has been rectified and it furnishes no valid ground for the separation of the Railway Budget.

The Commerce Member is flogging a dead horse by citing that instance as a ground for the proper regulation of Rates and Fares. The Rates and Fares have always been regulated by the railways according to the requirements of trade and conditions of traffic. They can always be adjusted without reference to the budget, whether the budget is a combined one or a separate one, for the railways. The budget may be changed yearly but a general revision of Rates and Fares annually is out of the question, considering the thousands of railway stations and millions of Rates and Fares between all those stations. It takes several months and a large number of extra clerks on each railway to recalculate new Rates and Fares, which must be supplied to each station before a change can be brought into force.

Up to the year 1884, it was strictly laid down that the amount to be annually expended upon productive public works should be limited to 2½ millions sterling. That was a very sound limit in view of the financial condition of India.

Had that limit not been relaxed by the Railway Committee of 1884, we should not have faced the difficulties we are facing now in regard to shortage of funds for capital outlay on the existing State Railways. These lines were constructed with undue haste between 1885 and 1899, with insufficient equipment, and ever since their wants for works of rehabilitation and improvements have been increasing. The past accounts of the railways do not show profitable investment. Are we to go on spending 30 crores of additional capital outlay every year, without taking stock of the real position? This is blind policy and no commercial house would allow the business to go on in such darkness. The railway administrations are spending Indian money without regard to the ultimate results. Look at the recent proposal of writing off three crores of rupees in the value of stores in stock. Why these stores were purchased and under what circumstances, we have not been told.

We do not know what is the depreciated value of the lines, works and stock of the State Railways. According to the capital account, the capital cost of the State Railways amounted to 603 crores on 31st March, 1923. To this should be added the 322 crores of Railway Deficits met from the general revenues of India up to the same date. Will the Railway Board have a valuation of the lines, works and stock made at the present worth, allowing depreciation due to wear and tear? Such a statement will show the commercial value of the concern.

No case has been made out by the Hon'ble the Commerce Member for the separation of the Railway Budget. The difficulties he has set forth in the way of carrying out works of rehabilitation and improvement of existing lines are more imaginary than real. The difficulties may be due to obtaining stock from foreign countries but they are not insurmountable. They can be effectually avoided by arranging to manufacture the stock in India either in the Railway Workshops or in the works of private companies. The Hon'ble Member has completely failed to show how the proposed separation of the Budget would solve the difficulties of (1) finding a continuous supply of funds during exceptional periods of stringency of the money market, (2) of regulating railway receipts or of adjusting the Rates and Fares, beyond what is done at present under the combined budget. The railway administrations even now change their Rates and Fares as they like within the pres-

cribed maxima and minima, without obtaining sanction from the Legislative Assembly. In what way would the separation of the Budget help these operations?

In the memorandum published in the newspapers, he proposes to withdraw the healthy control (see para. 53, page 25 of the Acworth Committee's Report) at present exercised by the Finance Department over the railway finances. This is very undesirable, knowing as we do the extravagance and general mismanagement of the railways by the Railway Board. Even with the check exercised by the Finance Department, the financial results of the State Railways in the past have not been satisfactory, and if we are to withdraw the only check we have at present, we do not know where the Railway Administration may land us.

From clause (5) of the draft resolution of the Commerce Member, it appears that the Railway Budget would be presented to the Assembly in the same form as at present, i.e. with much less information than was given in 1921-22 and with much the same ceremony as has been followed in the past years. The changes proposed are:—

- (1) A separate budget for the railways instead of the combined one.
- (2) Instead of the whole surplus profits hitherto credited to the general revenues of India, a fixed contribution of $5/6$ ths of 1 per cent. on the capital charge of the railways (excluding a portion of the capital) plus $1/5$ th of any surplus profits remaining after payment of this fixed return; from the contribution so fixed will be deducted the loss in working and the interest on capital expenditure on strategic railways;
- (3) Any surplus profits that exist after payment of these charges shall form a Reserve to be at the disposal of the Railway Administration for certain specified purposes, without any outside control;
- (4) The Railway Administration shall be entitled to borrow temporarily from Capital or from the "Reserve" for expenditure for which there is no provision or insufficient provision in the Revenue Budget.

These proposals in the first instance would take

out of the Assembly's control, a large portion of the surplus profits *to be used entirely at the discretion of the Railway Administration*, though for specified purposes; and in the second place, would entitle the **Railway Administration to use Capital and Revenue Funds** for current expenses; it may amount to large sums and its refund may take years. I do not think the Assembly should give such powers to the autocratic body of Railway Administration.

The Railway Committee laid great stress to the Railways being treated as a commercial concern. Has the Hon'ble Member for Commerce done anything to place the railway accounts on a commercial basis? Has he got out a statement showing the financial results from the commencement of the railways up to date? If so, will he kindly publish the same? Does that statement show the contributions made from the general revenues of India towards interest on capital and deficits of working expenses during the 52 years of the last century? According to the table I have compiled from the Government records, the net balance of such contributions, after deducting the so-called surplus profits of the present century, amounted to 322 crores at the end of 1922-23. If the railways were treated as a commercial concern, that loss of 322 crores should not have been borne by the general revenues of India.

If the railways are to be worked on sound lines, first of all their accounts should be clearly drawn up, showing the total cost of each railway incurred up to date by the state, whether from general revenue, or from borrowed funds, whether incurred on first construction or paid towards the deficits of working expenses or interest charges. These have been mostly written off and charged to the general expenditure of the country. While these losses were paid from the general revenues, loans for general expenditure were taken. The deficits were therefore paid practically from borrowed money, and should bear compound interest as shown in appendix 8 to my book "The Indian Railways". The Capital Accounts of State Railways given in the Finance and Revenue Accounts of India do not include the losses paid from the general revenues of India.

All these losses should be brought on to the Railway Capital Account. Their omission in the past has misled the general public. A commercial concern has only one account (the capital) to draw funds from, and it should have met those

deficits from its capital. A commercial house cannot draw money from the general revenues of India to meet the deficits of railway charges. Such charges must be brought on to the Railway Account in order to show the real position. The figures must be available in the annual accounts of the Government.

The proposals of the Hon'ble the Commerce Member would increase the autocracy of the Railway Administration, which is not advisable. As is evident from the Report of the Acworth Committee, the Railway Board seriously neglected to see that the railways were properly working. The Railway Board is responsible for many of the shortcomings of the railways. I may mention the following among the numerous complaints of the Indian public:—

- (1) Continued over-crowding of third class carriages due chiefly to insufficient number of trains daily run, on the plea of economy—a criminal withholdment of accommodation fully paid for by the best-paying passengers. The Railway Board has during recent years suppressed the statistics showing the profits and losses from the different classes of passengers. This has disarmed wholesome criticism.
- (2) Disregard of Indian requirements especially in the seating and latrine arrangements in carriages, waiting rooms at stations, supply of proper meals at stations, etc.
- (3) Enhancement of passenger fares since 1917.
- (4) Sending away of railway material and stock from India to Mesopotamia to the serious inconvenience of Indians.
- (5) Waste of public money which is going on the State Railways, as is evident from the serious rise in the percentage of working expenses and poor returns from the State Railways as compared with returns of independent companies, District Boards, etc. In 1921-22, the returns from the four groups of State Railways were 1.19, 2.00, 3.53 and 4.85 per cent. only, whilst other lines gave 6 to 12.81 per cent.; see appendix to the Administration Report for 1921-22.

- (6) Distrust and keeping down of Indians employed on the railways. Restrictions against mechanical training of educated Indians.
- (7) Unfair treatment of Indian merchants in the supply of wagons.
- (8). Waste of money on wagon stock, which gave an average service of 24 to 37 miles per day on the Broad Gauge and of 13 to 34 miles per day on the Metre Gauge in 1921-22.
- (9) Neglect to amend the Indian Railways Act which is long overdue.

As shown above, separation of the Railway Budget is not necessary. If, however, we are to separate it, the separation may be done on the following amended lines:—

This Assembly recommends to the Governor-General-in-Council that in order to enable the railways to carry out a continuous programme of railway works and to ensure efficient and economic working of the railways,

- (1) the railway finances shall be separated from the general finances of the country, and the general revenues shall receive no more than an interest of 4 per cent. per annum on the net balance of advances made in the past from the general revenues towards the capital cost of railways, and towards the deficits of interest, working expenses, etc. of the railways comprised in the State Railways, including in such balance compound interest at 4 per cent. per annum on those balances outstanding at the end of each year;
- (2) The railway receipts shall meet the working expenses and interest on the loans contracted for the railways, including the capital contributed by the Agency Companies and the Indian States;
- (3) Separate capital and revenue accounts shall be kept of the strategic railways included in the N. W. Railway system, and all the deficits of interest, working expenses, etc. on their account shall be charged under the head "Military Services" of the general budget.
- (4) If in any year the railway revenues are insufficient to provide the interest due to the general revenues

under sub-clause (1) above, the surplus profits in the next or subsequent years will not be deemed to have accrued until such deficiency has been made good;

- (5) Any surplus profits that exist after payment of the above charges shall be available for the railway administration to be utilized in (1) forming reserves for
 - (a) securing in lean years the payment to the general revenues under sub-clause (1)
 - (b) depreciation,
 - (c) writing down and writing off capital.
 - (d) the improvement of services rendered to the public;
 - (e) reduction of Rates and Fares;
- (6) The Railway Commission may, subject to such conditions as may be prescribed by the Legislative Assembly, borrow temporarily from Capital or from the reserves for the purpose of meeting expenditure for which there is no provision or insufficient provision in the revenue budget; subject to the obligation to make repayment of such borrowings out of the revenue budget of the subsequent years;
- (7) according to the practice in force before the year 1905-6, the figures of Railway Receipts viz. Gross Receipts of the State Railways, the receipts from the subsidised companies, etc. shall be shown in the Revenue Abstract of the general budget of the country. The Expenditure Abstract of the general budget shall show all the items of railway expenditure, viz. the working expenses, the surplus profits paid to the companies, the interest on loans, the annuity payments, etc.
- (8) The proposed expenditure with full details of works and establishment charges shall be placed before the Assembly in the form of a demand for grants and on a separate day or days among the days allotted for the discussion of the demands for grants.

The member in charge of railways shall make a general statement on railway accounts and working. Any reduction in the demand for grants for railways resulting from the vote of the Legislative Assembly will not have the effect of increasing the payment to the general revenues.

- (g) The Railway Commission shall place the detailed estimates of railway expenditure before the Central Advisory Council on some date prior to the date for discussion of the demand for grants for railways.

The details given in the Statements of Demand for State Railways in appendices B. and

C. to the Budget estimate for 1923-24, are very scanty, scantier than those given for the year 1921-22. The Statement of Demands for Capital expenditure showed items of one lakh and above only. The smaller items should also be shown separately, say up to Rs. 5,000/-.

In the statement of demands for Revenue expenditure, the details of establishment are very meagre for 1921-22, the staff on Rs. 250 per month and above was shown, but not that on smaller pay. For 1923-24 the details of staff under Rs. 1,000 per month were further suppressed and the working estimates were given in lump sums only. These are insufficient and should be supplemented with full details of establishment and working estimates.

SOLOMON AND THE QUEEN OF SHEBA.

By MR. F. HADLAND DAVIS.

The coming of the Queen of Sheba from distant Arabia to Jerusalem to see the far-famed Solomon makes an irresistible appeal to the imagination. The Old Testament account of that memorable journey is somewhat meagre, but fortunately it is supplemented by various legends and traditions to be found in the Koran, in the *Kebra Nagast* and what is known as the "Tradition of Axum". From these sources we are able to piece together a story of singular charm, one of the great stories of the East which Time can never rob of its human qualities or for a moment dull the brilliance of its universal appeal.

We are told that the Queen of Sheba, or Queen Balkis, was very beautiful, that her "stature was superb", her intelligence remarkable, and that she ruled a kingdom of much prosperity. It was from Tamrin, her favourite merchant, that she gathered many strange and wonderful stories of countries far removed from Ethiopia, for Tamrin "trafficked for her by sea and land". He loaded his five hundred camels and seventy ships with red gold, "black wood that could not be eaten by worms, and

sapphires". It was probably from this man that she heard of Solomon, of his Temple to Jehovah, of his ivory throne and of his amazing wisdom. Old travellers' tales are not always remarkable for their veracity, and it is likely that Tamrin brought to the Queen stories as miraculous as those to be found in the Arabian Nights. He had heard that Solomon understood the language of animals and birds, and that he frequently conversed with them. He had heard, too, that this mighty King travelled through the air on a green silk carpet, with men and spirits by his side, and a host of birds whose extended wings afforded shelter from the sun. Queen Balkis must have been moved by stories of the Tabernacle of Zion, and how it rose in the air when Jehovah manifested His Presence to His officiating priests. Story was added to story like an ever-increasing pile of shining merchandise, so that the wonder and beauty of Solomon grew apace. Small wonder then that this Eastern Queen should have desired to meet one about whom report had spread such wonderful stories.

Tamrin was accordingly sent, with various

merchandise, to Jerusalem, and he was commanded to report to the Queen concerning Solomon. This faithful and observant merchant seems to have fulfilled his task remarkably well. He saw Solomon, and listened to his words of wisdom. He watched the King standing with hundreds of woodmen and masons while the Temple of the Lord was being built, and he was privileged to see how Solomon administered justice, how he ordered his table, and how he made his feasts. In bidding farewell to the King, Tamrin said: "And now I would depart to my Lady. Would that I could abide with thee, even as one of the very least of thy servants, for blessed are they who hear thy voice and perform thy commands!"

The merchant returned to his country and delivered to Queen Balkis "all the possessions which he had brought." For many mornings he conversed with his Lady and told her of the wonders he had seen. He did not speak in vain, for what he had to tell so moved the Queen that she could no longer resist the desire to see Solomon for herself. We are told that "she became very wishful and most desirous to go that she might hear his wisdom, and see his face, and embrace him, and petition his royalty."

Queen Balkis, according to the *Kebra Nagast*, seems to have been anxious to impress upon her people that her journey to Jerusalem was entirely due to her love of wisdom. In a proclamation she moralises on the value of wisdom that "is sweeter than honey.....and is to be loved more than precious stones". But Balkis was a woman as well as a queen who desired to rule her kingdom well. Her heart was stirred by warmer feelings, among which curiosity was not absent. Having sounded the high note of wisdom for some time, she finally struck a softer and more subtle refrain, for at the end of her lengthy discourse, nobles and counsellors, slaves and handmaidens heard her say of Solomon: "I love him merely on hearing concerning him and without seeing him, and the whole story of him that hath been told me is to me as the desire of my heart, and like water to the thirsty man." That was a true confession. She already loved Solomon, and that dusky Queen of Ethiopia would have gone the length of the world and gladly suffered all hardships to be with one who was not as other men.

Of that momentous journey we are told but little. There was a great gathering of camels loaded with bricks of gold, musk, ambergris, costly balsam and precious stones, including an immense pearl of exquisite colour and an onyx drilled with a crooked hole. Legend tells us that the Queen sent in advance of her bright-robed escort a thousand boys and girls. How they must have laughed and sung and chatted as they swung across the great deserts, eager for a glimpse of Jerusalem and for a peep at a King whose glory was greater than the Pharaohs of Egypt.

We are told that when the Queen of Sheba arrived in Jerusalem King Solomon "gave her a habitation in the royal palace near him." He was lavish in his hospitality, and besides sending her choice food and wine, he provided her with singing men and singing women. "Every day," we read, "he arrayed her in eleven garments which bewitched the eyes. And he visited her and was gratified, and she visited him and was gratified, and she saw his wisdom, and his judgments, and his splendour, his grace, and heard the eloquence of his speech." Occasionally the Queen of Sheba's praise blazed into poetry as beautiful as the Golden Odes of Arabia. "I look upon thee," she said, "and I see that thy wisdom is immeasurable and thine understanding inexhaustible, and that it is like unto a lamp in the darkness, and like unto a pomegranite in the garden, and like unto a pearl in the sea, and like unto the light of the moon in the mist, and like unto a glorious dawn and sunrise in the heavens". Such glowing words would have turned the head of a man less wise than Solomon, but that King hastened to assure Queen Balkis that his wisdom was not his own, but given to him by the God of Israel. "Whatsoever He commandeth me that I do; where-soever He wisheth me to go thither I go; whatsoever He teacheth me that I speak." Such a mystical attitude would hardly have appealed to the Queen of Sheba at that time, but notwithstanding she questioned him concerning his God, telling the King that she worshipped the sun, while some of her subjects revered trees and stones, or images of gold and silver. We need not go into matters of theological interest except to say that Queen Balkis renounced her old worship, and most faithfully served the God of Israel.

Discussions between Solomon and the Queen of Sheba were not always of so serious a nature. On one occasion Queen Balkis resolved to test the wisdom of the King. Legend has made that test more picturesque than severe. The Queen's little examination was delightfully feminine, and may have been easy on account of her desire to obtain correct answers. It would have been embarrassing to catch a wise man napping after she had taken a long journey with the idea of discovering infallibility. The Queen of Sheba dressed a number of girls and boys in precisely the same robes, and desired the King to tell her which were girls and which were boys. Solomon ordered basins of water to be brought. The boys dipped their hands into the water without hesitation, while the girls demurely turned back their sleeves before attempting an ablution. Thus Solomon easily distinguished between the sexes. Then the Queen asked the King to tell her which were bouquets of flowers and which were artificial blossoms. Solomon ordered a window to be opened, and immediately bees came in and settled upon the real flowers, and once again the King solved a pretty, if none too difficult, riddle.

When the Queen of Sheba informed Solomon that she must return to her country, he seemed to see a new meaning in her visit. He said with astonishment: "A woman of such splendid beauty hath come to me from the ends of the earth!" Such a notorious lover of women could not let her depart without expressing his love. The Book of Kings does not hesitate to expose and condemn Solomon's weakness for women. We are told that "he loved many strange women, together with the daughter of Pharaoh, women of the Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, Zidonians, and Hittites", who caused him to follow after other gods. Solomon would not have agreed with St. Paul that "Those who marry many wives seek their own punishment." Not content with seven hundred wives and three hundred concubines, he turned towards a fair Arabian flower and sought to woo and win her.

We are told that Solomon ordered a great feast to which he invited the Queen of Sheba. She was seated in a place apart, behind the King, where she could see all while she herself remained concealed from view. She was impressed with the splendour of the palace, with the purple hangings, costly carpets, marbles and precious stones, and with the perfume of

aromatic powders, myrrh and frankincense. In her fragrant abode she ate highly salted meats, fish dishes made with pepper, and drank drinks that were mingled with vinegar. When the guests had departed Solomon came to the Queen and said: "Take thou thine ease here for love's sake." And Balkis replied: "Swear to me by thy God, the God of Israel, that thou wilt not take me by force." The King agreed to this request, but stipulated that the Queen must not "take by force anything that is in my house." Balkis readily consented, a little annoyed that he should make a request of this kind seeing that she had come to Jerusalem in quest of wisdom. Solomon then retired to rest at one end of the apartment, bidding a servant pour water into a bowl by the side of his bed, and to do so while the Queen was looking on. The chamber where the King reposed was as bright as day, for we read that in the roof of his house there were "shining pearls which were like unto the sun, and moon, and stars." The Queen could not enjoy profound slumber. She was tortured with thirst. She looked at Solomon, who fained sleep, and she gazed with intense longing at the bowl of water by his side. Presently she rose from her couch, softly crept to the bedside of the King and was about to drink from the bowl of water when Solomon seized her hand, and exclaimed: "Why hast thou broken the oath?" The Queen admitted that she had done so, and released the King from his pledge if he would allow her to quench her thirst. And Solomon won the Queen of Sheba, by a shameful ruse that added nothing to his glory.

On the night Solomon loved the Queen of Sheba he dreamt that a brilliant sun came down from heaven, shone brightly over Israel, and then departed to the country of Ethiopia. It was, according to the *Kebra Nagast*, a prophetic dream, for when the Queen of Sheba returned to her own country, she gave birth to a son, Menyelek, who visited his father, Solomon, took away with him the sacred Tabernacle of Zion, and established in Ethiopia a long race of kings descended from Solomon, the son of David.

It is impossible to tell how much truth and how much fancy have been woven into this fascinating story. Legend has given additional colour to the coming of the Queen of Sheba, and certainly tallies with the amorous nature of

Solomon. If at the end of his life he exclaimed: "All is vanity," some of us will prefer to remember the time when the blood sang in his veins, when there rang through the East this glorious refrain from the Song of Songs:

For, lo, the winter is past,
The rain is over and gone;
The flowers appear on the earth;
The time of the singing of birds is come,

And the voice of the turtle is heard
in our land;
The fig tree ripeneth her green figs,
And the vines are in blossom,
They give forth their fragrance.
Arise, my love, my fair one,
And come away.

The Queen of Sheba answered that call, and the story of her coming to Solomon will outlast the wisdom of kings and the triumph of empires.

BOOKS OF THE QUARTER.

MURIEL STRODE: A COSMIC SINGER.

Review by MISS BLANCHE WATSON.

A Soul's Faring: At the Roots of Grasses,
by Muriel Strode (Moffat, Yard & Co., New York).

I do not incline my ear at the door of tombs
—I listen at the roots of grasses.

Muriel Strode.

The poetic thought currents of the East and the West, hitherto so largely separated, are slowly but surely finding each other. The discovery by the West of Rabindranath Tagore marked the genesis of a decided westward flow. The emergence of Muriel Strode—characterized by one critic as "a spiritual daughter of Whitman"—is bound to cause an eastward trend; for here is an expression of cosmic thought,—a contribution worthy by all tests to stand beside that of the famed Indian writer.

The appearance of Miss Strode's new book of verse *At the Roots of Grasses* was an introduction as well for many readers, to her *A Soul's Faring*, which appeared two years ago. The reading public was no more ready for her than it was for Whitman when he first startled the world with his elemental thought and bold imagery. Most critics saw Muriel Strode's

insistent "I"—they did not see the universality of it and reach of it. Said Clarence Day of the book, "Most of them missed the bigness of it altogether, and poked at it suspiciously with their pens, and gave small nervous cackles." And he added, humorously, "Apparently they would prefer a book with an ego attired in more conventional clothes." One broader-minded reviewer, who did not object to the I, said, "There isn't too much ego in her cosmos, but there is too much cosmos in her ego." It would seem that the latter had got to the heart of the matter. This woman poet with her liberated soul and her all-embracing mind, her frank recognition of her own "adequacy", and particularly the insistence of her claim to comradeship with the Power above and beyond all human power, is too unconventional, too universally-minded for the short reach of the average reviewer who failed to understand such lines as these:

I come in my adequacy, my own sufficiency,
lifting you, and me, and the world.

Nothing is formidable, no thing blocks my way.

I smile in unfear and conscious potency.
She was to be looked at askance, who sang:

I am the omnipotent life—the potency thrill.

I am the fructifier meeting the urge of
space, scattering my spawn like the
dust of stars in the Milky Way.

I am the red fire leaping in and out of
channels, the insistence of me, the
yearning.

I am the demand.

There was something so unusual as to cause
distrust and misgivings in one who boldly
declared herself in this wise:

I, the atom of creation, have arrived.

I make contact with the gods, I align with
spheres.

I am the test, the processment, the
determining.

I am the doer of things that cannot be
done.

I chant impossibilities.

who said of God, "I do not discredit Him with
a meagre grasp," who went further, indeed, and
dared to say, "I should believe in myself if God
Himself faltered in belief of me."

The Eastern world has acclaimed Walt
Whitman as great and as typically American;
and when orientals discover Muriel Strode (which
they are bound to do) they will similarly take
her to their hearts. This woman talks of things
elemental in God nature and in human nature.
She writes with the rhythmic "formlessness"
of her poetic forerunner,—whose "barbaric
yawp" people have learned to comprehend, and
which comes to us again after the passage of
time, revived, better shaped and perceptibly
deepened, in such lines as these:

I am walking fast, for I am walking far.

I swing out with a free, swift, rhythmic
gait.

I am set to bound immeasurelessness, to
include the height, and depth, and
breadth of me—

with a confidence that leads her to tell us that
she is the "Sufficient One.....the pathfinder",
to declare, "I grasp Life's wrists until it writhes
in pain, in the uncontained forcefulness of me."

One turns, almost reluctantly, from the older
to the newer volume. One finds here, too, a
self-assertion and an elemental dignity closely
akin to Whitman, and, as in the earlier work,
a something more. That something has found
finest expression in Rabindranath Tagore, and
particularly in "Gitanjali". In form and subject
distinctly individual, Muriel Strode irresistibly
sends one's mind back to the East. The Vedas
speak through this child of the West as they do

through the author of "Gitanjali", and although
the dynamic quality of her race sharply
differentiates her work from that of the more
passive Easterners, she might well have said with
the Rishi Astavakra, "When the mind is liberat-
ed it does not desire, grieve, accept, reject, enjoy
or feel angry. . . . Be contented with that
which comes of itself to you. Learn to be
indifferent. Reach the goal of perfection." Both
the eastern and the western poet have said
in substance, with the ancient teacher:

Boundless as the heavens am I.

I am infinite as the shoreless sea.

I dwell in all, and all dwells in me.

It is the testimony of an American and a lover
of poetry, that she found Tagore through Muriel
Strode. A careful study of Miss Strode's last
book and "Gitanjali" shows some remarkable
likenesses and significant differences. The latter
were bound to be. How different the national
environment of these two individuals! One
incarnated in a free country where the thought
of equality has found spiritual as well as political
expression, and runs like a silver thread through
all phases of society; the other born into a fair
land dominated by an alien and usurping power
—a land where only the strongest can lift his
head, where fear is the inheritance of all, where
there is not equality but, always lurking in the
background, the shadow of the "inferiority
complex". All this colors that immortal poem
"Gitanjali". To the Indian poet "God is King
of Kings", and he says to him, "I do not know
thee as my own and come closer—I do not grasp
thy hand as a friend's but

I touch by the edge of the far spreading
wing of my song thy feet which I
could never aspire to reach.

Drunk with the joy of singing I forget my-
self and call the friend who art my
lord.

Compare this with the American's "God
possess me!" with her ringing assertion, "I
form a new alliance with the Militant God of
Survival", with these confident lines:

I measure life by my capacity to feel the
fields,

To stand up to the hills,

To lay my hand in His.

Only one with a free soul developing in a land
where freedom is a birthright (however much it
may be withheld) could have written such

words, could have sung, "align myself with the God of Processment, and deal with you as He deals with His finals." Only such a free spirit could have prayed:

Keep me in rectitude, God too proud to falter,
Too zealous of the aristocrat in my fine,
high soul.

The differences between these two singers are few, after all. The likenesses are many and even more striking. Says the one in "A Soul's Faring":

I am man the container, with God pouring
into me like a stream.

I am the channels, the in and the out.
says the other:

Thou hast made me endless, such is thy
pleasure.

This frail vessel thou emptiest again and
again, and fillest it with fresh life.

In "Grasses", which is less reminiscent of "Gitanjali" than "A Soul's Faring", but which has much of the oriental imagery, much of the elemental spirit of the Eastern poet, much of his surrender to the guidance of the all-power. "Let me adjust my life (prays the one) and let me not say, lo here, nor lo, there, but wherever truth shall lead me". Tagore's prayer is like-minded, "O master-port.....let me make my life simple and straight, like a flute of reed for thee to fill with music." The following from Miss Strode, recalls Tagore's "The words have not been rightly set; only there is the agony of wishing in my heart"—

Let me comprehend the plan. If I have
wanted to be a violet it was because
I had not the realization of the rose
struggling within me.

If I have wanted to be a swan, it was
because I did not have the con-
sciousness of the nightingale that
gripped my aching throat of song.

Along with her confidence, however, her self-assertion (America's creative self-assertion, as one critic expressed it) the author of these two remarkable books has the humility that Rabindranath Tagore expresses so insistently—indeed her humble self is never far removed from her confident self. One comes across many lines like this in *At the Roots of Grasses*:

Until I have come humbly, I shall know
that I have not come at all

It is only my little self that is blatant—the
great soul of me is self-obscuring.
There is a robe of sackcloth in my soul,
there is a hempen girdle, and
sandals for my bare feet, and one
day I shall wear them, one day in
my great humility.

These words almost paraphrase the Indian poet's, "No more noisy, loud words from me—such is my master's will. Henceforth I deal in whispers."

But call it confidence or humility, the human will or the divine will, eastern thought or western thought, man's flesh is here, and man's soul, and that other thing called beauty,—and God. What more can one ask?

FREUDIAN PSYCHOLOGY.

Review by V. B. METTA.

Mother and Son, by C. Gasquoigne Hartley.
(Eveleigh Nash and Grayson, London) 7s. 6d.

Mrs. Hartley's new book is as bold as her *'Truth about Woman'* and other books. As you read it, you either actively side with her or oppose her, but you can never remain indifferent. She insists in this book that the child should be treated as an entity, and not as a blank sheet of paper for his parents to write upon. She has little faith in heredity or special aptitude. She thinks that the child's future depends wholly upon the way in which he is brought up and educated. In other words, it is the home and school which are responsible for his failure or success in after life.

According to Mrs. Hartley there is no such thing as the 'romance' of family life. It is a mistake to think that the father, mother, and son are absolutely in love with one another. She points out that the father unconsciously dislikes his son for diverting his mother's attention from him. The son on his part does not like his father, because no child really likes to be ordered about or domineered over by his father or anyone else. Children hate to be treated as 'inferiors' by their elders, and so, in order to feel themselves important, they play at being elders among themselves! Then again, there is another psychological fact worth noting in a family. It is that the son generally prefers his mother,

while the daughter generally prefers her father. This fact explains the conduct of Oedipus and Electra in Greek literature. The later loves of men and women are based upon their childhood's loves. The son, who found a perfect woman in his mother as a child, unconsciously tries to find a mate in life resembling the ideal mother of his childhood, while the daughter tries to find a mate, whom she can love as much as she did the ideal father of her childhood. This fact also explains why women are generally more religious than men, because they find it easy to transfer their affections from their earthly father to the Father who is in Heaven.

Parents, argues the author, are very selfish in wishing to see their children as continuations of themselves, and as instruments for achieving their unfulfilled dreams. They would do well to let the child develop along his own lines without undue interference. What is, however, due or undue influence neither Mrs. Hartley nor anyone else can answer to the satisfaction of all parents! The thwarted wishes of children mould their character and actions when they grow up. Mrs. Hartley thinks that those children become atheists, who were forced to obey their fathers in their childhood. In this connection it has been found that the Jews, who are particularly enjoined by their religion to honour and obey their parents, are often the best leaders of

anarchic movements in after life. This however, cannot apply to Indians or the Far Eastern peoples, who do not become rebels in later life, although they, too, like the Jews, are brought up to honour and obey their parents.

The next training ground for the child after home is the school. Now the teacher cannot educate any child, unless he knows the way in which a child has been brought up at home. He must therefore know the relations of his parents towards each other, and what wishes and desires of his have been repressed by his parents. He must above all be a psycho-analyst, if he wishes to educate his pupils in the right way.

There are some ideas of Mrs. Hartley, which are not fundamentally different from those of Indians. For example, she is against the present western ideal of making lessons too easy for children. She thinks that such a course tends to prevent the development of memory, and incapacitates them from concentrating their attention upon their lessons. Then again, she is not in favour of the education of boys and girls together, because it has been found from experience in mixed schools, that the two sexes generally prefer homosexual to heterosexual company, so that the supposed advantages of co-education are almost altogether missed by them.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

LAW.

The Seven Lamps of Advocacy. By His Honour Judge A. E. Parry. (T. Fisher Unwin Ltd, Adelphi Terrace, London), 1923.

Judge Parry's *Seven Lamps of Advocacy* is the work of a master of the subject, and is a notable addition to the advocate's library. The book is a collection of the best that has been thought and said about advocacy, and is illustrated by many entertaining stories. There is to-day a continuous discussion about the lawyer and his methods, and the right understanding of the morality of advocacy is of interest to every citizen. When John Ruskin wrote the *Seven Lamps of Architecture* he had to admit to

an impertinence in writing of an art he had never practised. Judge Parry, however, was not only born and bred in the business he writes about, but having practised it successfully, he has since spent nearly thirty years of his daily life teaching the young the ethics of advocacy. Many of his pupils now sitting on the Bench or flourishing at the Bar look back in no unkindly spirit on their teacher of the ethics of advocacy. It is advocacy at the Bar which is the subject of Judge Parry's work and it is curious that no English book exists that deals solely with this interesting theme. For many years Judge Parry has been a student and writer on the Law in relation to Humanity, and the *Seven Lamps of Advocacy* is another link in the saga that began with

the *Law and the Poor* and was recently continued in *What the Judge Thought*. We commend a careful study of Judge Parry's *Seven Lamps of Advocacy* to all legal practitioners who desire to distinguish themselves in the forensic arena.

Trial of Bywaters and Edith Thompson. Edited by Filson Young. Illustrated. (Butterworth & Co., India, Ltd., 6, Hastings Street, Calcutta and William Hodge and Company, Ltd., Edinburgh), 1923.

The Trial of Frederick Bywaters and Edith Thompson, edited by Mr. Filson Young, is the latest addition to Messrs. William Hodge and Co.'s "Notable British Trials"—an excellent, well-edited, and carefully compiled series of which thirty-two volumes are already issued and seven additions are in preparation. Each volume deals with a notable or sensational trial for an offence in England or Scotland during the last two hundred years and gives, besides an accurate report of the proceedings, much useful subsidiary matter. The series is thus a valuable acquisition to legal literature—equally instructive and entertaining—and it should command a large circulation in this country. The trial of Bywaters and Edith Thompson which took place in December, 1922, was a very sensational trial for the murder of Percy Thompson—the husband of Edith—by his wife and her lover, Frederick Bywaters, and both the accused were found guilty and expiated on the gallows. It roused at the time considerable excitement and there was a strong public feeling that, at any rate, Edith Thompson should be reprieved. But there came no reprieve and she had to pay the extreme penalty of the law. The editor has not only published that portion of the lover's letters on which the case for the prosecution rested but also other equally illuminating documents and has enriched the work with an analytical and luminous Introduction, which has materially enhanced the value of the book. The result is a work which is of value alike to the lawyer, the judge and the student of psychology and human nature.

The Code of Criminal Procedure. 2 vols. By P. Ramanatha Aiyar. (The Madras Law Journal Office, Mylapore, Madras), 1923-24.

At last the first of a series of commentaries on the revised and amended Code of Criminal Procedure has been compiled by Mr. Ramanatha Aiyar, and issued in two well got-up volumes. The editor is well-known in the legal world in this country as the author of several

excellent commentaries on different branches of Anglo-Indian law, as also for his *Art of Cross-Examination*. The book is introduced by Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Iyer—retired Judge of the Madras High Court—who deals with the political aspect of our adjective criminal law. He points out that while the recent amendments have improved matters to a large extent, nevertheless much remains which requires excision or modification. For example, says he, "the powers given to the Police and the Magistrate by Section 162 require great alteration", "the security provisions should be thoroughly rewritten", "the appeal to the District Magistrate is an illusory privilege", "the bail chapter should be thoroughly revised", and "above all the lingering racial distinctions should no longer be a blot on the criminal administration of the country". These are all very sound suggestions and should be adopted at the next revision. In the meantime, we can safely recommend, to the Bench and the Bar alike, Mr. Ramanatha Aiyar's work on our adjective criminal law as not only comprehensive and systematic, but as also elucidative and well-arranged so as to facilitate reference. It is likely to hold its own against any other work planned on the same scale.

The Law of Municipal Corporations in British India. Second Edition. By P. Duraiswami Aiyangar, B.L. (National Press, Madras), 1924.

The Law of Municipal Corporations in British India by Mr. P. Duraiswami Aiyangar—who is favourably known in the Indian legal world as the best commentator on the Indian Income Tax Act—is practically rather a new work than a new edition of his previous work issued in 1914. The very large number of Judicial decisions delivered since then have been incorporated in the text, the references to the provisions of the municipal acts enacted during the last ten years have been given, the chapter dealing with elections has been rewritten and fully brought up to date, the chapter on municipal meetings has been appreciably enlarged. Several other chapters have been thoroughly recast. Thus the author has successfully attempted to make the book practically useful to Municipalities in the daily administration of their affairs and also to laymen who, as ordinary citizens taking an intelligent interest in civic affairs desire to acquaint themselves with their rights and obligations and have to do something or other with municipal affairs and also to lawyers as a work of reference where they can find readily stated the result or state of the law upon any particular point they wish to

refer to. Mr. Duraiswami Aiyangar's *Law of Municipal Corporations in British India*, in its present form, will hold the field as the standard work on the subject.

The Lawyer's Vade Mecum for Civil Courts. Third Edition. Four volumes. Edited by Dr. M. L. Agarwala, Barr-at-Law (Ram Narain Lal, Katra, Allahabad), 1921.

We welcome the appearance of the third edition, in four handy volumes, of Dr. Agarwala's *Lawyer's Vade Mecum for Civil Courts*. Of the books of its class and kind, it is about the best-compiled—compact, portable, well-arranged, systematic, carefully annotated and nicely got-up. Almost all the Acts that are likely to be required for purposes of reference by civil court practitioners and civil Judges are printed in texts amended up-to-date, while notes of cases incorporated in the commentaries, under each section, are fully abreast of the latest decisions reported. Along with the previously issued two volumes of the third edition of the *Lawyer's Vade Mecum for Criminal Courts*, Dr. Agarwala's compendium of Anglo-Indian law in six volumes, offers to our lawyers, magistrates and Judges a complete collection of texts of and commentaries and annotations on the principal Acts embodying both the substantive and the adjective law as administered in British Indian courts. It will be found highly useful and serviceable by those for whom it is intended and for whose benefit the compiler has so well and with so much assiduity catered.

Indian Bar Committee Report, 1923-24. (Government Central Press, Delhi), 1924.

The Indian Bar Committee—composed of four barristers, three vakils, one attorney and one Civilian and presided over by Sir Edward Channer—have recorded their unanimous views on the future of the Bar in India, which—if accepted and carried out—would sound the death-knell of those lawyers in this country who are members of the English or Irish Bars or of the Faculty of Advocates of Scotland. The "glorious nine" have made recommendations which are intended to equalize the status—so far as it may be—of the higher classes of legal practitioners under the one common designation of "Advocates". The net result of the proposals—if and when carried into effect—will be to dissuade young Indians from proceeding to Great Britain for acquiring proficiency in law. Viewed from this standpoint the main recommendation of the Committee can not but be regarded

as reactionary and as calculated to hinder social progress. We shall discuss in a later issue the Committee's proposals from a purely professional standpoint.

BOOKS OF REFERENCE.

Guide to Current Official Statistics. First Issue 1922 (H. M. Stationery Office, London), 1923.

The number of official publications issued during each year is so large that the average seeker after information is apt to get bewildered at their range and immensity. A guide to them—such as is now rendered available in the book under notice—was badly needed. We trust the authorities may be able to make the *Guide to Current Official Statistics* an annual feature of the publications of His Majesty's Stationery Office. A reference to its pages shows at a glance the publications issued in 1922 and the various subjects they deal with. It will be found to be of considerable help to those seeking after official data and statistics.

Illustrated Guide to the Federated Malay States. By C. W. Harrison. (The Malay States Information Agency, 88, Cannon Street, London), 1923.

We welcome the fourth—revised and enlarged—edition of Mr. Harrison's *Illustrated Guide to the Federated Malay States*, which was first issued in 1910.

It is an excellent and up-to-date compendium of sound information about the Malay Peninsula, which is fully described from north to south, and gives (besides useful hints to travellers) accurate details about motoring, big game shooting, mining and various other topics of interest. The book is handy in size, well got-up and beautifully illustrated. It comprises useful tabular statements, bibliography, lists of official publications and interesting practical information. Altogether it is a highly meritorious guide book to the Federated Malay States.

The Writers' and Artists' Year-Book. (A. and C. Black, Ltd, 4, 5 and 6 Soho Square, London, W. 1.) **What Editors and Publishers Want: 1924 Edition.** (The Literary Year-Book Press, 67, Dale Street, Liverpool.)

These two books of reference cover much the same ground and usefully supplement each other. *The Writers' and Artists' Year-Book*—edited by Agnes Herbert—is now in the 17th year of its new issue, while *What Editors and Publishers Want* is the sup-

plement for the current year to the 1922 edition of the *Literary Year-Book*, edited by Mr. Mark Meredith. Each of these two annuals offers literary aspirants and Journalistic free lances much sound and useful information which is likely to be of considerable help to them in placing their wares with profit and advantage. Lists of paying Journals, magazines and periodicals—throughout the British Commonwealth and America—as also of publishers, book-sellers, literary and press agents, photographers, leading clubs and societies of authors. Journalists and artists, press-cutting agencies, translators, typists, cinematographers, suppliers for printers and publishers, and much other equally useful information form the standard features of both the publications. We have much pleasure in commending these two very useful publications to those connected with either literary pursuits or the press. Though meant primarily for Great Britain, they will be found valuable for reference even in India.

Thacker's Indian Directory 1924. (Thacker, Spink & Co., Esplanade, Calcutta.)

The Times of India Directory 1924. (Times of India Press, Bombay.)

Of the many directories annually issued in India, the two—the current year's editions of which are recorded above—are the best-known as standard works of reference amongst their class. *Thacker's Indian Directory*—which is now in its sixty-third annual edition—originally and for many years afterwards appeared as the “Bengal Directory”. But it slowly covered the other provinces as well, and for years past the *Lal Kitab* (“the red book”), as it is familiarly known in offices, has been justly regarded as the one indispensable work of reference amongst Indian Directories. *The Times of India Directory* is even an older publication than *Thacker's*, as its current edition is the seventy-second annual issue. The Hon'ble Justice Sir Basil Scott of the Bombay High Court described it in one of his judgments as “a standard work of reference in Bombay”. While *Thacker's* is more comprehensive in its scope in covering the whole Indian Empire, both it and the Bombay publication have much in common. They both attempt at furnishing, amongst other things, a complete Business Directory of India, Industrial Concerns, Trades and Professions, Classified Lists of Inhabitants, Street Directory, Miscellaneous Directories of India and an Alphabetical List of Agents in India for British and Foreign Firms, Alphabetical List of Commercial Firms

and Buildings, Particulars relating to Public Societies, Institutions and Associations, a List of Motor Vehicle Owners and other useful and general Information. Both works are carefully revised from year to year, and although no work of reference—least of all a directory—can ever be thoroughly upto-date, nevertheless these two hardy annuals are as much abreast of the latest changes as it is possible for books of their class to be.

The Indian Year Book 1924. (Times of India Press, Bombay).

The Indian Year-Book—edited by Sir Stanley Reed since 1914—has justly come to be regarded as an indispensable work of reference for all in any way connected with Indian public affairs. In the current edition, while all those characteristic features which have made it the standard reference annual on things Indian are retained and developed, the economic sections are even fuller than usual. Indian trade, currency and banking are fully analysed, with the latest statistics available. A new section is that dealing with Indian Labour, including the official machinery and the growth of the Trade Union movement. *The Indian Year-Book* knows no politics, but it is something more than a dry-as-dust record of statistics; in every section there is an attempt not only to give facts, but to see the forces which are behind the facts. This makes it a valuable and useful adjunct to every Government and Mercantile office in India, to Clubs, Libraries and Institutes, to business men generally, and to every one who takes an interest in Indian affairs.

Hand-book of Commercial Information for India. By C. W. E. Cotton, I.C.S. Second Edition (Superintendent Government Printing, India, 8, Hastings Street, Calcutta) 1924.

We cordially welcome the second, revised and overhauled, edition of the *Handbook of Commercial Information for India* by Mr. C. W. E. Cotton—Agent to Governor-General in Southern India and formerly Collector of Customs, Calcutta. The object of this *Handbook* is to give readers a bird's-eye view of the foreign trade of British India. It is compiled on lines directly helpful to business men and includes important details which traders want to know. In the case of every article of present or potential importance figuring in the statistics of exports, the *Handbook*

specifies the areas in which it is obtainable, the port or ports from which it is shipped, the method of marketing and the unit of sale and shipment. India is so vast and so remote that there is no doubt that on the Continent and in America—if not in the United Kingdom—abundant ignorance prevails with regard to the commercial geography of India and her trade potentialities. The revised edition now issued will be found highly useful by all interested in Indian trade. The earlier chapters in the *Handbook* deal with the principal ports and give details of the facilities for trade at each, the chief commercial organisations being enumerated and their activities described. A conspectus is included of the various weights and measures in use in the chief trade centres; while the appendices contain the tonnage schedules in force at the five principal ports and a glossary of the vernacular terms which occur in the book. It may, therefore, be expected that the varied material in the *Handbook* will enable all who are anxious to purchase India's manufactures or raw materials to make larger use of the opportunities which undoubtedly exist for increased trade.

Blue Guides, England. Edited by Findlay Muirhead, M.A., F.R.G.S. Six Maps and Plans. Second Edition (Macmillan & Co., London), 1921.

Mr. Muirhead's *England*, in its second edition, has been thoroughly revised and brought up to date. The particulars regarding prices, and other matters of practical detail, now, the editor states, approaching stability, have been, it is hoped, rendered quite reliable. The enormous development of motor transport, a post-war change, has been recognized by the mention of some of the chief motoring routes in England in connexion with the corresponding railway routes. And the number of maps and plans contained in the volume has been increased by the addition of a further six. We have already noticed in terms of appreciation the "Blue Guide" series, the volumes of which deserve wide circulation by reason of the accuracy and thoroughness of their contents and their practical character.

The Newspaper Press Directory 1924. (C. Mitchell & Co., Ltd., 1 Snow Hill, Holborn, London, E. C. 1.)

We once again welcome a very valuable work of reference—the 1924 edition of the *Newspaper Press Directory*. The Directory has been appearing year by year since 1876. The new edition includes a complete record of the newspapers, magazines and trade publi-

cations of the Empire, together with those of the principal foreign countries with which British traders do business. The publishers have pleasure in presenting an article entitled "Australia and Empire Development," by the Prime Minister of Australia, the Rt. Hon. S. M. Bruce, and also one entitled "New Zealand and Empire Trade", by the Hon. Sir James Allen, High Commissioner for New Zealand. An article entitled "Britain's Export Trade" deals with the subject from a Board of Trade point of view, and indicates some of the activities of this Department in the interest of British Manufacturers. An informative article, "Inter-Imperial," discusses in detail the general conditions and prospects on improved trade within the British Empire. Immediately preceding the gazetteer of each country is a review of the trade of that country, with classified lists of tariffs, duties, etc., showing the preference given to British goods where operative. In addition to the above, the usual articles are included on "Things that Matter in Advertising", "The Trend of the Modern Press," and "The Legal Year in its Relation to the Press." Altogether the current edition of this long-established annual directory of the press fully sustains its high reputation alike for accuracy and comprehensiveness and is indispensable to pressmen and advertisers. The Indian Section, however, needs careful revision.

A Collection of Rules and Orders Relating to Public Servants. By Rai Bahadur G. K. Roy Hare Press, 46 Bechu Chatterji Street, Calcutta). Fifth Edition 1923

Rai Bahadur G. K. Roy, who retired some years back as Superintendent of the Home Department of the Government of India, is the author of several useful publications, not the least notable amongst which is *A Collection of Rules and Orders relating to Public Servants*. That it has gone through five editions is sufficient testimony to its usefulness and popularity. It presents in a compendious form the text of rules—with carefully-compiled annotations—for submission of petitions, appeals, memorials and other communications to the Government of India and to the authorities in Great Britain, also rules relating to the wearing of uniforms, medals, and decorations by civil officials, and instructions regarding social and official intercourse between British officials and Indians. It is a capital, little work of reference and should be serviceable to officials and non-officials alike.

TRAVEL.

Lands of the Thunderbolt. By The Earl of Ronaldshay (Constable & Co., Ltd., London, 1923) 16s.

The mountain fastnesses on the north-eastern borders of India contain peculiarities, both physical and human, of absorbing interest. That a scholar and traveller of the distinction and repute of Lord Ronaldshay has set his hand to delineate for us the beautiful, albeit elusive, angularities of these people and their mountain-abodes is a matter for congratulation. The impression that a reading of *Lands of the Thunderbolt* leaves on the mind of the uninitiated is wholly one of pleasure. Sikkim, Chumbi and Bhutan lie wedgelike between the three greatest mountains of the world and incidentally possess charms of natural magnificence and a beauty characteristic of land "unadorned yet adorned the most". Lord Ronaldshay combines the facile pen of an erudite scholar with the comprehensive appreciation of a lover of nature. His sense of lofty idealism provokes him to probe behind the miracles of the prayer-wheel; his sympathies with the lofty moral teachings of pristine Buddhism does not blind him to the core of superstition which has run through centuries to produce a strange commingling of "rationalism and superstition" amid people untouched by contact with the progressing world. Although the author does not claim to pass judgment on the doctrinal aspects of Mahayana Buddhism—he admits his sources of information to be secondary—yet his decisive references and disquisitions on the necromancy and demonistic faith of the lands of the *Uajrah* are sharply pointed and to that extent unbalanced. To the sensitive reader his references to Mr. Gandhi's marvellous hold on the people of India appear as crude prejudice and singularly inapt in a work of great charm. But Lord Ronaldshay deserves to be forgiven for his straying mood when we remember that he undertook these journeys when the cares of State sat heavy on his shoulders and the non-co-operative propaganda of Mr. Gandhi in Bengal gave him many sleepless nights. Perhaps the author fled to the hills for inspiration to tackle the difficult problem of politics and we will restrain the discordant note when we mark the vivid and beautiful word-pictures he has given us of the lands to our immediate north of which we know so little.

Cinnamon & Frangipanni (Ceylon). By Ashley Gibson (Chapman & Dodd, Ltd., London, 1923) 21s.

Mr. Gibson is not of the tribe of the modern traveller who "does" the foreign lands by the White Star Round-the-World Cruise. If he considers the remark that East is the invention of the 19th century as 'intuitively illuminating'—perhaps a charming play on words—he has tried to look behind the veil of charm and mystery which surrounds the East in fiction and in standardised books of travel. Mr. Gibson has taken a bit of this romantic East, to wit, Ceylon—the isle of sweet savours, and inhaled perhaps to the permanent injury of his olfactory nerves the spicy odours of a land which has very little to offer besides. And yet Mr. Gibson does not altogether remain quiescent but penetrates rather incisively the smoke-screen of prejudice and ill-mannered complacency of the average alien in the East. He realises only too well that the God of the white man in the East is Mammon, and wisely turns to the drums and incense of the rose red city, the stones in the jungle, or the quietly eloquent ruins of the old kingdom of Vijaya. Mr. Gibson's sympathy with nature and beast is redolent of the influences of the Eastern pagan Gods, his singular plea for recognition of the humanity of the elephant, the king of the forest in Ceylon, is characteristic of his large vision and understanding. Mr. Gibson writes in a terse and epigrammatic, although heavy, style, but his book does not suffer from the crudities of superficial mannerism. Vivid portraiture and tales of golden deeds of a mythological past furnish the background of Mr. Gibson's narrative.

Matahari. By H. O. Morgenthaler (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London, 1923) 7s. 6d.

The author is a Swiss geologist whom fates ordained for ramblings in search of minerals in the Siamese-Malayan jungles. In *Matahari*—literally the eye of the day, *viz.*, Sun—he has jotted down his impressions of his surroundings as the monotony or excitement of travel depressed or elevated him. The book forms a record of various trips, compiled from a diary and without being recast into the mould of a continuous narrative. Sketchy and superficial in its main outlines it reveals nevertheless the mentality of an impressionable young man from the West thrown in daily contact with people of different climes whom he rightfully considers to be of an inferior complex. The irritating "I—the white man" attitude is repeated almost on every page until mere ennui rejects the book as a serious contribution to the literature of travel. Incidentally the author also betrays that he reckoned in two different standards

practical facts of ethical morality as they applied to the white men and to the rest respectively. If we get over the nausea of the reiteration we will find in various places realistic descriptions of the beauty of the forest and the river.

From Adam's Peak to Elephanta. By Edward Carpenter (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London, 1923) 8s. 6d.

This well-known work from the pen of the famous European savant, Edward Carpenter, was first published in 1892 and created a sensational depreciation in the stock of Indian officialdom. Primarily a book of travel there are interspersed throughout its pages comprehensive reflections on the ideals and inspirations which touch and move the Indian people. The present edition is the fourth one and its appearance is timely in view of the gathering clouds on the political horizon and the prophetic warning which the author gave years ago to Imperialist Britain to revise her angle of vision toward India. Besides its political value the book is a charming narrative of travel in India and Ceylon and should provide new readers with fresh charm and interest.

The Mountains of Mourne By Louise McKay (Jarrolds Publishers, London, 1923) 2s. 6d.

Miss McKay delightfully delves into the treasure-house of nature and with the characteristic Irish love of land she sings a paen in praise of the lovely mountains that surround her native bit. She has mingled her narrative with stories of the sturdy sons raised on her soil and evokes a feeling of pride and enthusiasm in the dwellers who call Mourne their own.

DRAMA.

Exodus By H. F. Rubinstein & Halcott Glover

The Conquering Hero. By Allan Monkhouse.

Midsummer Madness. By Clifford Bax

What's wrong with the Drama? By H. F. Rubinstein. Ernest Benn Ltd., London, 1923. 2s. Cloth, 3s. 6d. Paper each Vol.

Ernest Benn Limited deserve hearty congratulations on the success of their series of "Contemporary

British Dramatists" of which the first four volumes have just reached us. The new series is parallel, both in design and conception, to the "British Drama League" series for the unknown playwright unable to find a commercial publisher. The technique and plan of the eight little plays presented here are as far removed from the traditional lines as their subject matter. These new young playwrights, rebels as they are against stereotyped diction, do not shrink from, or fatuously ignore, the rightful climax of a logical dramatic situation, however much it may conflict with the dramatic proprieties. We welcome this insistence upon presenting attitudes in their correct pose, although such a course is fraught with dangers in so far as it does not safeguard against extravagances. Take for instance Messrs. Rubenstein and Glover's *Exodus*, a story of the Pharaoh and the Israelites, almost dull and monotonous in diction, yet reaching at the true dramatic element in an original manner and accordingly capable of producing on the stage on a grandiose scale. Mr. Monkhouse's *The Conquering Hero* will be unpopular as it is a war play, but the nobility of its theme can not fail to impress the most cold-blooded Junker. The pity and horror and bestiality of war is told with brutal frankness and in words that burn on the mind. Mr. Bax's *Midsummer Madness*, on the other hand, is entirely pleasing to the ear and full of delightful inconsequences. It is designed for success and the lyrical quality of Mr. Bax's word-pictures pronounces for success were an ambitious composer found to adapt it for a ballad-opera. Mr. Rubenstein with an acute sense of humour presents in *What's Wrong with the Drama?* his view of the wrong-headedness of commercial producers who feel shy of departing from the routine tradition. In five humorous little sketches he successively lays his finger on the sick spots. The playlets form delightful reading. We will look forward with interest to the succeeding volumes in the series.

The Fool. By Channing Pollock (Brentano's Ltd., London, 1923) 6s.

American methods in drama are still young in tradition. Their best representatives avowedly derive inspiration from the maturer and comparatively more stable tradition in England. But the strenuous conditions of life in the new world have laid a new emphasis and given a new significance to the type of play popularly known as melodrama. Mr. Pollock has ingeniously utilised the extravaganza of a labour-capital conflict to build up a theme with a very

Christian moral. A dramatic writer with a purpose opens with a big handicap against applause, but when the theme is wrought upon to lead to a conclusion of moral though vacuous piety, dullness and boredom replace mere annoyance. Mr. Pollock was possibly aware of his being suspect and if he has taken courage in both hands and delineates the hopeless struggles of Daniel Gilchrist against a soul-less system, he either believes in the essential piety of his subject or considers himself too clever. Notwithstanding this vital drawback Mr. Pollock presents in *The Fool* some clever situations. Clara symbolises the average fatuousness of American girlhood, and Goldkind, the cold-blooded Boss insensible to fair-play and conscience alike—perhaps both extreme types exhibiting however a strain none too rare in the modern world. For these realistic touches and clever dialogues *The Fool* ran a successful season in New York and deserved the recognition it received.

Madame Vestris and her Times. By Charles F. Pearce (Stanley Paul & Co., London, 1923) 16s.

Mr. Pearce has earned a well-deserved fame by his industrious biographies of dramatic celebrities and his reputation is enhanced by his latest volume on *Madame Vestris*. The opening years of the 19th century in Europe were characterised by a strenuous military conflict and true to history the epoch was marked by a remarkable burst of activity in the domain of art, literature and science. Acting was no exception and no more brilliant figure adorns the English stage than Madame Vestris who made her debut in 1815, the year of Waterloo, to her final appearance in 1854. For forty long years she continued to be the rage of dramatic world, earning a homage which a queen might well have envied. Love affairs and gossip and scandal grouped round her name a brilliance which her own incomparable gifts managed to sustain. But she was an artiste first: vulgarity and ugliness she never could tolerate. Mr. Pearce has laboriously built up the amazing story of this queen of the stageland. He has not merely filled in the biographical details but told us of the tastes and customs of an age that possesses a special fascination for the student of social manners. The narrative flows easily and while Madame Vestris remains the central figure of the story the interest of the reader is refreshed by the contrasts and the comparisons of an age that no longer exists. Altogether a pleasant and delightful narrative full of sprightly anecdotes and witticisms.

Drama and Mankind. By Halcott Glover (Ernest Benn Limited, London, 1923) 8s. 6d.

What is the true domain of Drama? Of this almost insoluble question Mr. Glover has attempted an answer in his *Drama and Mankind*. Written in an incisive and pointed style the courage of his bold challenge provokes interest and admiration for his theme. The author would reject a drama what 'does not please'. He places the public, the masses, on the altar of the shrine before which all playwrights should burn incense in hopes of obtaining true inspiration. The aim of drama, according to Mr. Glover, is "expression of the public, by the public, for the public," and his elaborate thesis is bold and forceful exposition of this ideal. Bernard Shaw is rejected as suspect on ground of propaganda and Mr. Glover would write his epitaph: "To the memory of him who confirmed the British people in their sins." One may not entirely agree with the ruthless democratisation of the art—a popular drama according to G.B.S. is a huge joke—but our author's plea is refreshingly put and evokes discussion. Mr. Glover hits direct and straight and his book is an admirable contribution to the literature of dramatic theory and technique.

Green Room Gossip. By Archibald Haddon (Santley Paul & Co., London, 1923) 6s.

In *Green Room Gossip* Mr. A. Haddon, the well-known dramatic critic of the *London Daily Express*, has collected together his varied contributions on the subject of drama and its votaries. The record furnishes an interesting reading and the delightful, snappy little sketches provide amusement and instruction. Mr. Haddon has not attempted to recast his journalistic paragraphs into a continuous narrative but has grouped them under appropriate titles. *Green Room Gossip* testifies to the industry and acumen of the distinguished critic.

Sumathy or the Punjab Princess. By V. Sundaram (G. A. Nateson & Co., Madras, 1924) Rs. 1-8-0.

This little play is built round an old Kashmir legend and the author has skilfully woven the plot to an interesting climax. Viewed from the point of dramatic technique it will perhaps be found lacking in many virtues; of harmony, of rhythm and cadence it possesses very little. But the reading nevertheless

is very pleasing to the ear and the variation of prose and rhyme—frequently faulty—furnishes interesting dialogues. Mr. Sundaram's characterisation is clever and his first effort in play-writing is to be commended.

ANGLO-ISLAMIC LITERATURE.

Studies in Islamic Mysticism. By R. A. Nicholson. (Cambridge University Press, Fetter Lane, London, E. C.) 1922.

The Idea of Personality in Sufism. By R. A. Nicholson. (Cambridge University Press, Fetter Lane, London, E. C.) 1923.

Shah Abdul Latif; An Indian Sufi. By M. M. Gidvani. (India Society, 3 Victoria Street, London) 1923.

The "Khamriyyah". (Wine Song of Umar Ibn-al-Farid: A Sufi Poem. (Simpkin Marshall Hamilton, Kent & Co., Ltd., London) 1923.

Dr. R. A. Nicholson is one of the best-known British scholars, who has made valuable contributions to Islamic Studies. His *Literary History of the Arabs* is justly regarded as a standard work on the subject, while his *Studies in Islamic Poetry* and other books of renderings into English from Arabic and Persian literature have successfully catered for that large class of English-knowing readers, which while not familiar with oriental languages would nevertheless like to have a general idea of Asiatic classics through the medium of translations. More recently Dr. Nicholson has turned his attention to the exposition of Sufism, and the two publications before us—*Studies in Islamic Mysticism* and *The Idea of Personality in Sufism*—are marked by a rich and rare scholarship and sound judgment, and are indispensable to the student of the subject—however much the reader may differ from the views expressed by the author. The essays comprised in the *Studies in Islamic Mysticism* conclude a series which fall into two groups and are therefore published in separate volumes, the first of which being *Studies in Islamic Poetry*. While mysticism, save for a few casual references, found no place in that volume, in these *Studies* now brought together it has taken entire possession of the field, and on the whole the literary interest of the present volume is subordinate to the religious and philosophical "Mysticism," says the author in his *Preface*, "is such

a vital element in Islam that without some understanding of its ideas and of the forms which they assume we should seek in vain to penetrate below the surface of Mohammedan religious life. The forms may be fantastic and the ideas difficult to grasp; nevertheless we shall do well to follow them, for in their company East and West often meet and feel themselves akin." This is a very just estimate of the position of mysticism in Islam and we welcome Dr. Nicholson's book which would be found of immense value by students of varieties of religious experience. The object of the other book—*The Idea of Personality in Sufism*—is to show by means of examples chosen from the literature of Islamic mysticism that Sufism is not necessarily pantheistic but often bears the marks of a religion inspired by a personal good. This book is more or less controversial, but it is nonetheless thought-provoking. Mr. M. M. Gidvani's life of Shah Abdul Latif—an Indian Sufi saint of the seventeenth century—and Mr. Leonard Chalmers-Hunt's English translation in verse of Umar Ibn-Al-farid's Arabic poem called *Khamriyyah* ("the wine-song") are interesting additions to the literature of Sufism. Both of them portray Indian and Arabic Sufism respectively from diverse standpoints and deserve careful consideration at the hands of the students of the subject.

Arabic Thought and its Place in History. By De Lacy O'Leary, D.D. (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., London) 1923.

The Influence of Animism on Islam. By S. M. Zwemer. (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London) 1922.

The Semetic Religions. By D. M. Kay (T. & T. Clark, 38 George Street, Edinburgh) 1923.

Dr. O'Leary has produced a meritorious work in his *Arabic Thought and its Place in History*. His main contention is "that Muslim culture was at bottom essentially a part of the Hellenistic-Roman material, even the theology of Islam being formulated and developed from Hellenistic Sources". The most eminent European savants now accept this view, though it is one which, for obvious reasons, does not appeal to Muslims. The author develops his points with skill and knowledge and he enters upon controversial ground only when he is dealing with Islamic theology as expressed in Sufism. He holds that "the source of the theology developed in the newer Sufism ... was neo-Platonic, as has been proved by Dr. Nicholson". There is not the same

agreement upon this point as upon the others dealt with by Dr. O'Leary. Many eminent scholars have maintained that Sufism owed its origin to the influence of Indian thought on Islam. However that be, the student of Muslim culture will be grateful to Dr. Leary's book for presenting in a compact form and based on trustworthy sources of information a clear conspectus of the historical channels through which Arab thought passed before it reached its zenith under the Abbaside caliphs. In striking contrast to Dr. O'Leary's *Arabic thought and its Place in History* is Mr. Zwemer's *Influence of Animism on Islam* which is an instructive sketch of popular superstitions as embedded in Islam. It successfully brings into prominent relief the significance of the pagan element in Mohammedanism, the many doctrines and practices of popular Islam which only find their explanation in a survival of the Animism of Ancient Arabia, or the many heathen sources which in the spread of the faith were absorbed and incorporated and now pass for Islamic rituals and practices. Mr. Zwemer's book is not only a contribution of value to Islamic theology but equally so to the sciences of Anthropology and Folklore. There is nothing distinctive about Dr. Kay's Croall Lectures called *The Semetic Religions*, in which the author deals with Judaism, Christianity and Islam. Of the six lectures delivered and reprinted in the volume under notice, three are devoted to Judaism, one to Christianity, one to Islam and the last to "The Heritage and Obligations of Semetic Religion". We are concerned here mainly with Islam and it gives us pleasure to state that unlike the average Christian writer on Islam Dr. Kay is not anti-Muhammad and his treatment of the subject is scholarly and sympathetic. To those desirous of obtaining a bird's-eye-view of the three Semetic faiths, Dr. Kay's book may safely be commended.

The Message of Mohammed. By A. S. Wadia. (J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., London) 1923.

Notes on Islam. By Sir Ahmed Hussain, K.C.I.F., C.S.I., Nawab Amin Jung Bahadur. Collected and edited by Khan Bahadur Hajee Khaja Muhammad Hussain. (Deccan Government Central Press, Hyderabad, Deccan) 1923.

Mr. A. S. Wadia is one of the best type of the modern Indian—enlightened, cultured, and cosmopolitan. Besides some works on philosophical and literary subjects, as also on travels, he is the author of three small books in "The Message" series—called the *Message of Zoroaster*, the *Message of Christ* and the

Message of Mohammed. Of the three, the first is the best—for the obvious reason that in interpreting the creed of the Persian prophet, the author wrote (as a Parsee) from knowledge and experience gained from inside, and for lack of which his other two books have not been equally successful. Of his *Message of Christ*, many Christian reviewers declared that it was a travesty of the creed promulgated by Jesus, and we doubt if his *Message of Mohammed* will not be subjected to similar criticism both by followers and critics of Islam. Unlike the other apologists of Islam—Western and Eastern—Mr. Wadia is much too fair to avoid displeasing the votaries of Islam, as also those who still look at the phenomenal rise and rapid decline of Muslim kingdoms and states, through an astigmatic vision and monochromatic lenses. Hence his treatment of the subject is open to exception from the standpoint alike of the apologist and the critic of Islam. Mussalman readers are not likely to be pleased at the way in which Mr. Wadia has pilloried the Rt. Hon'ble Syed Ameer Ali for his defence of Islam and his exaltation of the prophet as "the greatest reformer the world has ever produced" and "the greatest upholder of the sovereignty of Reason". At the same time his own treatment of the subject is at places open to the charge of being not scientific but sentimental. It is, however, a sign of the times that an appreciation of the Arabian Prophet and a sympathetic study of Islam should have been written by an Indian follower of the faith founded by the Prophet of Iran. Viewed in this light Mr. Wadia's book has a significance of its own, apart from its intrinsic merits, which are by no means small. For those, however, who desire to understand Islam at its best we would unhesitatingly recommend a careful perusal of *Notes on Islam* by Sir Ahmed Hussain—Private Secretary to the Nizam of Hyderabad. Sir Ahmed is, we believe, a British Indian and hails from the Madras Presidency—though he has been long connected with the administration of the Nizam's Dominions. His valuable services have been acknowledged by the King-Emperor by the bestowal of the knighthood of the order of the Indian Empire and the Companionship of the Order of the Star of India. As a cultured Indian and a believer in Islam, Sir Ahmed Hussain is pre-eminently qualified to be a fair-minded interpreter of his faith. In 1917 he wrote out these "notes" to his brother and sons, who were studying in England at the time and the editor was well-advised in inducing the writer to agree to their publication. Being merely "notes" addressed to young Mussalmans, the book is not an elaborate or a systematic exposition of Islam, but it offers in a short compass about the best and fairest interpretation of

Islam and is so cast in form and spirit as to carry conviction to the mind of even the non-Muslim readers. It also appeals to the latter class by reason of its studiously avoiding polemics—the great bane of Mr. Ameer Ali's otherwise excellent book. Freedom from polemics, fairmindedness, sweet reasonableness and a cultured cosmopolitanism are the distinguishing features of Sir Ahmed Hussain's *Notes on Islam*. We extract at random a few passages in support of our view:—"All these religions (Buddhism, Islam and Christianity) inculcate in fact one and the same truth in its three aspects. Says Rumi in his celebrated *Masnawi*: 'all religions are in substance one and the same.' At other places the author maintains his position by fortifying himself with the authority of the *Bhagavad Gita* and Kabir. Not the least appreciable feature of Sir Ahmed Hussain's book is the freedom from bigotry displayed in printing as an appendix a long note—which the editor himself calls "illuminating criticism"—by Mr J. C. Molony, I.C.S., in which Islam is discussed with sympathy but with critical acumen from the non-Muslim standpoint. On the whole, Sir Ahmed Hussain's *Notes on Islam* is perhaps the most valuable subjective study of Islam that has appeared since India came under western influences, and deserves careful study at the hands of the students of the subject.

ANGLO-BUDDHIST LITERATURE.

Introduction to Mahayana Buddhism. By W. M. McGovern, Ph.D. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., London: 1923.

Early Buddhist Monachism. By Sukumar Dutt, M.A., B.L. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., London: 1924.

The Message of Buddhism. By Subhadra Bhikkhu. (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., London) 1923.

An up-to-date exposition of the Mahayana doctrines of the Buddhist religion was a desideratum and the want of a comprehensive sketch of the subject is now removed by the publication of Dr. W. M. McGovern's *Introduction to Mahayana Buddhism*. Designed to supply the average cultured reader with a brief and simple guide to Northern Buddhism with special reference to the Chinese and Japanese phases, it is an excellent, general sketch, not a detailed study, of the main features of the religion, and concludes with a short history of Buddhism and Buddhist sects, and a survey of Buddhist literature. It clearly points out the chief sign-posts to those desirous to take up the subject seriously, and may safely be commended

for its sympathetic insight and singular fairness. Another valuable book on Buddhism is Professor Sukumar Dutt's *Early Buddhist Monachism*, which is a pioneer work on the subject. The importance of the Buddhist monasteries in the whole economy of ancient Indian life and culture is a subject which this book for the first time makes clear. Their growth and their relations with society at large are described, and the influence of Chinese types is estimated. The monasteries played the role of Universities, with a full complement of libraries, schools of study and lecture halls, and Professors and students from all parts of Asia flocked to frequent them. The successive Mahomedan invasions arrested their development. The storming of Behar in A.D. 1197 forced Buddhist monasticism below the surface of Indian life. But it did not die out. In Ceylon especially the old type was preserved and continued to exist, while elsewhere its influence was considerable though hidden. Professor Dutt's instructive work is a notable contribution to an important phase of ancient Indian civilization. As for the *Message of Buddhism*—with its subtitle of "The Buddha: the Doctrine: the Order"—it is an excellent adaptation for modern requirements of a book, called *Buddhist Catechism*, issued by the late Subhadra Bhikkhu so far back as 1888. Mr. J. E. Ellam has remodelled under its new name the English translation of the book published in 1908. In its present form it is a compendious sketch of Buddhism and offers within a short compass a correct exposition of the essential tenets of that creed. It richly merits appreciation.

Buddhism and Christianity. By J. E. Carpenter, D.D., D.Litt. (Hodder and Stroughton, St. Paul's House, Warwick Square, London) 1924.

Dr. Carpenter's *Buddhism and Christianity: A Contrast and a Parallel* is the first volume of a new series of books called "Library of Philosophy of Religion". Dr. Carpenter does well to insist in his Introduction that "within India itself the reciprocal indebtedness of Buddhism and Hinduism in ethics, philosophy and religion, has been too little studied". In the book under consideration, he confines himself, however, to analysing and noting the points of contrast and argument between Buddhism and Christianity. He naturally assumes a general knowledge of the history and various phases of Christianity, but he sets out these at some length in the case of Buddhism. Dr. Carpenter's treatment of the subject is not of the average Christian propagandist but of a scholar, a thinker and a reverent student of Compara-

tive Religions. The subject is dealt with by him under the four heads of "The World and its Meaning", "The Order and the Church", "The Parsons" and "The Religious Life". In the Epilogue he sums up his views in the words he quotes as follows:—"The divine life is not one but many, but to discover the one in many is the special task of love". It is a highly instructive work that Dr. Carpenter has written and Buddhists and Christians should equally appreciate it.

CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY.

Is Christianity the Final Religion? By A. C. Bouquet. (Macmillan Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London) 1922.

Human Nature in the Bible. By W. L. Phelps. (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, U.S.A.) 1922.

Mr. A. C. Bouquet's *Is Christianity the Final Religion?* is a feeble attempt at Christian apologetics. There are better books on the subject—to name but one, the late Dr. Boyd Carpenter's *Permanent Elements of Religion*. Mr. Bouquet has attempted the task in the light of recent developments and post-war conditions. But he has failed, in our opinion, to achieve any appreciable success. His book can be of use only to those who may not have access to the many better books on the subject of Christian apologetics. Professor Phelps has written an inspiring book called *Human Nature in the Bible*. Though dealing only with the Old Testament—and to that extent a misnomer—his book is an excellent compendium written with sprightly humor, depicting the characters that to many of us are little more than names, just as if they were alive to-day in the twentieth century, telling the stories of the greatest and most interesting of these men and women of a bygone age.

And why shouldn't the men and women who lived years ago be interesting? Do we really think they were very different? How to make these people live to-day was the task Professor Phelps set for himself. We have no doubt as to the answer from the reader of these alluring pages. To thousands of men and women in America both in and out of college, Professor Phelps has spoken words of wisdom and inspiration during the past quarter of a century and more, in his lectures, in his reviews of books and plays, and in his books dealing with modern literature. He has led many a person to the new worthwhile book, but he has not swerved from his high ideals of art and literature. He has done nothing better than

this book, though he has written more than one dozen good books

A Psychological and Poetic Approach to the Study of Christ in the Fourth Gospel. By Eva Gore-Booth (Longmans, Green & Co., 39, Paternoster Row, London, E.C. 4 and also Calcutta) 1923.

The Rival Philosophies of Jesus and of Paul. By Ignatius Singer. (C. W. Daniel Co., Tudor Street, London, E.C. 4) Second Edition 1923.

Eva Gore-Booth's *Study of Christ in the Fourth Gospel* is an attempt at a psychological interpretation of the personality of Jesus as revealed in the Gospel of John. The book is divided into two parts. The first is an attempt to put forward and explain certain ideas about the Being of God in relation to the three-fold inner personality of man, the relation of the mind to the Truth that is God, of the self to the Love that is God, and of the psyche to the Eternal Life or Spirit that is God. The second part is called "Interpretations and Suggestions." Here an attempt has been made to introduce and test the ideas discussed in the first part in what might be called the background or atmosphere of the Gospel. For obvious reasons the book is no light reading; but to those who care for serious study of theological and philosophical problems, it will repay perusal. In complete contrast to it is Mr. Singer's *Rival Philosophies of Jesus and of Paul*. The author's contention is that there are two distinct and mutually destructive philosophies in the Gospels, one by Jesus and one by Paul. He rejects the Christology of Paul as unhistorical and irrational, and attempts to vindicate the teachings of Jesus, which, he contends, contain a religion for all men and for all times. Though in a sense a contribution to Christian apologetics, it is nevertheless a work on rationalism, it being an explanation of the failures of organised Christianity. So far as this aspect of the treatment of the subject is concerned, it leaves nothing to be desired and should receive a warm acknowledgment. As a vindication of the teachings of Christ the book is fair and reasonable; but we will not take upon ourselves to declare that it will satisfy all critical readers of the author's contention that they contain a religion "for all men and for all times".

The Story of the Bible. By MacLeod Yearsley (Watts & Co., Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, London, E.C. 4) 1923

Theosophy and Christian Thought. By W. S. Urquhart. M.A., D.Litt. (James Clarke & Co., Ltd., 13 & 14, Fleet Street, London, E.C. 4) 1923.

Mr. M. Yearsley's *Story of the Bible* is the work of a rationalist and his exposition of the subject is, therefore, scientific. "That the absurdities of the biblical cosmogony should be taught daily, in schools and churches, by those who know them to be fabulous", says the author in his preface "can not be too strongly condemned". Hence his discussion of the biblical legends and stories in the light of the data yielded by science. The author discourses on the life of the earth and man, man's first search for explanations, the development of sacred traditions and sacred writings, the making of the Old Testament, the origin and rise of Christianity and the making of the New Testament. Those who would like to study the subject from a rationalistic standpoint can not do better than turn to *The Story of the Bible*. Dr. Urquhart's *Theosophy and Christian Thought*—though written not from the rationalist but the Christian standpoint—is a book for which there has been urgent need, and it should find many readers both within and without the ranks of theosophists. Dr. Urquhart's work in India has made him thoroughly at home in the range of ideas with which theosophy deals. He is sympathetic and generously recognises all that is true and good in theosophy. At the same time he is equally frank and clear in pointing out its limitations and weak points. He has thoroughly mastered all the chief books on the subject. For all who want to know what theosophy means, what its teaching is, what its relation to science and philosophy is, Dr. Urquhart is an admirable guide. And for those, further, who want to understand the relation of theosophy to Christian truth, the comparative worth of the one system and the other, his book is invaluable. Though the author's point of view is frankly Christian, nevertheless his treatment of Theosophy and its exposition are eminently fair and his book is much above the level of the average work on apologetics.

RECENT HINDI BOOKS.

Ashoka Ke Dharmalekh. By Janardan Bhatta, M.A., (Gyanmandala Office, Benares). 1924.

There are wholesome signs that the vernacular literatures of India are being enriched by the production of numerous works of a high value. For many years past there used to be a dearth of books that could claim any degree of originality; now, however,

in Hindi, as in many other modern Indian languages, highly-educated gentlemen, well-versed in the most up-to-date methods of literary investigation, have begun to publish the results of their researches in their mother tongue, thus furthering the cause of popular education. Of such books which have come within our notice, there are few which are of greater importance to students of Indian history than Pandit Janardan Bhatt's attractively got up, well-written volume on the Edicts of Asoka. These Edicts form a most important source of our information about the social and religious conditions of those times. The present edition is exhaustive and easily replaces all the earlier Editions; it provides not only the text (which is neatly and accurately printed), but also a Hindi translation, and many explanatory notes. There is an interesting introduction which describes the main points about the Maurya Emperors, dealing in particular with the two outstanding personalities of Chandragupta and Asoka. There are again a number of appendices, relating to the script, the Grammar and the language of the Edicts. It is possible of course to suggest some defects; the Editor might with advantage have discussed the various theories about the authorship of the so-called *Chanakya Arthashastra*. But altogether it is a book on which both the author and the publisher deserve to be warmly congratulated. We shall look forward eagerly to the publication of the second volume which will contain facsimile reprints of the inscriptions.

The Bhagavadgita. with Hindi translation, by Hariram Sharma, (Belvedere Press, Allahabad) 1924.

The Bhagavadgita, with Vraja translation, by Tulsiram Misra, (Newulkishore Press, Lucknow) 1924.

Among the sacred books of the Hindus none commands so wide a following, none yields a greater influence than the song of songs, reputed to be sung by Krishna for the behoof of his comrade and disciple Arjun on the eve of the battle of Kurukshetra. Not only Hindus, but followers of almost all religions look upon the book with reverence; together with the Bible and the Koran, it is one of the scriptures of the world. Since Abul Fazl translated it into Persian in the sixteenth century, there have been numerous translations of it in various languages. In English alone there are several—the metrical ones of Arnold, Caleb and Brookes and the prose renderings of Mrs. Besant, Telang and many others. On the philosophy of the Gita a great deal has been written; this is not the place to discuss whether it teaches the Gospel of

renunciation, or of meditation, or of wisdom, or of actions. Mr. Tilak insisted in his *magnum opus* that it inculcated the doctrine of action, of duty—a variant of Carlyle's never-failing teaching. However that may be, it remains true that persons of vastly different views have found solace and guidance in its verses. Of a book so momentous as this, it is only right that there should be vernacular renderings. It is very gratifying that we should have before us two Hindi translations of it. Both of them have short general introductions; Pandit Hariram Sharma depends mainly on the views put forth by Shankaracharya in his *Upodghata*; the value of his edition is enhanced by the addition of a glossary of difficult Sanskrit words. The translation is so literal that we should have preferred longer explanations at least of some of the more difficult verses.

The second book under notice is published for free distribution; it is the ambition of Pandit Tulsiram to print and distribute at least 125,000 copies of it, so that the general public may have a copy of this book in a handy and easily comprehensible form. There are eighteen illustrations which add to the attractiveness of the volume. The public spirit and enterprise of the translator are highly commendable.

Mudrashashtra, by Prannath Vidyalaekar. (Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Benares) 1924.

The Science of Currency is an abstruse subject and even in English there are not many popular books on the subject which can be easily comprehended by the layman. Jevons' *Mechanism of Exchange* and Withers' *Meaning of Money* are popular handbooks which have made the intricate subject both interesting and lucid. Mr. Vidyalaekar's book is, we believe, the first of its kind in Hindi and we accord a hearty welcome to it. The format leaves nothing to be desired and there is no doubt that he possesses a sound knowledge of the subject himself. We doubt however whether he has succeeded in making it intelligible to the type of Hindi reader for whom it is intended. It abounds with technical phrases which are either in high-flown Sanskrit or mixed Indo-English. This is a defect from which several volumes, purporting to be 'popular', suffer, but it greatly detracts from their usefulness. We hope that the author will write the book in more popular language when a second edition is called forth.

Vinay Kosh, Edited by Mahavir Prasad Malaviya, (Belvedere Press, Allahabad) 1924.

Tulsidasa's *Ramayana* has long eclipsed in popular favour all his other works. But with the growing interest in the Hindi poets, his other productions are receiving the attention which they undoubtedly merit. Of these the *Vinaypatrika* is one which has attracted a great deal of appreciation and interest. The enterprising publishers of Allahabad have rendered notable public service in publishing this complete, full and accurate dictionary of all the important and significant words and phrases which have been used in *Vinaypatrika*. It is a concordance which is both exhaustive and reliable. All the words are traced to their origin. It will undoubtedly prove indispensable to all admirers of Tulsidasa's mind and art.

Ramachandrika, Edited by Bhagwandin, (Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Benares). 1924.

Professor Bhagwan Din of the Benares Hindu University has laid Hindi literature once more under obligation by his latest work, a scholarly edition of Keshavdasa's *Ramachandrika*. As the anonymous Hindi Verse puts it, Surdas is the sun, Tulsi the moon and Keshav the star of Hindi poetry. For sheer beauty of language and variety of metrical forms employed, *Ramachandrika* is unique in all Hindi literature. This adds to the difficulty of the book and we congratulate the Benares Sabha on having secured as editor and commentator a scholar of the eminence and ripe experience of Lala Bhagwan Din. His explanations give all that is needed. Such passages as might offend modern susceptibilities have been wisely excluded. We are confident that the Hindi-reading public will extend its support to this book.

NEW EDITIONS AND REPRINTS.

The Life and Times of Cleopatra. Revised Edition. By A. Weigall. (Thornton Butterworth, Ltd, 15, Bedford Street, London, W. C. 2.) 1923.

Mr. Arthur Weigall's *Life and Times of Cleopatra* was first issued in 1911 and now appears in a thoroughly revised edition. It is no disparagement of its predecessor—Mr. Sergeant's *Cleopatra of Egypt*—to say that Mr. Weigall's life of the Egyptian queen was the first historical study in the origin of the Roman Empire. The popular idea of Cleopatra to-day is largely based on Shakespeare's interpretation of the events in which she played a part, the fact being forgotten that he fully availed himself of the

poet's licence. In Mr. Weigall's vivid history of the reign of Egypt's beautiful Queen, the author makes clear certain important facts which have been overlooked. He shows that Cleopatra was a Greek in whose veins not one drop of Egyptian blood flowed, and that she was sovereign of one of the richest countries in the world just at the time when Julius Caesar was endeavouring to make himself King of Rome and was looking out for a royal consort to take the place of Calpurnia. We see how she became his legal wife in Egypt, how they had a son, Caesarion, and how she and the child came to live in his house in Rome. Caesar however was murdered, and Cleopatra fled back to Egypt; from that hour she schemed and fought to oust Octavian from the inheritance of Caesarion as the Dictator's heir. For this purpose she married Marc Antony, and at length war was declared on Octavian. Mr. Weigall fully explains the battle of Actium, and shows how Cleopatra, finding that Antony had no intention of creating an Egypto-Roman throne for her son Caesarion, went back to Egypt, leaving him to his fate. Antony, however, followed her. Octavian invaded Egypt, and Antony committed suicide. Cleopatra lived on for some time, but at length she too took her life; whereupon Octavian caused his rival, Caesarion, to be put to death, and made himself Pharaoh of Egypt and Emperor of Rome, thereby actually establishing that Egypto-Roman monarchy which had been Caesar's and Cleopatra's dream. It is because Mr. Weigall brings into prominent relief these aspects of Cleopatra's life, that we have designated his book the first historical study in the origin of the Roman Empire. But the personal aspects of the queen's life are also fully dealt with and the result is a remarkable contribution alike to biographical and historical literature. Shakespeare was never more right than when he wrote of Cleopatra that "age can not wither her, nor custom stale her infinite variety", and so long as human nature is what it is, the life of Cleopatra will continue to interest readers, who can not have a better book than Mr. Weigall's.

Robert Owen: A Biography. By Frank Podmore. New Edition. George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 40 Museum Street, London, W. C. 1. 1923.

Robert Owen justly occupies a prominent position amongst the ranks of socialist thinkers and propagandists and it is not surprising to find his biography written not only in English but even in some of the continental languages. Of his lives

written in English the most comprehensive is that by Mr. Frank Podmore, which saw the light in 1906. It is based upon documents not available to any previous biographer and is, therefore, the most valuable. We welcome the reprint issued in one thick volume, which should appeal to a wide circle of readers. Mr. Podmore not only vividly sketches the career of Owen, but he also discusses the value of his contributions to socialist literature. He sums up Owen's life-work in a sentence as that of an "arch-heretic to the economic orthodoxy of his day, the gospel according to Ricardo and the men of Manchester." That is a fair estimate and equally so is that amongst the men who "worked for righteousness in the nineteenth century, a place will be found for Robert Owen amongst those whose dreams have helped to reshape the world." Now that it is once again available Mr. Podmore's biography of Owen should continue to interest a large section of the reading public, alike for its fairness, sense of proportion, and sympathetic insight.

Selected Papers of Sir Richard Burton. Edited by N. M. Penzer. (A. M. Philpot Ltd., 69, Great Russell Street, London, W. C. 1.) 1924.

Sir Richard Burton was one of the most versatile of men and it is a tribute to his memory that though he has been dead for now over thirty years, his works and contributions on travel and exploration still continue to be reprinted for the behoof of present-day readers. Mr. N. M. Penzer—author of an excellent *Annotated Bibliography of Sir Richard Burton*—has put together an instructive selection from Burton's contributions to the press with an interesting introduction and helpful notes. The essays reprinted are nine and deal with various aspects of travel in India, Arabia, Africa, Italy and other countries. Of these the most interesting is the "Guide book to Mecca", originally issued as a pamphlet in 1865. It contains a succinct but lucid sketch of the principal rites connected with the pilgrimage and is sufficient for the purposes of the general reader who may require some idea of the chief ceremonies to be performed by the pilgrims to Mecca. But the other essays are no less helpful to a clearer appreciation of the lights and shadows of other phases of life in the East and, in fact, the whole collection is a notable contribution to Anglo-oriental literature, and will be found invaluable by students of Anthropology and geographical exploration.

Gide's Principles of Political Economy. (George Harrap & Co., Ltd., Parker Street, Kingsway, London, W. C. 2.) 1924.

Professor Gide's *Principes d'Economie Politique* first appeared in 1883 and was at once hailed as an almost ideal text-book of Economics. It has been since translated into various European languages, as also into Japanese. It has been now entirely rewritten in the light of the new data supplied by the great war. The English translation before us has been supervised by Professor Gide and has the advantage of comprising his latest corrections. In rendering the book into English, the necessary modifications and adaptations have been introduced; illustrations, examples, and statistics originally drawn from French sources have been replaced or supplemented by those drawn from British and, at places, excisions and abridgments have been made by omission of details relating mainly to French economic and legal conditions. Matter for which the translator is responsible is placed within square brackets. It would thus be seen that the text now available in English is that of a new work rather than that of a new edition. In its new form Professor Gide's *Principles of Political Economy* should continue to hold its own against any other rival text-book as it is the work of a master of the subject.

The Foundations of Indian Agriculture. By H. Martin Leake. Second Edition. (W. Heffer and Sons, Ltd., Cambridge) 1923.

Early in 1920 Mr. Martin Leake—Director of Agriculture in Agra and Oudh—issued (through Messrs. Heffers of Cambridge) an excellent work called the *Bases of Agricultural Practice and Economics in the United Provinces of India*. It now appears—unfortunately unrevised but with some errors corrected—under the shorter and more expressive title of the *Foundations of Indian Agriculture* and in a cheaper reprint, which should make it popular. Agriculture is here depicted in its relation to the facts of life and to the community, or social fabric as a whole. The value of the work lies in the fact that it is a first serious contribution to the study of Indian agriculture in its economic bearings. A favourable reception extended to the first edition has prompted this cheaper issue, in the hope of an appeal to a wider range of readers. Those who desire problems connected with Indian economics should carefully study Mr. Leake's book.

The Sidelights of London. By J. A. R. Cairns. Second Edition. (Hutchinson & Co., Paternoster Row, E. C. London). 1921.

Mr. Cairn's *Sidelights of London* is welcome in its second edition. In it the author vividly records his experiences of those phases of life which he has had such unrivalled opportunities to observe. On the depths of humanity's greatness his ideals and methods are worthy of study and he says much that is of interest to the general reader. In a happy vein of philosophy he contrasts the East and West both by day and by night, discusses "Women and Crime," "Life's Misfits," and "The Glory of the Lost." His experiences and conclusions will be found as instructive as they are throughout entertaining, and lovers of London will find Mr. Cairn's book delightful reading.

Outlines of Sociology. By F. W. Blackmar, Ph.D. and J. L. Gillin, Ph.D. Revised Edition. (The Macmillan Company, New York, U. S. A.) 1923.

Drs. Blackmar and Gillin's *Outlines of Sociology*—one of the volumes of the "Social Science Text-books", edited by Dr. R. T. Ely—has been justly acknowledged as about the best introductory manual of the subject ever since its first appearance in 1905. It was revised in 1915 and has again been carefully overhauled for the present edition. It deals with almost every aspect of the subject—the nature and import of sociology, social evolution, socialization and social control, social ideals and social control, social pathology, methods of social investigation and social philosophy and sociology. The book is systematic, comprehensive, scientific, also lucid and well-arranged. At the end of each chapter are given references for further study, as also questions and exercises. Thus *Outlines of Sociology* is an almost ideal text-book of the subject and deserves a large circulation.

Wit, Humour and Fancy of Persia. By M. N. Kuka. (Navsari Buildings, Hornby Road, Bombay) 1923.

The first edition of Mr. M. N. Kuka's book—then designated "The Wit and Humour of the Persians"—appeared so far back as 1894 and has long been out of print. The new edition before us—under the new title of *Wit, Humour and Fancy of Persia*—contains most of the old matter, but with much addition. The book has been carefully revised. It is a miscellaneous

collection of anecdotes, stories, epigrams, satires, puns, riddles, enigmas, *et hoc genus omne*, culled from Persian Literature and should be found interesting by those interested in Persia and the modern Persians.

The Shorter Poems of the Eighteenth Century. (William Heinemann, Ltd., 21 Bedford Street, London) 1923.

Yet another anthology, but "the first modern attempt to represent, in one volume",—says the editor, Mr. I. A. Williams—"the poetry of the eighteenth century" by bringing together its shorter poems. The editor's introduction is interesting and his principles of selection are sound, with the result that the anthology under consideration is one of the most useful one of its class and kind. It is the editor's misfortune that the poetical literature of England in the eighteenth century is, broadly speaking, second-rate. Such as it is, however, Mr. William's anthology presents the pick of it in a convenient form.

The Kiss in English Poetry. (A. M. Philpot, Ltd., 69 Great Russell Street, London, W. C. 1) 1923.

We are living in an age of anthologies and why not one about kisses and kissing? And so Mr. W. G. Hartog has put together an excellent, little collection from the whole range of English literature and even from Latin. Mr. Henry Simpson in a foreword contributed by him justly remarks that "in the kingdom of love, the kiss is the most perfect gesture". Mr. Hartog's anthology should interest alike lovers and scholars.

THREE NEW NOTABLE SERIES.

(1) "**The Nations of To-day**". Edited by John Buchan (Hodder and Stoughton, Ltd., London) 1923-'24.

(2) The "**People's Library**". Edited by Sidney Dark (Hodder and Stoughton, Ltd., London) 1923-4.

(3) The "**British Drama League Library**" of Modern British Drama (Basil Blackwell, Oxford) 1923-4.

"The Nations of To-day" series, under the capable editorship of Mr. John Buchan—author of the best

non-composite history of the great war—aspires to present a new history of the world. Each work—generally issued in a single volume—has been entrusted to an authority on the subject and the countries to be represented are Great Britain (in two volumes). France, Japan, Italy, India, Belgium and Luxembourg, British America, Yugoslavia, the Baltic and Caucasian States, Ireland and Bulgaria and Romania. Other volumes are in preparation. In the editor's view History as a living thing is of most urgent consequence to the men of to-day. The War brought the meaning of history home to the world, and whether we like it or not our isolation is shattered and an understanding of foreign countries is forced upon us by the needs of our daily life. Convinced of the correctness of this view, Mr. Buchan has arranged his new historical series, the aim of which is therefore threefold: to tell the story of the Living Past; to tell the story of the Living Present; and to portray the changes, political, economic and social, caused by the Great War. The volumes have, therefore, been so arranged as to present both an adequate record of past history and an accurate and illuminating narrative of present conditions. Written by those who have specialized in the specific subjects dealt with in the series "*The Nations of To-day*" provides the ordinary reader with a fascinating new history of the world, and an authoritative work of reference for every student's bookshelf. The volume dealing with India has been written by Sir Verney Lovett, K.C.S.I.—a retired member of the Indian Civil Service. Sir Verney—at present a Reader in Indian History at Oxford—has written the historical portion and it is, on the whole, an accurate and impartial compilation. The section on Indian Economics has been written by Mr. H. Hailey, and is valuable, based as it is on a statistical sketch prepared by the late Sir William Meyer. Dr. J. C. Brown has put together the material dealing with the minerals of the country. There are five good maps, and a useful bibliography. Altogether the volume on India is a creditable production and deserves attention.

The object of the "*People's Library*"—which is being issued in half-a-crown volumes—is to provide, in a short compass, lucid but accurate introductory text-books to the study of various branches of knowledge. The volumes already issued sufficiently indicate the scope of the series and its authoritative character. While scientific in the fullest sense, the volumes are popular enough for the general reader. There is nothing about these treatises of the dry-as-dust order, which we generally associate with the average scientific work. Each book is written by an acknowledged

expert on the subject dealt with and the new series should be able—by reason of its accuracy, lucidity and general excellence of form and style—to command a very wide circulation amongst students in India. The first set of volumes are Mr. G. K. Chesterton's *St. Francis of Assisi*, Mr. John Drinkwater's *Victorian Poetry*, Professor Arthur Thomson's *Everyday Biology*, Mr. Frank Rutter's *Poetry of Architecture*, Mr. Sidney Dark's *Story of the Renaissance* and Mr. J. Sullivan's *Atoms and Electrons*. These names and titles bespeak the wide range and the excellence of the new series. Other volumes are in active preparation. We shall watch sympathetically the progress of the "*People's Library*", and wish it the success it merits.

Mr. Basil Blackwell—the well-known Oxford publisher—has arranged with the British Drama League to publish a standard Library of new plays, the first eight volumes of which are now ready. Efforts are being made in various directions to improve the conditions of the English theatre, but no real renaissance of drama can take place without a new impulse towards the writing of plays. For authors write for an audience, and since, generally speaking and outside a few established reputations, plays cannot succeed in securing the judgment of the public in published form, and the difficulties in the way of their production on the stage are notorious, the Drama is being more and more abandoned as a medium of the literary craft in Great Britain. The volumes, which are uniform in size are cased in paper boards, with coloured cover design by Mr. G. Pippet. They comprise one-act plays, tragi-comedies, comedies, poetical plays, and other varieties of drama. They are from the pen of well-known playwrights. Individual volumes have been appreciatively noticed in the pages of *The Hindustan Review* from time to time. The series deserve appreciation and encouragement as a repertory of the acknowledged representatives of modern British drama.

has examined over one hundred and fifty periodicals, many of which are now exceedingly rare and only to be found in the great libraries or private collections. By a series of illustrative extracts Dr. Marr demonstrates that in these essays we possess a treasury of delicate wit, searching satire, brilliant criticism and profound thoughts upon human life, conduct and destiny. Dr. Marr conveys his facts and opinions in a clear, vigorous, interesting style.

The Rt. Hon'ble H. H. Asquith's **Studies and Sketches** (Hutchinson & Co., Paternoster Row, London) is a collection of lectures and essays reprinted from various periodicals. The papers brought together range over subjects as far apart as "The Age of Demosthenes" and "Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman". There is something in this book to suit the taste of various classes of readers and the papers deserved republication. Mr. Asquith wields a facile pen and is gifted with a sympathetic insight into many aspects of human life. His *Studies and Sketches* is, therefore, deserving of careful consideration at the hands of serious students.

Canned Foods in Relation to Health. By Dr. W. G. Savage is an opportune publication (Cambridge University Press, Fetter Lane, London, E.C.) In view of the growing importance of canned foods and of the increase of the industry during the war, Dr. Savage has made a systematic and detailed laboratory study of the foods themselves and has examined the methods of manufacture both in Britain and also in the United States and Canada. The results of his researches he has now collected in a comprehensive review of the whole subject of canned foods in relation to Public Health, which merits study.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE: MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE.

The Periodical Essayists of the Eighteenth Century—"With illustrative extracts from the rarer periodicals"—(James Clarke & Co., Ltd., 13 & 14, Fleet Street, London, E.C. 4) by Dr. G. S. Marr is an excellent critical conspectus of the subject. The author, who is a distinguished graduate of Edinburgh University, here gives the first complete and detailed survey of the periodical essay of the eighteenth century and its writers which has yet appeared. He

Mr. A. R. Cowan's **Guide to World History** (Longmans, Green & Co., 39, Paternoster Row, London, E.C. 4 and Calcutta) is a work which will be found highly useful by students of historical studies. The objects of this book are: To indicate in summary fashion all the fundamental principles necessary in evaluating world-history, to *apply* these principles in unusually comprehensive fashion by treating Japan, China, India, Persia, America, etc., as prominently as the classical cultures that have too often practically

monopolised the stage; by a substantially novel method of assembling facts into periods to induce a *sense of simultaneity* lacking in other histories, and to link up principles and details that readers intent upon exploring areas not charted by the author may haply find the book to act as a *compass* in their individual ventures. The author has achieved success in the task he set before himself and his work is deserving of acknowledgment and appreciation.

An up-to-date and comprehensive work on Typography was a desideratum. The want is now removed by the publication of Mr. H. A. Maddox's **Printing: Its History, Practice and Progress**. (Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, Ltd., Parker Street, Kingsway, London, W. C. 2). It is an accurate and compact work particularly adapted to the requirements of the general reader, the printing student, the advertising specialist, and those who aspire to the higher administrative positions in the printing world where a good working knowledge of the all-round technique of the trade is a necessity. To those desirous of acquiring a thorough knowledge of the printer's craft, Mr. Maddox's book is indispensable.

Mr. T. Earle Walby's **Popular History of English Poetry**. (A. M. Philpot, Ltd., 69, Great Russell Street, London, W. C.) is a commendable work. It claims to be the "only one volume history of the subject." Naturally it is terse and succinct and has to omit facts and dates. But while its clear outline of the development of English Poetry to the present day provides the full matter of a textbook, its attractive style will prove a delight to all lovers of poetry, and will deeply interest the general reader. The vivid confessions of individual poets, illustrated by numerous unhackneyed quotations, reveal not only their characteristics but their intentions. Altogether it is an excellent introduction to the subject.

Miss Blanche Watson, who is an American admirer of Mr. Gandhi, has put together a large collection of gleanings from the American press in appreciation of the Indian reformer, under the title of **Gandhi and Non-Violent Resistance** (Ganesh & Co., Madras). Naturally in a repertory of this sort all the extracts brought together can not be of equal value or interest. But not only the friends and admirers of Mr. Gandhi,

but all students of contemporary history will find Miss Watson's anthology of interest and utility as presenting in a handy form a large number of excerpts from the American press on a subject of great importance. It is a useful contribution to non-co-operation literature.

Mr. William Foster, author of the **East India House** (John Lane the Bodley Head, Ltd, London) is a well-known authority on British Indian history, who has been in charge of the India Office records (which include those of the East India Company) for sixteen years, and in the present volume he embodies the results of his researches into the history of the East India House and into the official careers of the more famous members of the establishment, including James and John Stuart Mill, Thomas Love Peacock and Charles Lamb (to whom a special chapter is devoted). Much information is given concerning the inner working of this typical London trading association; and numerous anecdotes are interspersed among more solid contributions to the history of the home administration of the company. The book is thus a valuable source-book of information on India under the East India Company. It is equally informative and interesting.

Professor J. M. Keynes is a distinguished British economist and is well-known in India as the author of *Indian Currency and Finance*. His latest work called **Monetary Reform** (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London) is a meritorious contribution to the subject it deals with and it contains discussions on various constructive proposals for the future regulation of Currency and Credit, including an examination of the chief monetary problems of the day, such as Currency Depreciation, the German Situation, Capital Levy, Devaluation, Deflation, the Theory and Practice of the Foreign Exchanges, and the Gold Standard. On all these subjects the author writes with the authority of a master and his views should command respect. We will notice the volume extensively in the next issue.

Mr. Puran Singh is one of the most cultured Indians—well-informed, scholarly and cosmopolitan. His **Sisters of the Spinning Wheel and Unstrung Beads** (J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., London) lift up the

brain-cap of the Punjab. The *Sisters of the Spinning Wheel* is the first work in English to give the public, already interested in Indian poetry by the work of Rabindranath Tagore, an idea of the power and beauty of the Sikh poetry. It contains transcripts from the Sikh sacred writings known as the Guru Granth, with original poems in the same spirit. It contains an Introduction by Grace and Ernest Rhys. The *Unstrung Beads*—which also is introduced by Ernest Rhys—is modelled on the lines now made familiar to us by Rabindranath Tagore in his *Gitanjali* and other works. Both the books are notable additions made in recent years by Indians to the imaginative literature of the world.

English Literature (with illustrations from poetry and prose) by Geraldine F. Hodgson (Basil Blackwell, Broad Street, Oxford) is a work of great interest to the general reader, for whom it seems to be principally intended. It is not a textbook—there are enough of them—but aims at presenting the subject in the most convincing way of all—letting it speak for itself. To the adept it offers a familiar panorama from a fresh angle; for the young student it provides the knowledge sought by the most forceful method of illustration; to the general reader it presents old friends and new in the contexts apt to their fullest appreciation. It deals with the various forms of literature—epic, lyric, ballads, the treatise, sonnets, the drama, essays and letters, odes, satires, elegies and idylls. Each of these is lucidly discussed and aptly illustrated with suitable examples, with the result that *English Literature* is a fascinating exposition of the subject it deals with.

The Association Press (5, Russell Street, Calcutta) have just added two more excellent volumes to their highly meritorious "Heritage of India" series—a detailed and appreciative characterization of which appeared in a previous issue of the *Hindustan Review*. These are **Classical Sanskrit Literature** by Dr. A. Berriedale Keith and **Bengali Religious Hymns Sakta** selected and translated by Messrs. E. J. Thompson and A. M. Spencer. Dr. Keith's survey of what is called "*Classical Sanskrit Literature*" is—within a short compass—comprehensive, instructive and suggestive, and is a notable addition to the series. Messrs. Thompson and Spencer's renderings from the Bengali religious hymns are also interesting and both

volumes will give pleasure alike to the general reader as also to the specialist.

Mr. Bimala Charan Law's **Life and Work of Buddhaghosa** (Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta) is a treatise on which the author can be unstintedly congratulated. He has put together in a well-written work the result of the researches on the subject. Buddhaghosa was the most celebrated commentator of the Theravada school of Buddhism and this connected sketch of the life and labours of the distinguished exegete will appeal in a special measure to students of Buddhism as a pioneer work on the subject. Though Mr. Law's conclusions may be challenged in the light of later research, nevertheless his work is likely to long hold the field as about the best short study of a great subject.

Messrs. T. Werner Laurie Ltd. (30, New Bridge Street, London E.C. 4) have inaugurated a series of complete translations of the works of the famous French novelist Guy de Maupassant. They have decided, by way of making a beginning to put in hand for publication in the early future, translations of three of the novels, **Bel-Ami**, **Une Vie**, and **Boule de Suif** and other short stories. The intention is, if the reception of the initial volumes is sufficiently encouraging, to continue the series until it is hoped a complete edition of the works of Guy de Maupassant is available for English readers. The translation of *Bel-Ami* by Marjorie Laurie is exceedingly well done and if the same high standard is maintained the proposed series will be a notable addition in English to the French literature of imagination.

To the long series of his works dealing with Indian Zoology (now numbering no less than a dozen—Mr. Douglas Dewar has added **Himalayan and Kashmiri Birds** (John Lane the Bodley Head, Ltd., London). It is a key to the birds commonly seen in summer in the Himalayas and Kashmir and the book is intended to be utilised as a companion to the bird volumes of the *Fauna of British India*. It will be found useful for the purpose it is intended.

The Art of Clear Speaking by Mr. Edgar Haddock (Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., Ltd., London) is an excellent little treatise on elocution and oratory, which would be of value to those aspiring to become successful public speakers and effective

debaters. It is a practical treatise dealing with pulpit, stage and platform oratory and will doubtless be of great assistance to students of the subject.

Gems of Polish Poetry: Selections from Mickiewicz, translated by Mr. F. H. Fortey (Bristol) has been issued under the auspices of the Polish Government, with a view to popularize Polish literature. Mickiewicz is regarded as the national poet of Poland and Mr. Fortey's renderings into English of his selected poems should make English-knowing readers familiar with the greatest Polish poet.

In his **The Man Tutankhamen** (E. J. Burrow & Co., Ltd., 93, Kingsway, London) Mr. E. S. Dowdall presents an interesting narrative of life and work in Ancient Egypt, and of the thoughts and feelings of the people during the time of Tutankhamen based upon the results of the excavations. As a popular sketch of the subject, Mr. Dowdall's book should find a large circulation.

The latest addition to the "world's classics" (Oxford University Press, Garsin Place, Calcutta) is **The Three Dervishes** and other Persian tales and legends, translated by Mr. Reuben Levy from hitherto unpublished manuscripts. The book forms an interesting addition to English translations of Persian classics.

In their series of "Choice Books", Messrs. George Harrap & Co., Ltd. (Parker Street, Kingsway, London, W.C. 2.) have included an excellent anthology compiled by the Rev. Albert Sims, called **A Little Book of God and Nature**. The selections, which cover a wide range are judiciously made, and the little book offers much riches in a few pages.

The latest work of fiction rendered into English from the Bengali of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore is styled **Gora** (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London). The admirers of Dr. Tagore's novels—their number is fast increasing—will probably consider that this story is much stronger in dramatic interest than the other novels which have appeared in English. It is a Calcutta story, and the time is some twenty-five years after the Indian Mutiny. It introduces us to the intimate family life of Hindus of the Brahmin caste, and also to that of members of the Brahmo Samaj. The author appears to adopt an objective attitude in presenting his characters and the religious

and social ideas which influence them, and this method of dealing with the extraordinary complexity of Indian national life is very effective.

Scenes from Dickens, compiled by Mr. James Edmund Jones (McClelland and Stewart, Toronto, Canada) contains dramatic adaptations from the novels in the shape of trials, sketches and plays, which make excellent reading and are well adapted for being performed on the stage. This book contains three full length plays including that neverfailing success, the breach of promise trial of Bardell versus Pickwick. There are also a number of short humorous scenes requiring from two characters upwards. Cast of characters, descriptions for make-up, costumes, stage settings, etc., are given for each piece. There is abundant variety in these dramatizations to suit the requirements of schools, colleges, Sunday Schools, literary and dramatic clubs.

In their "Life-story of Famous Men" series, Messrs. Watts & Co. (17 Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, London, E. C. 4) have issued the **Life of Robert Ingersoll** by Mr. Charles Gorham and **Life of Charles Darwin** by Dr. Leonard Huxley. Ingersoll presents the finest type of America's outstanding and eminent men—distinguished alike as a lawyer, orator and writer. Mr. Gorham in his little monograph not only brings out the brilliancy of Ingersoll's powers in intellectual fields but also the essential nobility of the man. Dr. Huxley portrays Darwin's lines of thought, the methods of work and the personality of the great scientist who was admittedly a profound thinker, a keen observer and a noble character.

The Oxford University Press has planned the series known as "*India of To-day*", which is published under the general editorship of Professor L. F. Rushbrook Williams, O.B.E. Each volume of this series deals in plain, simple, and straightforward language with one of the great problems, administrative or economic, which at the present moment call for solution. Written by experts, these volumes are planned with a careful eye to the requirements of the ordinary reader. Together, they constitute such a training in the public affairs of the country as no man living in India, whatever may be his political creed, can afford to be without. The facts of each problem are presented in a broad and non-contentious spirit, so that each reader may be free to form his own judgment upon them. The utmost care is taken in the selection of the authors, in order to obtain real experts

who can be trusted to put forward the whole body of relevant facts. The volumes already published indicate clearly the aims and scope of the series. The first three books in the series are Mr. Strickland's *Introduction to Co-operation in India*, Mr. Arthur Vincent's *Defence of India* and Mr. D. G. Harris's *Irrigation in India*—all of which have been appreciatively noticed by us. The latest volume—the fourth—is Mr. J. Coggin Brown's **India's Mineral Wealth**. Nearly eighty minerals are dealt with and the main facts about each are concisely but accurately presented. It is a capital little book for students of the subject and deserves wide publicity.

"The Wisdom of the East Series" issued by Mr. John Murray (Albemarle Street, London) is fast multiplying and it is being enriched with translations of the classics of various oriental languages. This excellent series has a definite object. It is, by means of the best Oriental literature—its wisdom, philosophy, poetry, and ideals—to bring together West and East in a spirit of mutual sympathy, goodwill, and understanding. From India, China, Japan, Persia, Arabia, Palestine, and Egypt these words of wisdom have been gathered. The latest addition is **Ancient Indian Fables** which is a selection by Mr. Stanley Rice from that classic of folklore—the *Panchatantra*. The compiler's preface is highly informative.

Agricultural Implements by Mr. G. H. Purvis (Ernest Benn, Ltd., 8 Bouverie Street, London, E. C. 4) is a comprehensive but lucid sketch of the various implements now available for agricultural operations and the many illustrations which embellish the book add materially to the volume and the utility of the letter-press. Though primarily intended for the use of British farmers, the book will be found highly useful in India as well.

Mr. Douglas Dewar's latest work called **Beasts of an Indian Village** (Oxford University Press,

Garstin Place, Calcutta) is frankly a work for children. It is a popular account of the commoner, back-boned animals of an Indian village and the writer—who is a master of the subject, tells in simple language how admirably each animal described by him is adapted to the life it leads. We are sure boys and girls at school will derive from a study of this book both pleasure and profit and develop their powers of observation. Mr. R. G. Wright's illustrations in colours enhance the usefulness of the text.

Though there are many books on authorship, still Mr. C. E. Lawrence's **The Gentle Art of Authorship** (J. Cape, 11 Gower Street, London) is none too superfluous. Mr. Lawrence, out of his experience of more than a quarter of a century as novelist, publisher's reader, essayist, editor and reviewer, has written a guide which is practical, concise and sufficient. Not only does he explain how to proceed with the writing, but also he suggests how to approach publishers and place the Mss.; how to correct proofs, and many things else of concern to the art and profession of Literature. We are confident that Mr. Lawrence's *Art of Authorship* will be found useful and informative by all aspirants to literary fame.

Courses of Study in Library Science or **The Assistant's guide to librarianship**, by Mr. R. G. Williams (8 Mitre Street, Astley Bridge, Bolton) is an exceedingly well-compiled book and will be found of great value by those for whom it is intended. It is comprehensive and covers the whole ground of library administration and economy. It is so arranged that it can be utilized with equal ease and advantage for the purposes of systematic study or occasional reference. Bibliographies naturally form an important feature of the book and the bibliographical lists are fully inclusive of the latest works on the subject. We commend this book to those who aspire to be at the head of library administration.

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LEE COMMISSION REPORT.

I.

The Services and Self-Government.

By MR. A. RANGASWAMI IYENGAR, M.L.A.

The Hon'ble Sir Alexander Muddiman exercised a wise discretion in June last in yielding to the pressure of the Indian Legislative Assembly to postpone the discussion of the whole of the recommendations of the Lee Commission on the Superior Civil Services to the forthcoming September session and in refraining from imposing any conditions on the Assembly in relation thereto. The recommendations that have been made by the Commission do not merely raise comprehensive and fundamental issues relating to the organisation, personnel, conduct and control of the Services themselves in the years to come; they do not merely make proposals of "a far-reaching character with their inevitable repercussions on other departments and services", to use the words of the mild Resolution moved by Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer; they do not merely involve financial and administrative burdens and commitments of no ordinary kind that the tax-payer will be called upon to face. They go very much further. They are calculated, in my view, to go to the very root of the problem of responsible Government in India—to fetter its growth by the rivetment of existing, and the creation of further, vested rights and interests in favour of the main sections of the British bureaucracy in India. Their effect, if allowed to be even partially carried out, will be not merely to increase the already huge burden of taxation on the people and to perpetuate the racial political barrier in the Services notwith-

standing the cleverly designed proposals for so-called Indianisation. Their consequence, if permitted, will be to interpose through this thoroughly organised group of Services,—legally protected and entitled to claim the continuance of its powers and perquisites for at least for another quarter of a century—a most powerful and effectual obstacle, even on the diarchic lines that are now breaking down, to a more rapid march towards responsible Government. This might seem an unusual thing to say in the midst of many pleasant anticipations of things to come which Liberals and Moderates, on deputation or on duty in England or in India, have been indulging in at the present time. But it has to be recollected that the Lee Commission was appointed long before the Labour Party came into office. It was forced on this country by the combined exertions of Viscount Peel and Lord Winterton who in this and other matters deliberately sought to reverse the Montagu policy in regard to India with the barest outward conformity to the solemn declarations of His Majesty's Government. Its expenses had to be met by supplies obtained by the autocratic exercise of the powers of the Governor-General. Its methods of investigation and inquiry were summary and secret and some of those who offered to give evidence in public of a character not to their taste, were discouraged in every way.

In spite of the sententious pronouncements of its President as to its prestige and power, it has

presented no connected papers with its Report and has withheld from publication the text of the evidence recorded by it on obviously flimsy grounds. It has made a Report which seeks neither to elucidate nor to argue from the evidence recorded, but only lays down conclusions and *ipse dixit*. It has thus made it impossible for anybody having to deal with the Report whether in the Legislatures or in the Executive Governments to offer criticisms or alternative suggestions that could be argued out on evidence. It is not possible even to attempt to make out that their conclusions are not correct on the facts nor borne out even by the trend of the evidence before them. The Governments and authorities concerned are asked by the Commission to take all their final conclusions implicitly on trust because, forsooth, they are the result of a compromise among the members of a Commission whose personnel never commended itself to this country. These authorities are asked to give effect to these recommendations *en bloc*, because they are parts of this wonderful compromise details of which are, of course, not disclosed and they are also asked to act at once on the strength of the principle—*bis dat qui cito dat*. No wonder the shrewd Sir Alexander Muddiman found it all too big a pill to ask the parties involved to swallow at a moment's notice and prudently put off the evil day. However that may be, it is important to realise that, apart from the actual demands of the Services and the supposed need for stimulating and obtaining better types of recruits for the Services, the political and administrative outlook which was responsible for the appointment of the Commission was by no means of that progressive character which the present Report or the present temper of the administration—with a Labour Ministry at Home and a powerful Swaraj Party in the Legislatures in India—profess to display in connection with India's political aspiration. It is unnecessary to go further than to the terms of reference of the Commission to make this out. They are as follows:—

“Whereas, having regard to the necessity for maintaining a standard of administration in conformity with the responsibilities of the Crown for the Government of India, and to the declared policy of Parliament in respect of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration, and in view of the experience now gained of the operation

of the system of Government established by the Government of India Act in respect of the superior Civil Services in India, we have deemed it expedient that a Commission should forthwith issue to inquire into:—

- (1) The organisation and general conditions of service, financial and otherwise, of those Services;
- (2) The possibility of transferring immediately or gradually any of their present duties and functions to services constituted on a provisional basis;
- (3) The recruitment of Europeans and Indians respectively for which provision should be made under the Constitution established by the said Act, and the best methods of ensuring and maintaining such recruitment; and to make recommendations.”

The omission of the Unionist Government to cite the more important part of the preamble of the Government of India Act, 1919, *viz.*, “the gradual development of Self-Governing institutions with a view to the realisation of responsible Government” has always appeared to me to be significant when it is taken with the marked insistence on “the responsibilities of the Crown for the Government of India” and the “standard of administration” needed therefor. Even when the Commission settled its questionnaire in Delhi in November last under altered political conditions the subjects of Indianisation, of Provincialisation and of minimum or maximum percentages of the European element in the Superior Services, were also similarly dealt with from the point of view of the maintenance of the political *status quo* for an indefinite period, *i.e.*, so far as changes in the Indian Constitution and alteration in the nature and character of the Indian Government to a democratic and responsible basis were concerned. Though question No. 1, for instance, was couched in somewhat general terms, questions Nos. 2 and 4 clearly indicated the political bias and basis of the Commission's functions in the following terms:—

- (2) “To what extent in each of these classes do you consider that European personnel must, at present, be retained for the maintenance of a standard of administration in accordance with the responsibili-

ties of the Crown for the Government of India and do you consider that any progressive reduction of this European element will be practicable within, say, the next 20 years?"

- (4) "Having regard to the declared policy of Parliament in respect of increasing the association of Indians in every branch of the administration and to the provision in Section 84-A of the Government of India Act for the appointment of a Statutory Commission in 1929 to report on the extent to which it is desirable to extend, modify or restrict the degree of responsible Government then existing in India and having regard also to the importance of offering to recruits a career of adequate security and opportunity, on what conditions do you consider that the European element in the Services should be recruited? In particular, do you consider that engagements on short term contracts would be suitable as a substitute for permanent appointments, and if so, to what extent and in what branches of the Services?"

When the time to make the Report arrived, however, the political implications of proposals connected with the organisation and control of the Services and the demands made by the latter on the one side, as against the diametrically opposite demands made on the other side by the people in the throes of an acute struggle to acquire responsible Government, could not be ignored. The story of the genesis of the Commission recited in Chapter I of the Report has therefore attempted to re-state the objects of the Commission's labours in a somewhat different tone, as for example, in paragraphs 8 and 10 as follows:—

"There were thus three new factors in the situation: (a) the special stress laid on the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration; (b) the new policy directed towards the progressive realisation of responsible Government; (c) the marked change in the cost of living. It was easier to recognise these new factors than to devise measures to meet them."

* * * *

"It was hoped that the inception of the new policy would eliminate the primary

cause of unrest in India, but unhappily the development of events belied this hope. Owing to causes which it is not within our province to examine, unrest increased. The relations between the political classes and the Services instead of being improved were markedly worsened. In the mind of the Services, the uncertainty of the political future of India, combined with attacks upon them in the Press and on the platform, and their steadily deteriorating financial condition, produced feelings of anxiety and discontent. In Indian political circles, on the other hand, the new system seemed incomplete and slow in its operation. It seemed incomplete because the Self-Government granted in the "transferred" field was limited by the fact that the members of the All-India Services engaged therein were still under the ultimate control of the Secretary of State. It seemed slow in operation because the rate of Indianisation adopted since 1919 was regarded as illiberal. In the course of our tour through India we inquired into each of these causes of discontent; and we propose to discuss them in greater detail in subsequent sections of our Report. It is enough now to point out that in the course of 1922, they impelled both the Secretary of State and the Government of India to take action."

It is evident, therefore, that the recommendations of the Commission are not only "service" questions, nor even merely "administrative" questions. Indeed, Sir Alexander Muddiman in his speech on the Assembly on the 9th June last realised as much, though he did not say so, in the following words:—

"I was a little struck in the Hon'ble Member's speech by the amount of time he devoted to the Services. The Services are, of course, very important, but the recommendations of this Report do not merely confine themselves to the Services. They are of a wider character. And I wish to emphasise that the urgency of the Report rests on a three-fold basis. It rests on the progress towards provincialisation. It rests on the progress towards Indianisation and

it rests on the well-being of the Services. It does not rest on the one factor alone."

In the light of these facts, there was abundant justification for the amendment moved by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya declaring that the future of the Services was intimately dependent on the future of responsible Government in India and that the assumption on the part of the Commission that the latter must be taken as an irrevocably settled matter by the Act of 1919 and the decennial inquiries provided thereunder, cannot be accepted either by the Assembly or the Government. Its soundness is bound to be felt by every one who has now closely read the Report, notwithstanding Sir Basil Blackett's off-hand criticisms based on a mere contemplation of the clamour of the Services and the administrative difficulties of diarchy indicated. I shall, therefore, discuss chiefly the proposals of the Lee Report entirely from the standpoint of the certainty of India's attainment of Swaraj—at an early date, at least—not at the end of three more Statutory Commissions as that Report postulates.

In order to understand how the Commission have 'visualised'—to use the hackneyed expression of the Montford Report—the position of the Superior Civil Services in relation to the future Government of this country now in a stage of transition, it is necessary to piece together the several recommendations and suggestions made by them which are distributed in several parts of their Report. We have to consider not only the totality of their expectations as to the pace of the movement of responsible Government in India, but also the effect which the maintenance of the Services on the prestige and power proposed for them, with the guarantees and securities recommended for them, will have in retarding the progress of the country in the direction of responsible Government. Let us first take the Services in the Reserved Departments whose transition to the state of responsibility is yet to take place. Their position and organisation as a result of the recommendations of the Commission will stand as follows:—

1. Notwithstanding that the duties performed by these Services essentially pertain to the provincial Services, for the efficient performance of which Provincial Governments are responsible, the officers performing these Services will continue to be members of an All-India Service

in each case and their appointment and control will continue to be vested in the Secretary of State. This privileged position is not only guaranteed to the existing members of the Services, but also to future entrants in those Services so long as these Departments continue to be Reserved Departments.

2. The Commission do not anticipate any change in the system of recruitment and control nor, in the system of guarantees and securities for these Services which they have recommended as part of this policy at least for 15 years more to come, by which time they expect the Indianisation of the Service would have taken place to the extent of 50 per cent. in the cadre and the second Statutory Commission under the Government of India Act will have begun its inquiry into the question whether any further instalment of responsible Government can be granted, and whether the constitution of the Services should be reconsidered in connection therewith. (*vide* paras 35 and 36 of the Report).

3. The only thing they expect to happen during this period of 15 years is that some one or more departments may be transferred from the Reserved list. It is provided that whenever any such thing takes place, the safe-guards and securities in regard to emoluments, prospects, pensions, allowances and the option to retire and claim full compensation on political grounds, should become available to the rawest recruit that might have entered in those Reserved Departments in the All-India Services till the actual date of such transfer. This arises by the combined operation of the recommendations contained in paras 17, 74 and 103.

4. Of course, the existing members of the All-India Services in the Transferred Departments "will retain all the rights of an officer of the All-India Service and will receive all the concessions in pay, pension, allowances, etc., which are sanctioned for corresponding All-India Services in the Reserved field of administration," notwithstanding the Provincialisation of the Services themselves and the delegation of authority in these Departments to Ministers responsible to the Legislature. These Ministers can therefore expect to have the service of officers fully controlled or controllable by them only about 25 years hence. Until then, their supposed subordinates will continue to claim separate prestige, guaranteed covenants and immunity from disciplinary control of those whom they

serve, not only by the special protection and securities afforded by the Act but also by the recommendations now proposed by the Commission. It is unnecessary to describe how far Services in Reserved or Transferred Departments alike, placed in such a position of independence and security another 25 years at least, can be expected, even with the best will in the world, to advance and accelerate the process of responsible Government in India.

5. The security and guarantees which have been recommended to make the Services attractive to new recruits and to keep the existing members contented are, apart from the financial perquisites and inducements detailed in Chapters VI, VII, VIII and IX of the Report are as follows:—

- (a) The guarantee to every member of the Service, until it is provincialised and transferred, of "all existing and accruing rights" in respect of their careers and expectation in the Services and the grant of compensation to them for denial, deprivation or diminution of any part thereof. This is a most important matter of principle on which the Commission apparently, at the instance of the Secretary of State, is inclined to recommend that the clear opinion of the Crown's legal advisers on the interpretation of the guarantees provided by the Statutes of 1919 should be over-ridden.
- (b) The Commission have even countenanced the preposterous contention that the "prospect of future constitutional developments in India is such that the pensions of the members of the Services should be guaranteed by Parliament" or by "the depositing of a lump sum in England, equivalent to the capitalised value of pensions." They have observed that though they do not share this apprehension, "under existing circumstances", they assume "that if any Statutory change is made thereafter involving the transfer of financial control in this regard now exercised by the Secretary of State in Council, adequate provision would at the same time be made for *safe-guarding Service pensions.*"

- (c) They have extended the right to commutation of pensions to the extent of one-half of the amount of such pensions.
- (d) They have provided for a binding legal covenant for these Services men; not only for those who hereafter enter, but also those who are now in service. It is to be "so framed as to cover all the liabilities connected with their Service and the privileges to which they may be entitled." These privileges, to be legally secured and enforceable through Civil Courts are to extend to such details as the grant of passages, remittance privileges, pension rules, compensation for wrongful dismissal, right to retire on proportionate pension, etc.
- (e) The Commission have recommended that passage allowances, contributions to Provident Funds, and remittance privileges should be declared non-votable by the Governments adopting their own construction of Section 67-A (4) and Section 72-D. (3) They apprehend that a different view of the Law might be taken by the different authorities who have to deal with this matter and that a conflict of opinion might arise, but they "venture to hope that they would accept their suggestion," in other words, that they would surrender their own view of the law and adopt that of the Commission. This is indeed a preposterous claim.
- (f) The Commission have similarly proposed to deprive the Legislatures of their powers in respect of grants they have to make for certain Central Services and appointments recruited in India and for certain officers of the All-India Services Statute be granted annually by the vote but by the Government of India, whose appointed not by the Secretary of State salaries and allowances must under the of the Legislatures concerned.

These proposals for depriving the legislatures of their powers are a fair sample of the extent of the sympathy and the faith which the Commission as a whole entertains in regard to the development of responsible self-Government in India. The proposals for the provincialisation of the Services in the Transferred Departments which have been made in Chapter II can hardly be treated in the light of the above as

progressive or democratic or as anything but the acceptance of the inevitable. Recruitment in the principal departments transferred in the provinces has practically ceased in England owing to a variety of causes, and the proposals made in respect of "provincialising" Indian recruitment in these Departments are by no means of the same detailed character as these which they have been at pains to elaborate in respect of the All-India Services. The observations in reference to this subject contained in Chapter II and in Professor Coupland's Minute need not be taken at their full face value, especially when we find that in respect of all other appointments and services in which there is no probability of such paucity of recruitment in England for example, in the Central Services of Finance and Customs, Political and Ecclesiastical and to some extent in some of the appointments in the Railways, the Commission has also gone out of the way to make proposals to deprive the legislature of its powers of control through grants, by asking the Secretary of State to improperly assume powers of appointment and control over posts which he has till now left in the hands of the Government of India or the Provincial Governments.

Let us now set down the financial gifts which the Commission recommend for these Services in order to render existing men contented and in order to preserve the continuity of recruitment in England on an adequate and attractive scale for many years to come.

The basic pay is left unaltered, as I think, for the very simple reason that it was already fixed at a high figure in 1919, e.g., taking the Civil Service as the type, at Rs. 450/-. But the Commission have recommended "the giving of relief in other and simpler ways":—

- (a) Firstly, "by improving the overseas pay in certain years of service and making it remittable at a favourable rate." It is unnecessary to go into details, but the total cost of this double operation is expected to saddle the Indian tax-payer with an additional recurring, annual expenditure of 70 to 75 lakhs.
- (b) Similarly, the cost of proposed increases in the pensions of the uncovenanted European Services will amount to 10 lakhs annually and the cost of the increase in the pensions of I.C.S. Governors, Councillors and other Officers holding high posts will cost an

annual additional recurring expenditure of 2½ lakhs.

- (c) A third matter of relief is that of the grant of free passages for each officer and his family. The total cost to the Indian tax-payer will be another annual recurring sum of 25 lakhs.

There are, of course, many other minor concessions whose ultimate cost has not been calculated, but the Commission seeks, to set them off by the savings effected in the scheme of progressive Indianisation which apparently is the *quid pro quo* upon which the Indian members of the Commission have compromised and thereby thought fit to recommend these huge burdens on their fellow countrymen. There is also one other thing which might be noted in this connection, *viz.*, that the Commission have thought it right and proper to ask the Secretary of State and the Government of India to misuse their powers by asking them to treat the monies payable for these free passages as part of the salary paid or payable to the Services in order by that subterfuge to withdraw the expenditure on this head from the control of the Legislatures. This process of distrusting the legislatures at every turn and suggesting ingenious ways of evading their control, finds a place in so many parts of the Report and the recommendations, that it is impossible to believe that the Commission were prepared at any time to treat the Indian legislatures or the Indian people whom they represented justly or fairly. They have not chosen to recognise their political obligation not to suspect the good faith of the Legislatures of the land. However this may be, there can be no doubt that the recommendation to treat the Passage Fund as part of the salaries disbursed or disburseable to the officers so as to make Section 67 A (3) and Section 72 D (3) operative and so as to remove them from the control of the legislatures concerned is, if sought to be given effect to, liable to be attacked as a fraud upon power.

That the total financial burden involved in these financial recommendations is huge, need not be elaborated. But the belief entertained in some Moderate circles that the Government and the authorities concerned would, in view of the difficulty of finding the resources for this extra expenditure, have to obtain the sympathy of the legislatures for carrying them out, seems clearly exaggerated. Normally, no doubt, the addition of 1¼ crores to the total expenditure of the Government of India, even under non-votable

heads, would necessitate proposals for raising additional revenues for which the legislative sanction of the Assembly may be required. But this additional expenditure proposed is not only distributed under several heads of allowances, pensions, passages and what not, but is also distributed among the several Governments, Central and Provincial, and come under several distinct budgets. It has been calculated that about 4/5th of the total expenditure proposed by the Commission will be borne by the 10 Provincial Governments concerned and that the balance will have to be borne by the Central Estimates. It would not be a difficult thing for the Finance Member, if he is keen on it, to find the extra 25 lakhs in his own budget in the next few years from savings and windfalls of which he has already given indication in his Statement in March last, *viz.*, the proceeds of claims in respect of enemy property and trade dealt with during the war and from the large claims still outstanding with the War Office. In subsequent years, he may surely rely upon the expansion of present resources to find the money needed. Similarly, Provincial Governments can be expected to find the extra 10 to 12 lakhs on an average from the improvement of their own resources, from savings due to cuts upon their recent extravagant scales of expenditure and from the remission of provincial contributions in respect of the important provinces. The legislatures concerned, therefore, can hardly afford to sleep over this matter in the expectation of the Governments' coming to them for additional sums in consequence of these proposed increases to the Services. They have to devise, after full consultation and discussion, the best methods of combating these proposals before they reach the stage in which the Secretary of State can sanction them with an easy conscience. They have to make themselves felt on the authorities in time before these proposals are matured for actual execution leaving them only the opportunity to make speeches and propose, amend and withdraw resolutions. If this work is to be done properly, it is not merely the financial aspect of the matter, nor even the administrative and service grievances of Indians in the Services, that should be emphasised. They should emphasise the fundamental position that the whole question of the future condition, organisation and control of the Services can only be dealt with after the principles of future political progress of our country are settled, not in the way in which the

Commission, as I have shown above, have anticipated them, but in the way in which the existing political conditions of the country demand.

But dealing, therefore, with the question as to what are the right principles upon which the future organisation of the Services in India should be formed and how the claims and demands of the existing Services should be based, it is necessary for the public to realise injustice to the Indian Services, Provincial and All-Indian which the grant of these concessions will perpetuate and which the Commission have apparently deliberately ignored. The policy of the "Indianization of the Services" as declared in the preamble of the Government of India Act 1919 has been, no doubt, misconceived by the Lee Commission, but the responsibility for this misconception lies primarily with these Liberal and Moderate politicians who dealt with this question from the purely narrow point of view of more appointments and emoluments for Indians seeking Service, high and low, official or non-official, political or non-political. The debate on the Resolution, for instance, for a more rapid pace of Indianisation which took place in February 1922 hardly did justice to the political purpose for which alone the process of Indianisation was recited in the Act as one of the means for realisation of responsible Government. It is obvious that responsible Government cannot materialise by the mere substitution of the Indian for the European in the Services by however large a percentage. At the risk of being misquoted, I may say that a brown bureaucracy will certainly be more harmful to the true interests of self-Government in India than a white bureaucracy, so long as both do not cease to be a bureaucracy and become a real Permanent Civil Service, working under responsible Ministries in a Dominion Government. The "increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration" was conceived of only as a necessary preliminary process to introduce responsible government *pari passu*, because such increasing association would facilitate the process of initiation and direction of administrative policy by responsible Indian Ministers or members even when the legislature is not actually invested with it. In fact, the appointment of Indians to the highest administrative posts has, ever since the days of the Morley-Minto scheme, been viewed solely as a means of making the Government more representative and responsive, if not responsible, to Indian opinion

and not as a means of increasing jobs for Indians in search of appointments. That has been the reason why, with few exceptions, appointments to the Executive Councils in the Central and Provincial Governments have been made by Lord Morley and his successors from among non-officials and why the Joint Parliamentary Committee, irrespective of the claims of the Services, Indian or European, recommended that one-half at least of the Executive Councils should be Indian in personnel. It was clearly to give the Governor and the joint Government, in Lord Morley's expressive language, "an Indian angle of vision," that selections were made of representative Indians for these offices. That they have been on the whole satisfactory to the Governments concerned, if not always to the people concerned, is admitted. As to the Indianisation of the rank and file of the Services, the object of the policy was to render them "substantially Indian in personnel by the time that India is ripe for self-Government." (Montford Report.) This is not because the European was not wanted in this country, for every Indian will welcome the European's co-operation so long as he does not stand in the way of his achieving freedom and full responsible government; but because the Europeans in the rank and file of the organised Services that are now ruling the country, may not care to exchange their positions, except to a limited extent and under special terms and conditions, for that of mere departmental subordinates under responsible Indian Ministers. In any event, the policy of Indianisation is clearly part and parcel of the policy of democratisation of the Indian Governments, Provincial and Central. The Government of India in 1919 clearly understood the reservation in favour of Indians on the Executive Councils as the enunciation of the principle that as a result of the Reforms, even in regard to Reserved subjects, "our administration will have to be conducted with a closer regard for popular sentiment."

If this is the true basis of the policy of Indianisation as all unbiased critics must acknowledge, it seems clear that the maintenance of the All-India Services on guarantees and perquisites on the extravagant scale proposed by the Lee Commission, is a direct obstacle in the way of the realisation of this policy. In the first place, the maintenance of these vested interests are bound naturally to induce attempts to perpetuate these vested interests not merely

in favour of these now in the Services but also in favour of those who may come into the Services from the ruling class that has so far managed to obtain advantages and concessions of this kind; and these attempts must in every case prove so many standing obstacles to the early achievement of responsible government. Until this achievement of Swaraj is placed beyond the chances of defeat and delay by the exertions of Services placed in this powerful and privileged position, all talk of Indianisation and all steps even to give more jobs to Indians, officials or non-officials, can only become further obstacles in the way of India's urgent and cherished aspirations.

In the next place, it would be an extremely anomalous and extraordinary situation to attempt to conduct a Provincial administration of a semi-responsible kind with the aid of All-India Services guaranteed against their own superiors, distrust in whom must be presumed to be the basis of the guarantees demanded. In other words, the agency which the Provincial Government has to employ for the administration of Provincial subjects, Reserved and Transferred, would not merely be a Central and All-India Agency, but would be, if the Commission's proposals are given effect to, an agency specially protected by the Secretary of State by legal covenants enforceable in Civil Courts in respect of its emoluments, terms and prospects and in respect of existing and accruing rights and expectations. As has already been pointed out, 4/5th of the personnel of these Services are working in the Provinces, doing work under Provincial Governments. These All-India Services are not All-India even in the sense that they are on a common cadre in each department, they are not transferrable from one province to another. The officers of these Services are in Provincial cadres and they see practically all their Service in their own provinces. As the Memorandum of the Indian Officers' Association in Madras pointed out. "The All-India hallmark exists only for the purpose of enabling these officers to claim to be appointed, confirmed and dismissed by an extra-provincial authority and to escape effective control either by the Provincial Executive or by the Provincial legislature. An All-India Service with these extraordinary privileges is an anachronism in any system of provincial responsible government and, we would add, is a violation in spirit of the Government of India Act of 1919." It may also

be pointed out that whatever might be the effect of the provincialisation proposals in the years to come, for the next 15 years at any rate, in the five out of the eight All-India Services that go under the Ministers, most of the existing incumbents in the higher appointments would be identically in the same position of power and privilege that the men in the Reserved Services are in.

The invidiousness of maintaining these All-India Services in the provinces, side by side with the Provincial Services which work in the same departments doing identically the same work with the same if not higher efficiency as the All-India Services do but which are placed on different and lower scales of pay and allowances and status and are put on a footing of social inferiority even when holding the higher administrative appointments "listed" for them—is a matter on which Indian opinion has repeatedly expressed its emphatic protest. The recommendations now made by the Lee Commission in this state of things, can only be described as adding insult to the injury they are suffering in this respect. Whatever might be the value of increasing "listed" posts in the process of "Indianisation" and of increasing Indian recruits in the All-India Services, there can be no doubt that from the point of view of qualification, efficiency and fitness the Provincial Service Indians compare quite favourably with Indians as well as Europeans in the All-India Services. It has to be recollected that the organisation of these Services originally on an All-India basis with recruitment in England, was intended as a means of preserving major appointments for the British element, while the Provincial Services were in their origin intended to meet the then limited claims of Indians. But as this racial basis for the All-India Services has been taken away with the Reforms of 1919 and Indianisation up to 50% in the immediate future is an accepted policy, its maintenance as a device for preserving the bulk of the higher appointments, except those listed, for the Europeans, has broken down. There can exist, therefore, no reason whatever from the point of view of efficiency and propriety to maintain All-India Services for the administration of essentially provincial services. On the other hand, it cannot but be the case that efficiency will suffer if a Provincial Government has to administer its Provincial Departments by Services which it can neither recruit nor control and which are

specially protected against it by Statutory guarantees. The one and only reason for the perpetuation of the All-India Services on the basis of the Commission's recommendations must, therefore, be the desire to afford existing members of the Services to the full all the concessions and privileges they now demand as members of the ruling race working in a time of transition and the desire to provide for the youths of this ruling race a continuing course of attractive careers in this country as long as may be possible. I shall not discuss either the legitimacy or the justice of this desire or object. I shall concede that it is a very natural desire on the part of those now in power; and if this demand is put on the basis of a political claim and not on the basis of superior racial efficiency or the like, I am quite willing to have it tested and dealt with on the basis of a settlement of all the political issues now subsisting between the Government and the people of this country. Consistently with the claims of the tax-payer and the acceptance of the country's demand for Swaraj for immediate and serious execution, the position and prospects of the services in the future of India under Swaraj will certainly be to all Indians as one of the questions upon which a full and frank discussion at a Round Table Conference as proposed by the Legislative Assembly in February last, in which the bureaucracy as well as the people should discuss matters by laying all their cards on the table, is bound to result in a satisfactory settlement. A mere aimless and endless discussion of interminable Resolutions in the Assembly and in the Provincial Councils will be entirely fruitless and will only help the administration in giving effect to the recommendations gradually and eventually, if not immediately. It is for the Legislatures then, to think of the means of preventing such a dissipation of effort on the part of their leading members.

I may illustrate the likelihood of such dissipation of effort in reference to the proposals for Indianisation contained in Chapter V of the Commission's Report. As pointed above, Indianisation has been taken to mean merely the increase in the number of Indians holding or recruited to appointments in the Services, and the slowness of the pace has been the main point discussed all along. The proposals of the Montford Report were that Indianisation should be effected, for instance, in the Indian Civil Service, to the extent of 48 per cent. by fixing the percent-

age of recruitment of Indians to the I.C.S. in 1920 at 33 per cent. rising by $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to 48 per cent. in 1930. The percentage, therefore, in 1924 is 39 per cent. and on the scale proposed, it would have taken a long time indeed before the total strength of the cadre could even have attained the ratio of 50 to 50, European and Indian, per hundred in the Indian Civil Service. The O'Donnell circular, which communicated the demand of the Assembly for a more rapid pace to the Provincial Governments for opinion, discussed among other proposals, one for a complete but quite temporary cessation of European recruitment until the required percentage of European and Indian in the whole Service in each case is attained. The clamour raised over that circular was one of the reasons that led to the appointment of the Lee Commission, and the latter has naturally made proposals which have excluded the prospect of such cessation of European recruitment. In the Indian Civil Service, taken as a type for example, they have provided for ample European recruitment and have nevertheless managed to propose Indianisation also at an increased pace. This feat has been accomplished by a process which is quite ingenious but whose ultimate basis is clearly the imposition of an increased burden on the taxpayer. The Commission has significantly omitted details and particulars by which it arrived at these conclusions. It has proposed that a proposition of 50 and 50 in total cadre in the I.C.S., "should be attained without undue delay and that the present rate of Indian recruitment should be accelerated with this object." Some members have gone further and have proposed a ratio of recruitment at 40 Europeans and 40 Indians out of every 100 recruits, the remaining 20 to be filled by promotion from the Provincial Service, at any rate until the 50 and 50 cadre is reached. The latter has been accepted by the Commission, and according to calculations whose details have not been explained, this rate of recruitment is expected in 15 years to produce a 50 to 50 cadre "by which time the whole situation will again have come under review by the *second* Statutory Commission." This result is arrived at apparently by assuming a future rate of retirement amongst Officers of not less than 10 per cent. above the normal, (*i.e.*, present rate). We have not been supplied with the calculations on which the O'Donnell circular suggested a temporary cessation of recruitment as one of the expedients for the same rate of Indianisation over a longer

period, but it is clear that the main basis by which the Commission has managed to maintain British recruitment to the full is this expectation of a larger percentage of retirements. What is the ground of this expectation? It must be clearly the result of the larger emoluments and concessions now given that would enable more contented and less ambitious members of the Services to retire earlier than they would otherwise have to do owing to their inability to afford it. If this inference is correct, it shows of what little value Indianisation by itself is as an aid to the realisation of responsible Government. In my opinion, the proposals that merely aim at Indianisation as such imply the acceptance of the principle of racial barriers in the Services. Indianising, as long as it continues, implies the maintaining of a maximum or minimum European element; and it also implies the political importance if not superiority, attaching to the existence of an European element. It again exaggerates the importance of purely Service and administrative problems as compared with the vital political problem of the hour. If, for instance, provincial autonomy is assured and the Services in the provinces are put in their proper position of due subordination to the responsible Government, in other words, are "provincialised",—the problem of Indianisation, whatever its extent, will be automatically solved. It is only through provincial autonomy and through provincialisation of Services that Indianisation can and ought to be accomplished. Any other solution can only add to the sufferings of the people, can only delay the advent of Swaraj.

The problem of the Services in India, therefore, awaits the solution of the problem of self-Government, because the position of the services under Self-Government must be radically different from the position of the Services under the present form of Government. The reduction of a bureaucracy to the position of a Permanent Civil Service cannot be accomplished unless the power of the responsible legislatures is previously well established. England, as Professor Lowell has pointed out, has been saved from a bureaucracy such as prevails over the greater part of Europe on the one hand and the American spoils system on the other by the sharp distinction between political and non-political officials:—

"The former are trained in Parliament, not in administrative routine. They direct

the general policy of the Government, or at least they have the power to direct it, are entirely responsible for it, and go out of office with the Cabinet; while the non-political officials remain at their posts without regard to party changes, are thoroughly familiar with the whole field of administration and carry out in detail the policy adopted by the Ministry of the day. The distinction has arisen gradually with the growth of the Parliamentary system."

Until this Parliamentary system and not a camouflage of it, becomes an established fact, neither Services nor the Government can be deemed to be in a satisfactory state. The conception of the Permanent Civil Servant in England is very different from the conception of the bureaucrat in India. The baneful influence of political patronage which lurks in all democracies cannot be got rid of except on this basis. It is one thing for the Permanent Civil Servant in England who has nothing to do with policies and administrations, to claim the protection and guarantees that, not by law but purely by tradition and merit, they unquestionably obtain in England. It is another thing for a bureaucracy to claim Statutory guarantees and legal covenants and cash deposits for continuing not only to serve, but to rule in this country. The sentiment that a man has a vested interest in the office that he holds and is entitled to compensation for displacement or injury owing to change of methods, is perfectly legitimate in an English Service which has always placed itself in due subordination to political chiefs with varying policies and has loyally and implicitly carried out their programmes in each case. But the demand of a ruling bureaucracy in India, for compensation coupled with guarantees, bears a very different aspect and the answer that has to be given to it must be that which is embodied in the Declaration of Rights of the Constitution of Massachusetts adopted in the 18th century:—

"In order to prevent those who are vested with authority from becoming oppressors the people have a right at such periods and in such manner as they shall establish by their frame of Government, to cause their public officers to return to private life and fill up vacant places by certain and regular elections and appointments."

II.

A Study in the Technique of Efficiency.

(Specially Contributed.)

"To set in India for the Public Services a standard of remuneration which is in excess of what is required to obtain suitable Indian officers is to impose for all time on the country a burden which she ought not to bear."

The above is not a mere expression of individual judgment but is the deliberate and well-considered opinion of the members of the Islington Commission—a body representative of rich administrative experience and containing men of high intellectual calibre. We are not making an original statement when we say that the Lee Commission in comparison shone like a mediocre comet on a cloudy sky. Appointed against the recorded wishes of the Legislative Assembly, their expenses "certified to" by the Viceroy against the deliberate veto of the Legislature, the Lee Commission did not have a happy experience during their itinerary throughout India. For high sounding organisations sprang up like mushrooms during the night and knocked at its portals with imperative insistence worthy of a mighty Trade Union just coming into its own. Be it said to the eternal disgrace of Indian public men that not one of the constituted members of the Lee Commission deemed it fit or dignified to vacate the office in deference to the commands of their own Legislature. It is no wonder that the English Labour paper *The Daily Herald* caustically commented when the Lee Report was published that by their adherence to the reactionary recommendations contained in the Report, the "four true sons of India have accomplished what was considered inconceivable", and *presto* they have earned their "mess of pottage."

Generalised comments, caustic or otherwise, we will attempt to eschew, although a reading of the Report provokes one at almost every page and one is left wondering which to pity most—the complacent self-righteousness of the Commissioners, or the ingenuous insistence upon protectionary "safeguards"—veritably the prop and mainstay of British Domination in the East!

Efficiency is an outworn cry and a platitude, but it still remains a serviceable standard where-with to judge the relative merits of administra-

tive machinery. The Lee Commissioners issued forth to enquire into the conditions of Public Services in India and make recommendations for "maintaining and assuring the recruitment" of suitable officers, both Indian and British. They were also asked to orientate their recommendations in the light of the August, 1917, pronouncement, to wit, the promise of "increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration"—the promise, of course, being subject to finding Indian officers of such association suitable in respect of efficiency, integrity and disciplinary rectitude; and also being further conditioned by the "Steel-frame" policy. Provisoers are always awkward and if the Lee Commissioners brushed aside the main content of the qualifying clause, *viz.*, the promise of increasing association, they are frank enough to admit that their procedure is regulated by the incompatibility of the provisoers attached to the promise. They have, in fact, attempted a survey with the provisoers as the main premise and built around the steel-frame a fencing of safeguards and embellished it with the trellis-work of increased emoluments and extra-administrative congenialities. We are unable to get behind the minds that dictated the Report, but it will not be a far from shrewd guess that not one member gave a moment's thought to the broader implications of the recommendations set forth but each one had a close, narrow eye on the immediate interests, personal or racial, possibly communal, which ever made the most appeal. We are led to make this observation, for the Royal Commission issued forth to report on the Public Services of India and in the body of their recommendations we glimpse no vision of the interests of the country they serve, no reference to the broader political issues on the horizon, no appeal to the principles that ought to regulate Public Services, no plea for the dignity of service of the community as such. We have instead a fierce clash of personal demands, a picture of the starving, miserable, little tin-gods, the plight of the solitary "white" man, the scion and representative of the ruling class, in an outpost of the Empire. Claims, privileges, interests—pay, pensions, passages—white medicine, white control, white comforts:—these are the echoes that reverberate through the pages of the Lee Report. What ingenuous simpletons these Empire builders would be if they hear not the tread of the *Zeit-geist*, if they remain deaf to the rumblings in the shadowlands whereof have

dissolved mighty Empires and mightier Kingdoms!!

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We opened with a humble quotation from the Islington Report. Let us examine briefly the import of that pronouncement. To spend more money on a (presumably British) officer than for what a suitable Indian could be engaged is "to impose for all time a burden" which India "ought not to bear". The problem is set beyond the range of capacity to bear, that is to say, no matter whether India can, or can not, afford to maintain a luxurious, albeit alien, Civil Service, she *ought* not to do so. The decision is lifted on to a moral plane without reference to question of economy. The one condition is that suitable Indian officers should be available. The Lee Report ignores, as did the Islington Report, the question of India's capacity to bear the burden, but with a difference:—the later Royal Commission, with wisdom culled out of the political experiments of the years 1917—1924, eschews almost ruthlessly the moral equities that weighed the most with its forerunner. It has reduced the problem to one of material cash nexus in terms of the demands set forth before it by the organised voice of the Civil Services. The Commission has shown no solicitude for the extra burden they have recommended to be imposed for all time; neither do they show patience for the political temper of the times. No moral scruples or questions of ethical conduct have influenced their decision. Take it as a routine *obiter dictum* on an administrative difficulty by a junior clerk in a commercial house and you will not be far out.

The Report of the Lee Commission from the Indian point of view is, as was expected, a very disappointing document. To the European it came as an agreeable surprise. We imagine that no British officer even in his wildest fancy expected to receive so much consideration. The Legislative Assembly's veto on the grant for the Commission's budget was based on a sound instinct, for they knew the real object which underlay the Commission's appointment. It was to pamper the British element in the Services already pampered to satiety and overflow from the Indian tax-payers' point of view. It is needless to add that it was a "packed" Commission, representative of the *spoils* system which it so indulgently condemns. If you need a proof, look at the sapid unanimity of its recommendations. We are, however, forced to admit that

the Commissioners unwittingly display an excessively enlarged bump of unconscious humour:—The Indians in the I. C. S. are to comprise of half the cadre, ultimately. The 50-50 basis is to be reached by progressive stages in a period of 15 years and that is to be the ratio-bar for eternity. It is a rapid rate indeed. Impatient idealism is bad for the health of the body politic. Take the Police Force. If the Civil Service arrives at its destined goal in the year of grace 1940, the 50-50 basis in the Police Service will take only 10 years longer, for isn't law and order of comparatively larger significance than mere administration? Engineering services are not so vital:—let their goal be 75 per cent. Indians, but recruitment should continue on a basis of 40 per cent. Indians, 40 per cent. Europeans and 20 per cent. promotions (Indians) from the subordinate branches. There are at present only 41 Indians out of 177 officers in the Railway Engineering Service. On the basis of the recruiting figures given above a school boy can arrive with comparative accuracy at that dim, distant date when the ideal of a 75 per cent. cadre will be achieved.

On the subject of Organisation the Commission has nothing better to tell us than that the Secretary of State for India should "continue to retain his powers of appointment and control of the All-India Services". Where is the promise of the Government of India Act of 1919? Thrown overboard to save the barge from being grounded on the shoals facing a self-governing India. It must be obvious to the very innocent toad in politics that as long as the Services remain under the direct control of Whitehall there can be no real advance toward effective autonomy. There can be no correlation of service with duties when the master of the house has no say in respect of the conditions of service and emoluments of his servants. The Lee Report has commanded that henceforth as before the doctrine of efficiency will meet its test not at the bar of public opinion but will remain subject to the whim and caprice of an individual who regards India as the prize-post in a Cabinet shuffle. It is at times asked of an Indian why he objects to the Secretary of State's control;—he is assuredly in a detached position capable of arriving at an independent decision uninfluenced by immediate expediency. Would I be happy if my bearer, cook and general factotum were under the direct *hookum* of some one whom I do not have the pleasure even to know? I admit that you can keep these people

happy and contented by drawing lavishly on a purse (not your own); but if I am to get half-burned fish for breakfast after a not too comfortable sleep and then an air of *insouciance* worthy of a better cheek as a retort to my complaint, I would rather shut up the house or violently non-co-operate with the servants foisted upon me. Perhaps you may argue that I do not know what is good for my stomach, but the pathologist is too far away to diagnose the malady and fishes have a nasty habit of getting stale through transmission. New orders have now gone out providing my servants with extra-regional "safeguards" against violent ebullitions of my temper. Perhaps it is hoped that I will come to my senses when my pocket is touched!

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The one beneficial recommendation of the Lee Commission is the proposal for setting up a Public Service Commission in India. The personnel and the duties of the proposed Commission are not worked out in detail but hints are given on its future trust and responsibilities. But the proposal is vitiated by the retention of the Secretary of State's control over the services. Barring this vital defect we are in complete sympathy with the proposal, for we consider that recruitment for public service is a State duty of great importance for the welfare of the community and a judicious body of expert and incorruptible judges is a necessity for a socialistic Government like the Government of India. The Indian officers will particularly welcome the institution as it will provide them with an agency through which their cases will receive decision on the merits. When we note that since the Railway Department was constituted no Indian has ever been appointed to the post of a Deputy Agent, let alone that of an Agent, it makes one furiously to think. When it is further noted that so far only one Indian has been found innocuous enough to be confirmed as a Superintendent Engineer, suspicion is directed to the close monopoly of the higher administrative posts by the European, where an Indian, because he is an Indian, is to be tabooed. To break into this reserve and get over the racial bar will form one of the first duties of the Public Service Commission. To be able to perform their duties efficiently the Commission needs to be left free of any directive hand. A Secretary of State residing 6,000 miles away will only prove a fidgety old "meddlesome" by his interference. It is to be regretted that the one constructive

suggestion in the Lee Report is marred by the administrative limits of control resting with the Secretary of State. The Public Service Commission should be strictly a non-political body, uninfluenced by changes in the fortunes of the party in power.

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The Lee Commission set out under Royal Command to investigate the lines of development of the policy of "increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration". Its recommendations have striven to achieve quite the opposite. They aim at perpetuating a certain minimum of the British element in the services. It would be both interesting and instructive to take concrete data from one service and illustrate the pious wishes for Indianisation which have formed the plank of high men in power ever since the condition of the services began to invite public attention. The under-noted figures in respect of the State Railways will speak for themselves. It may be mentioned that by *Indians* is meant the pure inhabitants of the country and not the "statutory natives".

	Total Number.	Indians.	Total Number.	Indians.
	1907		1908	
Engineers (Imp.)	109	11	149	7
Do. (Prov.)	.	.	21	5
Agency	7	0	7	0
Traffic	71	5	81	6
Loco.	51	0	48	0
C. & W.	.	..	6	0
Stores	9	1	11	1
	1909		1910	
Engineers (Imp.)	115	7	153	7
Do. (Prov.)	19	5	21	6
Agency	7	0	7	0
Traffic	93	7	92	8
Loco.	79	0	50	0
C. & W.	8	0	11	0
Stores	16	1	16	1
	1911		1912	
Engineers (Imp.)	159	7	185	18
Do. (Prov.)	23	8	.	.
Agency	7	0	7	0

	Total Number.	Indians.	Total Number.	Indians.
Traffic	94	10	101	11
Loco.	48	0	51	0
C. & W.	11	0	13	0
Stores	16	1	16	0
	1913		1914	
Engineers (Imp.)	185	17	188	20
Agency	7	0	7	0
Traffic	109	12	126	19
Loco.	55	0	57	0
C. & W.	15	0	13	0
Stores	18	1	18	1
	1915		1916	
Engineers (Imp.)	191	23	194	24
Agency	7	0	7	0
Traffic	130	23	124	23
Loco.	58	0	56	0
C. & W.	13	0	13	0
Stores	19	1	20	1
	1917		1919	
Engineers (Imp.)	191	29	185	33
Agency	7	0	7	0
Traffic	121	25	128	31
Loco.	57	0	05	1
C. & W.	13	0	9	0
Stores	20	1	26	2
	1920		1921	
Engineers (Imp.)	184	36	181	36
Agency	7	0	7	0
Traffic	121	30	118	30
Loco.	67	1	66	1
C. & W.	10	0	11	0
Stores	26	2	25	2
	1922		1923	
Engineers (Imp.)	180	40	177	41
Agency	7	0	7	0
Traffic	111	30	120	33
Loco.	67	2	72	2
C. & W.	11	0	10	0
Stores	25	2	24	3

The figures are eloquent of the rate of Indianisation on the Railways. The percentage

increases between the years 1907 and 1923 work out as follows :—

	1907	1923
Engineering	7 %	23 %
Agency	0 %	0 %
Traffic	7 %	24 %
Loco.	0 %	3 %
C. & W.	0 %	0 %
Stores	11 %	12½ %
Total	5½ %	19 %

In other words, the Agents' office and the Carriage and Wagons remain closed to Indians; in the Loco. and the Stores an infinitesimal increase and a bare 16 per cent. increase in the Engineering and the Traffic Lines—all this over a period of 16 years! The Islington Commission recommended in 1915 that the Loco. should be entirely Indianised; there was no Indian officer then in this department. After 8 years the progress toward the Islington ideal is represented by 2 Indians out of a total cadre of 72! The Lee Report now fixes the ultimate ratio in the Railway services at 75 per cent. Indians to 25 per cent. British. The present ratio is 19 per cent. Indians. It took 16 years to rise 13½ per cent. For the next 56 per cent. rise the period under which it is to be carried out is not calculated by the Commission, but it is expressly laid down that the recruitment in future should be 40 per cent. European. India will be lucky to see the 75 per cent. Indian cadre in the Railways before the century is out. And we are asked, on the one hand by the Lee Commissioners to curb our impatience and "accept the spirit of compromise" which has inspired their agreed conclusions, and on the other hand a forcible plea is put forward by Sir Campbell Rhodes for a graceful gesture from the Indian side as a token of goodwill and no ill feeling!

* * * * *

Much has been made of the refusal of the Commissioners to add to the basic pay of the Services. It is a moot point whether the superior Civil Services in India are paid enough to maintain the officers and their families in a certain degree of comfort and dignity. However that be it is essential to grasp that Civil Servants represent, in so far as the present stratification of Indian society persists, almost the best products of the nation and are, therefore, entitled by virtue of their merits to a fairly

comfortable return. We will not accordingly quarrel with the Lee Commissioners for their refusal to reduce the basic pay. When we come, however, to consider their proposals to compensate the 'white' part of the Services for their *sacrifice* in coming out, we wonder if a double-faced regime like the one they propose will at all conduce to efficient and conscientious work. The Commission has opened the door for discriminatory differences between officers belonging to the same cadre—differences based not on merits of work but solely on the incidence of birth. An I.C.S. officer of European extraction with, say, seven years' service is recommended to receive on the average Rs. 225/- more than his Indian colleague of the same standing. The necessity is the maintenance of the steel-frame; the slogan is of efficiency, as a leaven of a British minimum is considered necessary for the stability and continuity of the good work in administration. India is thus saddled with an extra crore and a quarter of rupees per annum in order to pacify 4279 officers! Can she afford to do so? The Commissioners did not pay attention to the ways and means but then what matters? The Government of India has announced with bureaucratic non-chalance that they intend to proceed to give effect to the Lee recommendations and the Secretary of State for India in Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's Cabinet has agreed. It will not be inapt to recall what the present Premier wrote and thought about the taxable capacity of India fifteen years ago :—

"India needs a greatly increased expenditure on its own improvement, e.g., sanitation and education, but the masses are poor. Taxation can be imposed wisely only upon the difference between the cost of decent living and income and that margin in India does not exist for nine-tenths of the population. The official apologists keep reminding us of the low taxation of India, but that has nothing to do with the matter. The question is what is the taxable capacity of the Indian people and as regards the great mass the answer must be practically nil." (*The Government of India*).

The Lee Commissioners considered it fit to invite comparison in respect of emoluments from British commercial houses in India and talk glibly of the 50—75% increase which the

business firms have been forced to concede, of the bonuses and gratuities, of motor car allowances and passages, and finally of the comparatively smaller fund of educational investment in the case of mercantile assistants. The Commissioners seem to ignore the essentially different conditions of service between the two classes. A junior clerk in a business house comes out on a covenant for five years. During this period he knows but few holidays and less leisure; he works under the direct vigilance of a master, who knows no charity. After five years he may or may not be taken on again—he has very little say in the matter. Allowances and bonuses go towards meeting necessary expenses of living in large towns like Calcutta and Bombay where the costs of living are higher by at least 50% than in the mofussil towns. Mercantile assistants in smaller towns and places like Assam Tea Gardens or the coal fields receive much less monetary emoluments. The risks attaching determination of service after recurring periods of five years do not receive adequate attention from people who go in for comparisons. The Civilian, on the other hand, spends a large portion of his initial years in small settlement areas where you cannot spend even if you wish to. There are no risks of termination of service, promotions and prospects are on a well determined scale. He is the all-seeing lord of the district after a few years' probation. The people of the country know how to bend to his slightest wishes—his campings are ever a source of eternal search for gratification of the 'Sahib's' eccentricities in the matter of comforts on the part of his underlings. There is a richness of variety in his routine work and his leave rules are ample and sufficient. What hurts him now, of course, is the superimposed direction of a Legislature which knows not its job and is incidentally composed of the people of the country of whom he had been accustomed so far to demand obedience and servility. But he belongs to a nation of shopkeepers and you must pay him conscience-money to soothe his ruffled dignity. That this roughly represents the true mentality behind the recommendations, indeed, becomes obvious when we remember that the Indian officers of equal rank and station are denied these extra birth-privileges. So the necessity of increase in emoluments is not inherent in the conditions of the Services, but is demanded by the exigencies of changed political conditions in

India so far as the British element in the Services is concerned.

The differentiation chalked out by the proposals of the Lee Report between the European and the Indian officers is an unhappy concession to the clamour of racial conflict. While it connotes an unmerited insult to the Indian officers, it panders to a vicious taste of the white man and creates a precedent which bodes ill for the future of the Public Services in India. To the quiet dignity, integrity and efficient work of the Indian officer the country owes much—they have worked their way up against un-human barriers, rank prejudice and insulting treatment. The principle of "equal pay for equal work" has been shelved by the Lee Commission. No wonder that the Indian officers, taking the cue from their European confreres, put forward ingenious but equally valid reasons for special treatment. You concede Overseas allowance and passages to European officers in order to meet the demands of their children's education and family circumstances; why shouldn't the peculiar organisation of Indian joint family system bear an equal weight in considering the problem of emoluments for an Indian officer? Why again then the incident of a Ceylonese Civilian serving in the Punjab not entitle him to special consideration? You will say we are going to absurd lengths, but then the Lee recommendations are no better. And it will be an evil day when statutory differentiations are enacted based on claims of race or pigmentation of skin without reference to work or efficiency.

This is not the proper place to discuss the comparative usefulness of an Indian officer as compared to his British equivalent. But it is well to face political facts. India refuses to tolerate any longer a system which has outlived its usefulness. There is acute intellectual unemployment in the country and she wishes to man her Services on lines most economical and progressive. If the British refuse to assimilate themselves with the people of the country, they must go eventually, sooner or later. The whirligig of time has set a furious pace in political fortunes and if Lee Commissioners refuse to hear the tolling sound it is for the country's representatives to make it perfectly plain that they will not tolerate the erection of racial compartmented bureaus in the Public Services. Perchance the British officers are gleefully singing pæan of praise: *post tot naufragia portum* (after so many shipwrecks,

a port). But they seem to forget an equally pertinent Latin tag: *hodie mihi, cras tibi* (to-day is mine, to-morrow thine).

The Lee Report by its treatment of provincialisation of Services as a subsidiary problem has revealed the mentality that inspired the Report: that India was a property of Great Britain, a mere chattel; that autonomy was not a practical policy; that Britain refuses to entertain relinquishment of the "sacred trust." The additional money burden imposed on a poor country like India by its recommendations is incidentally a small burden as compared to the cumulative effect of the sweet policy of compromise aiming at pacifying the Services. The vigilant safeguards proposed by the Commission—legal covenants, proportionate pensions,

immunity from legislative control, rigidity of recruitment ratio:—all these strike as much at the root of public control of the Services as at the discipline and integrity of the Services themselves. But the Government of India sitting on Olympian heights has decreed its resolve to carry out the recommendations. It is futile to utter a warning; perhaps the talk in the September session of the Legislative Assembly will be enlivened by a supercilious solicitude for the welfare of the masses. We refrain from quoting Shakespeare when he talks of an "engineer hoist with his own petard" but to the Indian taxpayer we recommend the Latin adage *vacuus cantat coram latrone viator* (The traveller who has an empty purse sings in the face of the robber.)

SIR ASHUTOSH MOOKERJI.

AN APPRECIATION.

By MR. D. N. GHOSE, M.A.

I.

A year ago, in the pages of the *Hindustan Review*, I attempted a survey of the work done by Sir Ashutosh Mookerji in the task of reconstructing the University of Calcutta so as to make it really expressive of our national culture and aspirations; and in that connection, I looked forward with eager anticipation to a future occasion when I will be able to discuss the educational ideals which he cherished, and the fulfilment of which was "the object of his day-dreams," and "haunted him in the hours of his nightly rest." Little did I then dream that not a year will elapse before the inexorable hands of Destiny (against whose inscrutable decrees it is impious for mortals to comment) would arrest the imperious march of that proud intellect as it swept forward to its goal with resistless might;—that even when his countrymen were anxiously counting the days when he would accept the leadership that belonged to him as of right, he

would be called away from the scene of his activities leaving behind only the memory of his greatness and the inspiration of his ideals. So sudden and catastrophic was the tragic end, that we seem to hear through it rather the ironic laughter of the Gods, who make us their sports, than their relentless judgment from which no escape is humanly possible. For one, however, to write with philosophic composure of what he was and what he did and what he intended to do in future, would seem, almost an ironic travesty of my own feelings. I worshipped him in life—from a distance it is true,—but with a passionate self-oblivion that effaced all other sentiments; and in death any word from my pen may perhaps seem to others to be the language of exaggerated idolatry. But I alone will know how far exaggeration will lag behind the expression of truth.

For Sir Ashutosh Mookerji had a personality of such "dimensionless vastness" as to defy all attempts of language to encompass its nature and

contents. He "did" bestride the narrow world like a colossus, and we petty men walked under his huge legs and peeped within." The Mayor of Calcutta referred to him as a "dynamic personality" and people were puzzled at the vagueness of the phraseology. But it expresses as far as mere words can express the fundamental fact about Sir Asutosh's personality,—that it was not a personality to be measured by ordinary standards of judgment; it was a personality that constantly tended to transcend its own limitations and grow out of itself and beyond itself. When the greatness of an occasion demanded, he could be the embodiment of sublimity itself. A silent doer of deeds, not anxious for popular applause or any applause except that of his own conscience, working from morning to night, day after day, with the celerity of a machine, in the accomplishments of his heart's desire,—it was impossible for those who knew him not to anticipate when he would suddenly put forth his vital powers (as he did in the famous controversy last year); and take away the breath of those around by some magnificent piece of action which defeats all the expectations of men cast in a lesser mould of mind, and thus compel them to recognise how poor and false their expectations were and how much nobler and truer the surprise that he sprung upon them. The capacity of a man to rise above the pettiness of circumstances is, after all, the true test of his inherent greatness, and no man ever passed this supreme test with greater credit than Sir Asutosh did on each occasion that he was called upon to do so.

II.

Love for his country was the ruling passion of Sir Asutosh's life. "My country is my religion," he used to say, and we know how true it was. His life-long endeavour was to obtain for India a place of equality with the other great nations of the world,—an equality in intellectual achievements first of all, and an equality in all other things whenever possible. And it is because we knew the intensity of his patriotism so well, that many of us could never be brought to realise why he selected to confine his greatness within the limits of a University, and consistently refused to share the larger activities of our political life. But Sir Asutosh never had any very great faith in the excitement of politics. Perhaps he believed in the celebrated dictum of his great namesake,—"A subject nation has no

politics." In his college-days we know he was never slow to join such political demonstrations as those organised to honour Sir Surendranath Banerji with eager enthusiasm; but years brought to him the philosophic mind, and he realised that such demonstrations although exciting enough when they last inevitably bring in their train a feeling of weariness and exhaustion. In order that politics may have a basis of reality, he felt the need of arousing the self-consciousness of the nation as a whole, which is impossible without the education of the masses. This was the reason why he set himself to the task of building a University which will serve the two-fold function of removing illiteracy among the people and of turning out creative scholars, when Lord Curzon told him that His Lordship would be satisfied if the Calcutta University sent out to the world six brilliant scholars every year, his retort was instantaneous, "I will not be satisfied unless my University turns out six lacs of educated young men every year." In the absence of any organisation spreading primary education among the masses, and in the face of the abortive attempt of no less a politician than Mr. Gokhale, he felt that the University must take upon itself the task of educating the masses even at the risk of having to stultify its higher ideals. His objects and intentions have often been misinterpreted and misjudged, but neither the indifference of his countrymen, nor the invectives of other people could deter him from his fixed principles. When I recall such an example of solid work achieved in such silence and with so little support and encouragement, and realise the intensity of the patriotism that enabled him patiently to shoulder such thankless responsibility, my mind, (in the words of Lauder) "My very limbs become unsteady with admiration."

III.

Not that he was ever blind to the higher functions of a University. Here again, his devotion to duty, his infinite capacity for taking pains, his impalpable idealism are unique in the history of modern India. To-day, the Calcutta University is, by common consent, the foremost of its kind in India, and occupies an honoured place in lands beyond the seas. The investigations in the different branches of knowledge, carried out under its auspices and under the direct encouragement of Sir Asutosh himself, have attracted world-wide attention. None but

those who have been the fortunate recipients of his personal encouragement to undertake research can ever know how his intense personal solicitude fostered the spirit of research in our University. Whenever he detected the glimmerings of genius and talent in a young man,—and his power of doing so was almost uncanny,—he drew him close to himself, gave him encouragement and advice, and placed within his reach such ample facilities as were possible in India. His confidence in the young men of his country was remarkable, and the way in which they justified that confidence when he was assailed on all sides by prejudiced enemies and 'candid friends', was the great pride and solace of his life. He was himself neither a teacher nor a research scholar, and yet so great was the gift of inspiring others which he possessed that innumerable have been the scholars who owe their career of research and investigation to him alone.

People will long remember and talk of the work done by the Calcutta University in the last decade under his direct guidance. Scholars from all parts of India and from beyond India assembled here and discoursed on subjects on which they were well-known authorities, shedding a benignant influence on the youths of the country who gathered round them, opening out before their spelt bound gaze new avenues of thought, and vistas of knowledge yet unexplored, and, above all, making them feel a personal pride and joy in their own beloved university and in him who was its presiding deity. The magnificence of the whole conception of having a great centre of 'creative scholarship' within our midst, such as there existed at Nalanda or Taxila in bygone days cannot fail to captivate the minds of all but those "whose eyes", said Sir Asutosh on one occasion in a mood of unwonted bitterness, "whose eyes are petrified by green-eyed jealousy." Sympathetic administrators like Lord Ronaldshay, and gray-headed scholars like Sylvain Levi, who have devoted a life-time to the task of unravelling the tangled skein of our country's past love, have, however, been enthusiastic in praise of Sir Asutosh's vast conception; and—what to him was dearer still,—the younger generation of India caught the infection and tried their level best to second his efforts by whatever they could do in advancing the boundaries of learning. It was with conscious and justifiable pride therefore that he referred to the realisa-

tion of his life's dream in his Convocation Address of 1922,

"People of Bengal," he said, "You have at your doors, the foundations already laid of a great University, a University devoted to the Advancement of Literature, Science and Art, to the promotion of Letters as the record of the achievements of the human spirit, to the promotion of science as the revealer of the laws, and the conqueror of the forces of Nature, to the promotion of Art as the sunshine and gilding of life, but more than all this, to the investigations of the glorious past of India and the fundamental unity amidst apparent diversity, of the varied aspects of Indian civilisation, which is so deeply calculated to rouse and purify national instinct and national pride. You have at your doors a society of scholars in whose company your children, your children's children and their children may spend the formative years of their aspiring youth under the captivating influence of humane Letters and Pure and Applied Science, pursuing culture with forward-looking minds and far-seeing spirit. It is for you, people of Bengal, to determine whether you will make this University a national asset. We invite every citizen conscious of his duty and responsibility, unmoved by ignorant and prejudiced criticism to come forward to be united with us in feeling, in purpose, for the realisation of our vision of duty and of service. It has ever been our ambition to bring the University in intimate touch with the nation, because of the supreme part that it must play in the national consciousness, pointing out by its attitude towards the things of life, through the whole wide range of human intelligence, the true direction of national safety and national progress. The University should thus be a live and progressive, not a passive and inactive force in the life of the community of which it is not only a part but a participant. The University would be dead to the nation if it were made to stand on a height of its own, isolated from the community." These words sum up with Sir Asutosh's usual perspicuity, the ideals and achievements of his University.

IV.

All this has been achieved not to the accompaniment of the tumult and tempest of cheers, but in the face of active oppositions which will appear inexplicable to posterity, and in an atmosphere of veiled hostility which was

never wholly intelligible to us. The history of the development of great seats of learning will reveal the large extent of support from State which they received. But our Government viewed Sir Asutosh's efforts at first through a sort of puzzled neutrality and in the end of downright disapprobation. Perhaps their attitude is excusable enough. They found that the University was being nationalised but with a perfect regard for the constitution framed by themselves; and they were powerless to oppose it. They dismissed Professors, they disaffiliated colleges, they delayed new plans of re-construction, they discontinued extra financial support, they used all the emergency power which the Law vested in them but still—such was Sir Asutosh's marvellous powers—the whole thing matured under their very eyes, and the nucleus was laid of a great teaching University—"a national organisation," said the great Vice-Chancellor, "self-reliant, though bound in service to the nation, adapting herself to the manifold and varying wants of the community from generation to generation."

What was the great secret which enabled Sir Asutosh to accomplish this marvel? It was his courage. This was at once the delight of his friends and the consternation of his enemies. He was never afraid to speak out his mind when occasion demanded or to stand up in the defence of his University when he found its existence threatened. I will not refer to the past that he played in a famous controversy which naturally comes to our mind at once. Three years ago, when the non-co-operation movement was at its height, and the students of Bengal thrilled by the unequalled renunciation of Mr. C. R. Das had unfurled the banner of revolt, the University was confronted with imminent dissolution. Not one of our public men, who believed that the students were utterly wrong, had the courage to come forward and tell them that they were wrong. But Sir Asutosh was not to be daunted. He faced the infuriated students in the Senate Hall and reasoned with them, and passionately appealed to them, not to be deluded by temporary excitement, and ended with words which, though unreported, will always ring in our ears—"If you all want to leave this University, if all your teachers will leave this University, even then I will not lose heart; I will protect her unaided and alone; and all alone I will wait for the support of posterity." These words of burning sincerity and straightforward conviction

had their desired effect, but what will always remain in my memory is the courage which prompted him to reason with the students who were then wild with enthusiasm and ready to trample upon any one speaking against the panacea of non-co-operation. Sir Asutosh knew and often expressed in his speeches this conviction that a courageous stand for one's principles is always rewarded with victory. He was never afraid of the strength of his enemies but he dreaded the pusillanimity of friends. In 1914, when he laid down his Vice-Chancellorship after eight years of arduous labour, he declared to a spell-bound audience,—“But more even than well-defined opposition and clearly declared want of sympathy, I dread want of fortitude and energy on the part of those who at bottom view our efforts with approbation, I dread that pusillanimity which shrinks at the first rough collision with determined hostility, that cowardly spirit of compromise which so often induces the weak man to accept a fraction of the reward for which he has hitherto contended, while one resolute step in advance, one bold thrust of the arm, might have secured for him the whole glorious prize.”

It would be impertinent on my part if I comment on the obvious nobility of this sentiment; but that these words were not the mere firework of ineffectual rhetoric is a truth to which people of all shades of opinion will now gladly testify. They have stood the test of bitter experience, and were not found wanting. In recent years, when the University was hard pressed for money—in fact was on the verge of financial bankruptcy—the Minister of Education offered relief if it complied with certain conditions. That was one of the rare occasions when, moved with unwonted indignation, he blazed forth in all the magnificence of his splendid wrath, and hurled his anathemas against his hapless opponents. He appealed to the senators not to sell their birth-right for a mess of pottage. His words on that occasion are memorable;—"You give me slavery with one hand," he said, "and money with the other. I despise the offer. I will not take the money. We shall retrench and we shall live within our means. We will starve. We will go from door to door all through Bengal. I will ask my post-graduate teachers to starve their families but to keep their independence. I tell you as members of the University, stand up for the rights of the University. Forget the Government of Bengal,

forget the Government of India. Do your duty as senators of this University. Freedom first, freedom second, freedom always,—nothing else will satisfy me.”

V.

A reason for Sir Asutosh's uncompromising attitude on most matters that came up before him is to be found in the thoroughness with which he studied all subjects. He never framed his opinion on casual observation or superficial reflection. When a question came up before him, he studied it in all its bearings, read up the literature on the subject, however vast, consulted all people capable of giving an opinion on it, and then, when he was convinced that he had done everything possible to possess himself of all information, he formed his own opinion—and it was the opinion of a specialist. Mr. Archbold, at one time a most persistent opponent of Sir Asutosh, acknowledged only the other day that the reason why Sir Asutosh had never to admit defeat was because there was no one who was more well-informed in any subject than himself and no one ever could detect a flaw in his reasons. This is also true of judicial pronouncements that he delivered from the bench of the High Court. No judge ever took greater pains over his judgments than Sir Asutosh. Because his desire was not to decide only the particular issues involved in a case, but to go into vital principles, and deduce therefrom conclusions which will have authoritative force at all times and on all occasions. Scientific analysis of legal principles was his great delight, and the more intricate the case, the greater was the enthusiasm with which he grappled with it. Indeed, as Dr. Sen Gupta has said in a recent paper, his judgments often reached the dimensions of a respectable thesis on a subject of law in the course of which he made exhaustive surveys of the laws and customs of other lands and thus came to a well-considered and scientific conclusion. In the decision of points of Hindu Law, he did not act merely as an interpreter of the *Shastras*, but explained the latter in conformity with customs that are changing from age to age, and to stereotype which through all generations would be tantamount to an intolerable tyranny. His patience was inexhaustible, and the desire for scientific study of all questions was almost a passion with him.

VI.

And because he was so much of a scientist, his views were so extra-ordinarily liberal. In spite of his devotion to and appreciation of our past civilisation and culture, no one was more enthusiastic in welcoming the spirit of the future with enthusiasm. Knowledge of human history showed him that contradictory ideas must be harmonised if any tangible good is to come of it. His Mysore address is remarkable for “its amplitude of comprehension and richness of imagination.” In that speech he spoke out his mind with great freedom and it contains the convictions of a life-time. Above all, he insisted on the necessity of recognising the essential mutability of time, and never to be afraid of welcoming the new forces that are constantly seeking admission. We must “answer the challenge thrown out to us by the voice of progress”. We must discard the general tendency which has been “a pathetic adherence to old ideals and a reluctant recognition of the claims of the insistent present.” We must keep ourselves “free from the baneful influence of Dogmas; their domination is equally deleterious whatever their source, whether they be official religious, or academic.” “We can live neither in nor by the defeated past, and if we would live in the conquering future, we must dedicate our whole strength to shape its course and our will to discharge its duties. Therefore he was so solicitous for the establishment of really well-equipped science colleges and technological institutions, where the children of the soil may assimilate in their own lands the most important contributions of modern Europe without losing the essential characteristics of their national genius through contact with foreign institutions. I cannot but quote a few lines from his Mysore address, which will explain his ideals more eloquently than my words can. “In this progressive age,” he said, “a University cannot with safety confine its activities to some special department and degenerate into a school of letters, or a college of commerce or an assemblage of workshops. It must frankly recognise the kinship of the arts and sciences and the inherent interdependence of all study and research, supplement theoretical by practical studies, and liberalise technical and professional institutions by organic connection with arts and letters. . . . But while I appreciate the value of adequate provision in these departments and regard them

as essential factors in the organisation of our University, I cannot but emphasise the paramount need for fully equipped technical institutions of all grades, with courses of scientific study, theoretical and applied; for in this age,—brand it as materialistic, if you please—the trained special expert is at least as indispensable to society as the most accomplished theoretical scholar.”

The free and frank acceptance of the democratic principle, even to the extent of extending an invitation to the great socialist thinker, Bertrand Russell against the wishes of more narrow-minded people, is in consonance with his general liberal outlook. He did not seek to expel democracy, but to elevate it, so that it may be “proud and humble, patiently pressing forward, praising its heroes of old, training its future leaders, seeking its crown in a nobler race of men and women.” And again, “Let us honour and educate labour, and train our children to business and callings other than those that have hitherto monopolised the appellation of learned professions.”

VII.

Those who deplored Sir Ashutosh's detachment from the current politics of our country, do him a serious injustice, due to a failure to understand him rightly. The strength of his nationalism was unique, and he proudly adhered to his national customs and habits throughout his life. This in itself was a source of infinite inspiration to his countrymen, who gradually learnt to respect their national customs. But Sir Ashutosh did something more. We have seen how he took upon himself the task of removing, as far as possible, the general illiteracy among the masses through the University, and in doing so he contributed a good deal, as Babu Shyamsundar Chakravarti, one of the opponents of the University, has the candour to admit, to the general enthusiasm of the youths of Bengal for all political, social and humanitarian work. To translate the veteran journalists' well-chosen words, “If Ashu Babu had not tried so hard for general spread of education, where would those persons who are girding up their loins to make Self-Government and independence inevitable, have got their materials”. But a more far-reaching ideal whose foundations he laid, but whose fruition is yet in the womb of futurity, is the bold attempt to secure unity among the

different races of India by a cultivation of each other's vernaculars. In making the vernaculars fit subjects for study in post-graduate classes, Sir Ashutosh frequently expressed the hope that this will ultimately help to establish a unity of thought and a natural sympathy between the different parts of India in the course of a few years. I shall take the liberty of translating a portion of a Bengalee address delivered by him to a literary Conference. Said he, “Gentlemen, we are united in this sacred meeting place by common ideals and aspirations. Like a mountain torrent, the emotions of my heart wish to mingle with yours. I do not know how to conceal my feelings; I have never done so. Now specially—on this sacred day and psychological moment, I want to open the flood-gates of my heart, and to show you,—there within my bosom—the bright future of my country that I visualise. United by the same feelings and ideals, and knowledge, like a common family, all Indians,—Hindus and Muhammedans, Parsis and Christians,—forgetting all their differences and distinctions, and assembled in the temple of the Goddess of learning, stand side by side and offer the flower of their worship with the words—

O Goddess, do thou help us in getting all intellectual wealth?

I see in my mind's eye the destruction of all those disintegrating barriers of diverse languages which by preventing an exchange of ideas, have kept asunder the people of the different provinces. There is no feeling of difference and distinction. The voice of Bengal mingles in the voice of Guzrat, and a wave of indescribable and dream-like emotions floods this land. . . . I am confident about this. When I remember the perseverance and self-surrender of Indians, I cannot believe, that Indians will fail in any work however difficult and impossible it may be. Therefore . . . begin to work with a united purpose, keeping your ideal in view like a compass-needle, and success will be certain.” Sir Ashutosh Mookerji was not only a worker in the practical field of work;—he was also an idealist, a “dreamer of dreams,” who saw visions and strove to make them true. Such mingling of idealism and practicality is rare in the history of mankind.

VIII.

In his life-time, Sir Ashutosh had often been misjudged and misinterpreted. That was neither his fault, nor the fault of his country-

men. Greatness, by its inherent nature, constitutes a barrier against universal admiration. Its essence is to surpass the limiting conditions of the present, and to work in conformity with the infinite possibilities of an unrealised future. Sir Ashutosh was never happy in the profession of that shallow and facile cult of contentment, which is the ultimate resort of sterile minds. His genius was instinctively creative. He sought to create in anticipation of time. His intellect, therefore, was naturally emancipated from the bondage of those dogmas which distil the prejudices of the "defeated past." Traditional modes of thought, stereotyped ways of action,—anything that have lost the harmonious flexibility of life,—always found in him an implacable foe. But unfortunately the ordinary mind is fundamentally conservative. It clings to vanishing ideals with the cowardly fear of the unknown, and tries to mobilise the forces of ignorance and prejudice to repulse the advance of new ideals. That is the reason why Sir Ashutosh had been so often the centre of bitter controversies. But now all that is forgotten. We realise how much greater than his age he was, and how petty were those who believed his actions and words. The well-considered address delivered by Lord Lytton excellently sums up the feelings of the country, and I cannot do better than quote a portion of those noble words.—"To-day," said His Excellency, "we can think only of the great intellectual powers he placed so long at the service of his University; of the years of unremitting toil which he cheerfully spent in the task of re-organising and administering its

higher branches, and of the renown, not only in India, but in Europe which he thereby gained for Calcutta. Let us remember with gratitude that powerful encouragement to scholarship which he was always ready to extend to any man, whether Bengali or foreigner, whose talents might bring lustre to the University or stimulate research and learning within its walls. Let us pay homage to the man who year after year, whether as Vice-Chancellor, or from an equally influential position in the background, controlled and guided the college and school system which the University through its functions, as an examining body, is called upon to administer—the man who above all others, in the eyes of his countrymen or in the eyes of the world represented the University so completely, that for many years, Sir Ashutosh was in fact the University, and the University was Sir Ashutosh." These noble words of our Chancellor nobly give expressions to the feelings of most of our countrymen who are struck with a feeling of poignant helplessness. Truly our Mayor said—"He tried to build this great Indian nation and honour it by his activities, and I know many were the plans he formed of work after retirement. Death has snatched him away from us, and I do not see before me any other man who can take up the work which he intended to take up." The words of the poet now come back to us with greater emphasis—

*Now is the stately column broke,
The heaven-light is quenched in smoke ;
The trumpets' silver sound is still,
The warder silent on the hill.*

STRAY THOUGHTS ON THE PRESENT DISCONTENTS.

By A Student of Eastern Politics.

The political situation of India at the present time is a significant illustration of the necessity for clear thinking. I have been greatly struck by the manner in which even the most able of our leaders behave as though India were isolated from the rest of the world. It is quite true that

by the sheer necessities of the case, they are compelled to take Great Britain into account; but they seem to me to be blissfully ignorant of the prevailing tendencies of world affairs. They live for the most part in an atmosphere of the past; and while they gaze eagerly forward into

the longed-for future, the picture in their mind is made up of vague ideals which are rooted in the past.

Let me make my point a little more clear. No student of world-affairs can deny that the shibboleths of democracy are in a shaky condition. In three great European countries, as well as in the United States, the very home of "popular" government, the masses of the people are definitely turning their faces against the paraphernalia of nineteenth century Liberalism. They are demanding a form of Government that shall be more direct in its action, more assured in its efficiency, than the Government by discussion which landed Europe into the World War. Against these democratic fictions and fallacies, the reaction has been of two kinds. In the first place, there is the revolutionary dictatorship of Bolshevism, which is of all forms of Government the least hampered by democratic conceptions. It is a class Government of the strictest and most logical kind. Impelled and motivated by a definite idea, it turns its back upon freedom and tolerance. It does not believe in democracy, which it finds slack, inefficient, and above all illusory. On the other side there is the Fascist movement of Italy and Spain, which, starting from premises fundamentally opposite to those held by the Bolsheviks, has arrived at very similar conclusions. At the outset, Fascism started as a rival to the violence of Communism; but like Communism, has been led by imperceptible degrees to challenge the very fundamentals of democracy. It now takes the form of rule by a trust or ring; its watchword is efficiency and speed. It has already triumphantly solved many of those national problems which democracy allowed to remain unsolved until they assumed threatening proportions. In the United States, moreover, there has been a reaction against the undisputed dominance of the two older parties: a demand that politics should become the sphere of the skilled rather than of the unskilled; a discontent with the muddle, the corruption, the inefficiency, of the so-called Government by the People.

Now all these reactions in the world of politics are but the symptoms of a much more subtle and much more formidable reaction in the realm of ideas. This again has sprung out of the War. Just as in the ancient civilisation of the Mediterranean, Greece, when subdued by Roman arms, made a captive of her conqueror in the realm of culture; so now to-day, when the world has subdued the extravagant pretensions of

Prussianism upon the field of battle, is it coming to perceive the solid potentialities for the good of humanity that lie at the core of that system. The Government of Germany before the War was the most wonderful achievement of human organisation that the world has ever seen. It was skilful, it was scientific, it was enlightened; it secured a greater amount of solid well-being, material, moral and intellectual, than any other polity of which history tells. It made only one mistake; it became Imperialistic in the worst sense; it sought to impose its culture upon the world by force of arms. Like Bolshevism at present, it was not content to allow its principles to make their way by their own merit in the face of competing ideas; it endeavoured to secure for them by the sword the universal predominance that they might well in time have won of themselves. Hence the material might of Prussianism after a terrible struggle, was crushed by an outraged world; which subsequently discovered that there is all the difference between the merits of an idea and the demerits of those who support it. For Prussianism rests in essence upon the simple propositions that Government is a skilled business; that a million voices raised in support of a wrong policy do not make that policy right; that people in the mass are not interested in governing themselves unless they labour under grievances which they desire to redress; indeed that they lack the skill, as well as the interest which are so essential if the task is to be performed even passably. Now it is to this standpoint that many of the populations of the Western World are coming. The change is slow. But it is worthwhile to remember that it is very real indeed. It is not held by the leaders; it is held by the led. The leaders for the most part are content to talk in the same old way about the sovereignty of the people, the nobility of the masses, and all the jargon of an outworn Liberalism. But the people themselves have lost faith in such talk. They are quietly watching until their time comes. By and by they find a man—or think they have found one—who will give them the kind of Government which they want—the kind of Government that will look after the interests of the nation and its people as a man watches over the interest of a business concern—a Government which is quick, sure, and confident. Then they lift him to power on the crest of an irresistible wave; and tell him to get busy governing. That is what has happened in the case of Mussolini,

that is what has happened in the case of General Primo di Rivera ; that is what will happen, tomorrow or the next day, in many European countries.

Is this reaction against the pretentious sham called democracy a permanent thing, or is it a mere swing of the pendulum of the human mind back from the outrageous sentimentality of the War? No one can say. But we in India should at least be grateful that there are signs in Europe of returning sense and sanity. Our history, which is the longest and most glorious of the civilised world, shows us plainly, if we will only read it, the utter futility of those so-called constitutional checks with which the West delighted to hamper its governing authorities. We adopted the simpler plan. We hedged round our rulers with ethical and moral sanctions, which, while keeping them to their duty, left them unhampered in their discharge of it. The great Rishis of old have taught us in their imperishable wisdom that it is the highest duty of the state to safeguard the welfare of the people. They have nowhere taught that the people have either the right or the capacity to rule the state. The duty of ruling belongs to those who are specially qualified for the task ; to those who have been trained for it ; to those who have been called by divine sanction to assume it.

Now considering that these principles are, or ought to be, the cultural background of every Indian, is it not strange that so many of our political leaders should still continue to urge, as one of our main weapons in the fight for freedom, these stale and outworn platitudes of democracy, which even in the lands of their origin are rapidly becoming discredited? The explanation is, of course, purely historical. In the nineteenth century, the old Liberal Party of England stood for the only organised body of political opinion to whom we could look for sympathy and support in our demand that we should rule ourselves. In order to link ourselves with them, we adopted many of their catchwords ; and we have been repeating these catchwords so long that I fear some of us have begun to believe in them. As a result, there has sprung up in the minds of our leaders a fundamental confusion which runs through most of our public and private discussions upon political matters. We have come to confuse democracy with self-government. Now when the matter is thus plainly stated, we

are able to see the harm which is done to the national cause by this confusion. For while there has never been a time when India could not govern herself, the day when that Government would be democratic in form will never dawn. Why should it? Government by the people can never be good Government ; for the people as a whole have neither the skill nor the capacity for governing either themselves or anybody else. The wisdom of our ancestors saved us from the grip of such a ridiculous fallacy as that which goes by the name of democracy—a name which Aristotle himself, who was its very originator, admits to be equivalent to the rule of the undisciplined mob.

The plea that we want freedom because British rule is undemocratic, is a sign of moronism in those who put it forward. If anything, indeed, British rule has been far too democratic—at least in its unfortunate choice of that small fraction of our countrymen whom it has called to place and power. The Moghals at any rate knew better. They chose for their ministers men who were our natural leaders ; and our forefathers recognised the fact and forgave the dynasty its foreign origin. No ; we do not want freedom because freedom will bring democracy. If that were to be the price we must pay, I for one would prefer to go on as we are rather than pay it. We want freedom because we want to rule ourselves in our own way, that is, by means of our natural leaders. We want freedom because we have an ancient cultural heritage of our own, which is cramped and stereotyped so long as it remains in subjection to an alien culture. We want freedom because an alien Government has shown itself incapable of properly safeguarding the interests of the country. We want freedom because we enjoyed it in the past, and are determined to have it again in the future. We want freedom because without it, our people cannot rise to the full height of their moral, intellectual and material grandeur.

Is not this sufficient? Why then all this fools' talk of democracy? Can we not see that by clinging to discredited fallacies we are but weakening a case otherwise unanswerable? If we say that we want to rule ourselves by our own institutions and through our own leaders, we are talking in a language which even Europe can understand. The War has swept into the dustbin of outworn ideas the ancient Imperialisms. No nation that can preserve its own

internal security and maintain its frontiers against invasion ought to be ruled by another people. So far we have the conscience of the world—and what is of more immediate import-

ance, its best thought—with us. But when we begin to repeat the old creeds and fables of democracy, we provoke our friends to a pitying smile, and our enemies to a damaging retort.

A FRANK TALK ON MODERN INDIA.*

(Contributed)

"He occasionally came out with a volume of memoirs, but these were read merely for the anecdotes." Thus Al. Carthill summarises the activities of the retired Anglo-Indian. But the reader will look into the present volume in vain for a single anecdote. Indeed, when we began reading it, we confess we found it dull and ponderous, but soon the undoubted earnestness of the author arrested our attention, and on carefully reading it we are bound to regard it as a remarkable book. It is refreshingly frank; we do not agree with many of the writer's premises, but with many of his conclusions we are in complete agreement. The authorship of the book is successfully hidden behind the veil of anonymity; Al. Carthill, we have been told, stands for the Arabic *Al Qatil*; one thing is clear, that the writer is a member of the Indian Civil Service, and in all probability a retired *Qui hai*, who looks back with vain regret to the days when he ruled India as a 'nabob'. Rumour had it that Sir Bampfylde Fuller had ventured into the realm of authorship; he has recently denied the fact. It is, however, idle to speculate on the point.

The subject-matter of the book may be mentioned in the author's own words: "Many are the lost possessions of England. From some she has been driven in battle: others she has abandoned through negligence: others she had surrendered as useless and noxious; some have been bartered. The case of India is up to the present the first and only example of the abandonment of a valuable possession on moral grounds." His thesis is that the trend of the entire policy of British rule in India—whether

intentionally or not—makes it impossible for the British to remain absolute rulers of the land much longer; that things have been brought to such a condition that the only solution is the grant of Dominion Government; that if India is to be free and to have Dominion status, she must be entitled to employ her own servants, and she has clearly indicated that she has no wish for the continuance of a European agency. With these conclusions, as we have already said, we are in agreement. It is a tribute to the political and intellectual honesty of Mr. Carthill that he has—unlike so many of his countrymen—faced the facts boldly, and stated the situation correctly.

But there our agreement ceases. The arguments of the author so often beg the question; he so freely expresses dogmatic opinions without mentioning the grounds on which they are based; there are so many poisonous half-truths spread all over the book; there is so much of concentrated bitterness against the Indian intelligentsia,—we wish we could avoid the use of this horrid word—that the claim of the book to be an impartial estimate materially depreciates. We must, before we proceed to expose some of the familiar tricks of the Anglo-Indian propagandist, admit that the book is free from personalities. Indeed, with the exception of Mr. Gandhi, and Lord Reading (only once), we do not think any other living man is mentioned by name even once in this book. That, while it diminishes its human interest, adds to its value as an impersonal record. And even when he does mention Mr. Gandhi, he tries to be fair to him; he says: "He himself was a saintly man. He was chaste, temperate, and pious. There was in him no trace of worldly ambition and no

**The Lost Dominion*. By Al. Carthill (William Blackwood & Sons, London), 1924

love for lucre. Gandhi was always dignified and urbane. He had, I think, banished wholly from his soul the evil passions of fear and hatred. One flaw there was in him, but that was enough. He was vain. He must have popular applause." This, inspite of the concluding qualifying sentences, is in its own way as remarkable a tribute to Mr. Gandhi's character as Monsieur Romain Rolland's.

With the historical portion of the book which deals with the British conquest of India we need not be detained here, except to say that it is a very clever—but totally unconvincing—apologia for the many indefensible tricks by the aid of which what is lugubriously called the conquest of India was brought about. The desire to explain and defend and justify is everywhere patent; but, despite the almost hysterical efforts of the author, "methinks the maid protesteth too much". The remark that the Oriental understands no other form of government except despotism (p. 43) seems to betray a complete ignorance of the numerous researches of scholars which conclusively prove the existence of highly evolved democratic institutions in Ancient India; the village panchayet system survives to this day to refute statements such as that made by Mr. Carhill. The statement (p. 56) that the Occidental cannot understand what oriental intrigue is, is deliciously naive when one recalls the word 'diplomacy', and its many associations. But it is refreshing to find the author say that India has always been cursed with a seditious press and that the English were the first offenders. There is also a certain measure of truth in the remark (p. 166) that the existence of a free press and a foreign dominion is incompatible.

Lord Morley in his genial moods was fond of repeating the story of an aspirant for office when he was Editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*. Asked by Morley whether he had specialised in anything, he replied, "Yes, in invective". "Any special kind"? "No, Sir," he replied, "general invective." The oracle was silent as to whether the applicant got the appointment. Mr. Al. Carhill has also specialised in this art of "general invective." He is dissatisfied with everything and with everybody. "The times are out of joint." He adversely criticises the Moderates, the Congress, the educated Indians, the British Members of the Education Department, the High Court, the Jews, and—the British Nation! He is comprehensive in his condemna-

tions. It is obviously impossible for us at this place to follow him through all his diatribes. His imitation of the speeches of the Indian Moderates—or Liberals as they prefer to dub themselves—deserves to be quoted:—

"A Press Act? Shades of Milton! Special Tribunals? The Star Chamber and the Blood Council! An Arms Act, and Prohibition of Seditious Meetings? The Bill of Rights! Internment without trial? The Liberty of the Subject! The tone of the whole party was: "The Government is well-meaning, but..... these outrages are very sad, but..... the killing of so-and-so is a crime against humanity, and brings some disgrace on India, but....." "Drive out the foreigners," says the extremist. The moderate says, "In view of the rapid spread of English ideas and English culture in India, it would appear that a cheap and indigenous agency might with advantage both to economy and efficiency be substituted for the costly foreign agency. The retention of the European soldier might, for the present, be advisable; but if the foreign trader or capitalist is still necessary, that is due not to the lack of real commercial ability among the people of this great country, but to the patronage and support of the English administrator."

An admirable caricature this of the Liberal addresses, and not an unjust one either from the point of view of the Anglo-Indian monopolist. But the author does not leave his own country alone. It was Burke who said that he did not know the method of indicting a whole people; Mr. Carhill suffers from no such limitations and remarks:—

"It is an old policy of England to sacrifice her friends to her enemies. The idea is that your friend is your friend, and will support you any how. Your enemy will be so pleased at being allowed to punish your friend that he will forget his old grudge against you, and perhaps himself become friendly. And the policy is often successful enough, especially when the friend is helpless and the enemy placable. It would be possible to give a long list of cases where the lesson, 'that it is better to be the enemy than the friend of England' has been thoroughly driven home."

Deep distrust of the Indian characterises this book; the passing of the old regime is bitterly regretted; more than a passing sigh is heaved over many lost causes. The chapter-headings themselves—the Revolt, Decay, the Death agony—indicate their temper and outlook. But while there is the strength and firmness of conviction, there is not the bigoted intolerance of the partisan. It is openly hostile to Indian aspirants;

but it is not likely to influence public opinion either here or in England to any considerable extent. It is chastening to have the opposite point of view ably and forcefully expressed ; it

strengthens our own standpoint. In this light we welcome Mr. Carthill's book significantly called the *Lost Dominion*.

AJAX.

LIGHT ON ANGLO-INDIAN LITERATURE.*

By MR. ROBERT SENCOURT.

I

From the time of Hastings, the literature of India becomes much ampler. The narrative of Abraham Parsons which is described by H. G. Briggs in the *Cities of Gujarastra* as "simple, artless and entertaining" was published in 1777. It was nearly twenty years before Murray's *Discoveries in Asia* and Duncan's *Modern Traveller in India* followed it. The best account of that period is of course that of Forbes who published two editions of his *Oriental Memories*, the first with many scriptural allusions, the second with these expunged, though they are valuable as Chardin pointed out, for India is the scene, most familiar to Englishmen, of the oriental customs to which the Bible constantly refers. Forbes' book should be mentioned in every history of India.(1) He wrote in the sumptuous old style but never made it fulsome. It is a delightful record of the Indian life of a lover of India, passed for the most in Gujarat, and is remarkable for its enthusiastic descriptions of scenes in Ahmedabad. It is the worthy beginning of a great though neglected line of writers. Lord Valentia, whose accuracy however is much questioned, is the next of them.

II

Lord Valentia left London on June 3, 1802 and travelled to Calcutta by Madeira and the Cape and arrived in the Hoogly on Jan. 30 of the

following year. His account of Calcutta is one of the most interesting parts of the book—the scenery, the state of the Governor General (Lord Wellesley), the life of the Anglo-Indian community. In travelling in the mofussil, he shows an interest in the fauna, and makes intelligent observations on the habits and customs of the people. His first description of Benares is unimpassioned, because he was too far away. Describing his visit to the Maharajah's palace at Ramnagar he says "The view from the terrace on the summit was very fine. The garden formed a good foreground, beyond was the river, widening in an extensive curve, and its elevated bank the whole town of Benares."(2) Later(3) "I wished to go by water to view the town. The river here forms a very fine sweep of about four miles in length. On the external side of the curve, which is certainly the most elevated, is situated the holy city of Benares. It is covered with buildings to the water's edge, and the opposite shore being, as usual, extremely level, the whole may be beheld at once. From passing through the streets, or even from viewing it from the minars, I could have formed no conception of its beauty. Innumerable pagodas of every side and shape occupy the bank, and even have encroached upon the river. Uniformly built of stone, and of the most solid workmanship, they are able to resist the torrents which in the rainy season beat upon them, several are painted, others gilded, and some remain the colour of the stone. They generally have domes, often finished with the trident of Mahadeva. Ghauts are very frequent, for the convenience of ablutions, and wherever the houses approach the

*An instalment from Mr Robert Sencourt's forthcoming publication *India in English Literature*. Ed H. R.

(1) Mr. Oaten has not mentioned Forbes in either his *Anglo-Indian Literature* or in his chapter in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*

(2) I. 113.

(3) I. 117.

river, they are necessarily built thirty feet high, of large stones, before they reach the level of the street above. The contrast between these elevated masses of solid masonry and the light domes of the pagodas is singular and pleasing. Trees occasionally overhang the walls, and thousand natives either bathing or washing linen in the water, add not a little to this most extraordinary scene."

He mentions Jaunpur Bridge and other mogul bridges at Nurabad, Gwalior, and the one beside Humayun's tomb. He has read Burke, and is always much pleased to notice with what state he, as a peer of England, was received by both official and native rulers. He saw Lucknow.

"July 18 (at Lucknow).⁽⁴⁾ The season is to me pleasant. It is occasionally close, but the rains cool the air, and render it by no means oppressive. They do not fall in incessant torrents, as we experienced in passing the line; but, generally, only in showers of an hour's continuance, and that most frequently in the night. I have suffered great inconvenience from the prickly heat, which renders even turning in bed unpleasant."

His observations on Indian character are sympathetic and shrewd. His chapter on Calcutta is extremely good.

Defending the scale of Government House at Calcutta he says⁽⁵⁾ "India is a country of splendour, of extravagance, of outward appearance, so that the Head of a mighty Empire ought to conform himself to the prejudices of the country over which he rules: and that the British in particular ought to emulate the splendid works of the princes of the House of Timour, lest it should be supposed that we merit the reproach which our great rivals, the French, have cast upon us, of being alone influenced by a sordid mercantile spirit. In short, I wish India to be ruled as from a palace, not from a country-house;⁽⁶⁾ with the ideas of a Prince, not with those of a retail dealer in curtains and indigo." He found Calcutta rather stuffy, owing to the closeness of the jungle around it.

"The society of Calcutta is numerous and gay; the fetes given by the Governor-General are frequent, splendid and well arranged."⁽⁷⁾ Hardly a day passes without dinner parties, which are too large to be enjoyable. Small quiet parties are unknown. Evidently even in

those days the tradition of putting amusement in the place of friendship was well established. The pleasantness of society was also spoilt by cliques. He laments the taste for gambling and the increase of a Eurasian population: but finds the English in India most hospitable and generous.

He discusses the question of missions and a bishop.⁽⁸⁾ There was, he says, great need of a Bishop to remain in India for his life; a man of piety, dignity and liberal education, as indeed all the clergy should be "who by their manners would improve the tone of society in which they lived, and by the sacredness of their character operate as a check on the tendency to licentiousness that too frequently prevails." Valentia thinks that worship should be maintained with the fullest ceremonial of splendour, to impress the Indian world with a respect for it, which was all the greater for Englishmen's neglect of religious observances altogether. He does not advocate active missionary work: "To its silent operation the cause of Christianity should be left, and who will not rejoice in its success?"⁽⁹⁾

The next matter to attract his attention is the education of the junior European servants of the Company. He advocates Lord Wellesley's scheme of a College at Fort William, a place, he thinks, much more suitable than Haileybury.

From Calcutta he goes to Colombo. "The whole vegetation is infinitely more luxuriant than in Bengal, and forms the richest field for a botanist that I have beheld, except the Cape of Good Hope."

In January 1804 he sets out from Colombo for Madras.⁽¹⁰⁾

III

In 1798 Willcock translated Stavorinus' account of his travels in India which he had made 30 years before. His description is vivid but his tone is unsympathetic, and his tone about Bengalis savage. Another book of that

(8) P. 244.

(9) P. 250.

(10) Corbett, Colonel Wilks and Napoleon, p. 21. Valentia's work had been read by Napoleon before he arrived at St. Helena.

Wilks says of it: "Its pretensions are not of a high order; it cannot be deemed a work of authority:" or rather "For mere objects of vision I suppose we may; but he approached his subject with so little previous information that he perpetually misapprehends, and we cannot reasonably expect much from a person who travels full speed through a country."

(4) P. 167

(5) P. 235—(6) P. 236.—(7) P. 238.

time is *A Journey from Bengal to England through the Northern Part of India, Kashmir, Afghanistan, and Persia, and into Russia by the Caspian Sea*. By George Forster (London 1798). His first letter is from Benares, August 1782.

"Kashmire"⁽¹¹⁾—he says "is perhaps unparalleled for its air, soil, and a picturesque variety of landscape."

"In the centre of the plain, as it approaches the lake, one of the Delhi emperors, I believe Shah Jehan, constructed a spacious garden called the Shalamar, which is abundantly stored with fruit trees and flowering shrubs. Some of the rivulets which intersect the plain are led into a canal at the back of the garden, and flowing through its centre, or occasionally thrown into a variety of waterworks, compose the chief beauty of the Shalamar. To decorate this spot, the Mogul Princes of India have displayed an equal magnificence and taste."

"The English"⁽¹²⁾ should no longer account themselves sojourners in this country; they are now, virtually, its lords paramount and their policy should not be that of a day; but, considering the opulence and wealth of the subject as closely tending to enrich the common state, they should at large, support his wants, and encourage his labours. A conduct, equally wise and profitable, would conduce to the increase of public and private prosperity, and operate as a compensatory retribution for some actions which cannot bear the test of investigation; and which have already involved the national character in disgrace. In touching on this subject, I am necessarily led into reflections on the commerce of Bengal, interior and foreign, and on the common want of specie, throughout the province."

A careful, laborious and valuable *Account of the Kingdom of Nepal* was brought out by Francis Buchanan, as he was first called, or Francis Hamilton, as he was afterwards known, in 1819. It is valuable but it is not literary. Hamilton was a scholarly doctor and did very valuable work on Botany at Calcutta.⁽¹³⁾ He was another of the persevering Scotsmen who devoted themselves at that time to India: but he had neither style, imagination, nor as far as we can see literary taste, and his book on Nepal is no more than it sets out to be. *His Journey*

from Mysore through the Countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar first published in 1807 and afterwards printed in Pinkerton's *Voyages*, is another work of the same kind.

IV

Narrative of a Journey overland from England by the Continent of Europe, Egypt and the Red Sea to India, including a residence there and a voyage home in the years 1825, 26, 27, 28 by Mrs. Colonel Elwood was brought out in two volumes in 1830.

The Preface is not wholly uninteresting at this peculiar time when India and the overland communication with that country are topics of practical importance. The journal is really rather delightful for the writer was both enthusiastic and witty, and though she is sometimes carried away into conventional rhapsodies, the keenness of her observation and the feeling that she really was an enterprising woman keep her up to the mark. Byron as to Tod, and to so many, was her fall back. She is always interested in history, and still more (and perhaps more literary for this reason) in domestic details. Elwood who quotes Sir W. Jones and Lalla Rookh is less brisk than Eliza Fay, who like her was in Egypt and wrote in a very readable way.

V

An excellent example of Anglo-Indian literature of Description is Maria Graham's *Journal of a Residence in India*. This lady went to India in 1809, arriving in May and leaving in February 1811. She made no exhaustive tours; Bombay, the Ghats and Poona; Ceylon, the Coast, Madras and Calcutta; these were all she saw. But an extraordinarily efficient mind was at work. Miss Graham was well-bred, well-educated, thorough, unaffected, Scotch. She saw clearly, she remembered well. Her judgment was sound; of scenery and manners she rightly claimed to give a competent description. She herself points out that a traveller such as herself, who was a philosophical observer, had advantages over the "pukka" Anglo-Indians who become so familiar with the scenes before them that they saw no longer what would strike the eye or the mind of an observant stranger. People living in the country can write perhaps political or military history, can set out treatises on commercial development, can discuss literary or mythological antiquities. Such was not her

(11) Letter XIII.

(12) Letter I.

(13) See Sketch of his life by D. Prain, Calcutta, 1905. This supplements the article in D. N. B.

object. She was interested in the life of the country, and she enquired about it from competent authorities. She quotes Herbert and Thevenot: she refers to Colebrook. She sought information about the civil habits and religious opinions of the natives of India from individuals distinguished for oriental learning. With regard to the general social and intellectual level of the official community she was under no delusion; it was governed, she plainly said, by those of a country town. "I found our fair companions"(14) she writes of a dinner at Government House in Bombay "like the ladies of all the country towns I know, under-bred and over-dressed, and, with the exception of one or two, very ignorant and very grossiere. The men are, in general (it must be remembered she was writing a hundred years ago), what a Hindoo would call a higher caste than the women; and I generally find the merchants the most rational companions.....The civil servants to Government being, in Bombay, for the most part young men, who are so taken up with their own imaginary importance, that they disdain to learn, and have nothing to teach. Among the military I have met with many well-informed and gentlemanlike persons, but still, the greater number of men, and the small number of rational companions, make a deplorable prospect to one who anticipates a long residence here."

If such was the impression made on Miss Graham by a dinner at Government House, the ordinary dinner-party was not likely to strike her as brilliant. "The parties in Bombay are the most dull uncomfortable meetings one can imagine. Forty or fifty persons assemble at seven o'clock, and stare at one another till dinner is announced, when the ladies are handed to table, according to the strictest laws of precedence, by a gentleman of a rank corresponding to their own. At table there can be no general conversation, but the different couples who have been paired off and who, on account of their rank, invariably sit together at every great dinner, amuse themselves with remarks on the company, as satirical as their wit will allow.....After dinner the same topics continue to occupy the ladies, with the addition of lace, jewels, intrigues and the latest fashions; or, if there be any newly-arrived young women, the making and breaking matches for them

furnish employment for the ladies of the colony till the arrival of the next cargo. Such is the company at an English Bombay feast. The repast itself is as costly as possible, and in such profusion that no part of the table cloth remains uncovered."

Madras this cultivated lady found little better.(15) "The manner of living among the English at Madras has a great deal more of external elegance than at Bombay, but the same influence operating on society, I find it neither better nor worse." She gives a page or two to the story of how a Madras lady spends her day, which will not be repeated here lest it should seem severe; and Madras does not claim to provide ladies familiar as Miss Graham was with Milton, Thomson and Campbell. It is to be feared that even in Bengal she never attained to admiration of the Indo-British:—"Calcutta, like London, is a small town of itself, but its suburbs swell it to a prodigious city, peopled by inhabitants from every country in the world. Chinese and Frenchmen, Persians and Germans, Arabs and Spaniards, Americans and Portuguese, Jews and Dutchmen, are seen mixing with the Hindoos and English, the original inhabitants and the actual possessors of the country. This mixture of nations ought, I think, to weaken national prejudice; but, among the English at least, the effect seems diametrically opposite. Every Briton appears to pride himself on being outrageously a John Bull." Not that this meant injustice: bored as Miss Graham often was, she always kept her sense of proportion. When she finds a congenial person, she is duly grateful. And in Ceylon she had the pleasure of meeting Thomas Daniell.

What Daniell aimed at reproducing by his art,(16) she artfully depicted in description. Her vigorous, accurate mind gave her the power she needed for descriptive writing. Many have looked on Indian scenery: she was one of the first to convey an idea of it. Many have lived their lives surrounded by the people of India: here was a woman who was not content to say the more you see of them, the less you understand; she got a very clear understanding, in a little more than eighteen months. Her keenness of mind was not overcome in the temple of Kali, or by the overwhelming array of the

(14) P. 28.

(15) P. 129.

(16) Daniell Zoffany, D. N. B.

personages of Hindu mythology, as in the caves of Elephanta.

She was seldom enthusiastic, but the beautiful scenery of the Ghats, and of Ceylon, made her so. The voyage along the Malabar coast was a joy to her. Seen from the sea, the mountains which in some places almost overhang the sea and in others recede to allow fields and villages to beautify their base are (17) "almost clothed to the top with majestic woods of every vigorous green," and it is only here and there that a wide tract of jungle grass, or a projecting rock interrupts the deep line of these ancient forests. At the foot of the ghauts, the white churches of the Christians of St. Johns and of the Portuguese appear now and then among the cocoanut woods which fringe the coast, and mix agreeably with the fishermen's huts, the native pagodas, and the ruined forts of decayed European settlements. The night scenery is not less beautiful; it is the custom to burn the jungle grass before the rains, in order to fertilise the soil; and though the smoke only is visible in the day, at night you see miles of country glowing with red embers, or blazing with vivid flame.

But in spite of all she saw in the country, Miss Graham never grew to like it. She rated the inhabitants lower for the most part than she rated the general examples of her own countrymen. She went inspired by the vague suggestions of romance such as lay about the melodious names of unfamiliar places, by coloured dreams of "far Tigris and Balsorah's Haven." Among much that stimulated and delighted her, she found still more that wearied and repelled: and she longed to get home. The only pang that her departure gave her was "that there is something in leaving even a disagreeable place for ever which makes us sad without being able to account for it."

VI

Fifteen Years in India (London 1822) by an Officer in His Majesty's Service, though of very uneven literary quality is one of the most vivid accounts of Anglo-Indian life that one can see. The writer has always heart and vivacity.

A Mss. in the India Office Library (A. L. R. I. C.) called *Eastern Sketches or Original Letters from India, Written in the years 1826—1827, By an Officer in the E. I.*

Company's Service, is another story of a new-comer's experience. Its writer, William Geary Massie, was a young ensign, observant, yet entirely unsophisticated (unlike the boors of Maria Graham, Eliza Fay and Mrs. Elwood). His is a youthful and open humour; pleasure in youth and health and this delightful world colour all his confidences to his family. Maria Graham's account is valuable because the vigour of her mind has forced accuracy upon her judgment; it is the lively goodness of William Massie that gives him his understanding of scenes and Indians and—most of all—Anglo-Indians. This is a very valuable picture of India as it presents itself to the best sort of those young men who are taken as typical Englishmen.

The personality of William Massie is uniformly charming: his nature was the same sort of nature as Sir Thomas Browne's younger son Tom—the gallant youth who apparently perished in one of Charles II's naval engagements;—and we know him well by the time he has got to the end of long Cape voyage. "I fear you will have been more seasick than myself," he writes to his sister Susan, but even in monotony he is never tedious. Arrived in India, he is not a student of anything more than he requires for his own convenience. Servants are a recurring interest. Nowhere perhaps better than in William Massie's pages does one get an idea of what a young man arriving in India ought to know from that point of view. His valet or bearer looked after him well as the good Indian bearer knows how to do. "Many of his good offices, however, he appeared surprised to see me dispense with—to such a ridiculous pitch it seems that the white man carries his indolence here," he is shaven while still asleep in bed, he does not put on his own shoes, nor stockings, nor even trousers.

William Massie's account of Madras was well calculated to give his Cheshire home a sense of the contrast between its ways and his surroundings. "Excepting the palmyra, cocoa, and acacia, the trees I have seen cannot be compared to the English trees; with much of the elegance and foliage of an *apple-tree*, the colour is that monotonous green (18) of the trees in a Dutch toy. But I was so engaged with the strange variety of *animals* around me that I had little time to think of the landscape; the road

(18) It is interesting to remember that the ordinary English eye is more pleased by various shades of green than by any other colour.

was crowded with natives of every country. Under every tree was a group of the lower caste of natives, some dressing and cutting one another's hair, some cooking and eating rice, smoking hubble-bubbles or lying asleep in the shade, many rubbing their horses, cleaning buggies, gigs, etc., which by the bye are the most unsentimental looking machines among the Indian groups, as everything European is, for convenience and improvement is the destruction of the Romantic and picturesqueness. The women study the *romantic* particularly in their dress which consists merely of a loose shawl round the waist hanging nearly to the ankle on one side and *not very low* on the other,—with one end brought over the shoulder. Of *beauty* I did not see much in their black *visages*, but a sort of conscious dignity of step and grace in their attitudes, and motions of their arms, when contrasted with the vulgarity and red arms of the lower classes of Englishwomen, tho' I am not so treacherous as to say with many others, that the most *perfect British Belles* would lose much by the comparison and in the same costume. It is only the refuse that we see, the females of the higher castes never being allowed to appear abroad, or *gad about as white ladies*. *I think how happy you must be in being born in England where the gentlemen are so generous and indulgent.*" It was not long before this observant young gentleman began to make animadversions upon the Company's servants, and his opinions did not differ from Miss Graham's. He cared very little for the young servants of the Company, or writers as they were then called and the "dash" they cut. He comments on the difference in moral standard between Cheshire and Anglo-India: "*In this world, you know, if one man is more religious than another, they call him a Methodist, if more clever, they call him a madman, nothing but fools and sinners go down with us.*" The coolies who rowed out to meet them were not more reassuring either in their Satanic appearance or in the "*impish and shudderable way*" they behaved. "*It is impossible to look for entire perfection in this world*" is a later reflection.

His impressions on arriving in Madras were a mixture of repellant and fascination. He was amused at the eager jerking grunt the towers shoot from the bottom of their lungs as they take the opportunity of a wave's rising to get on; the strangeness of the scene on landing

in Madras astonished him "None of the plain straightforward red brick three storey houses, but every now and then a large white building with colonnades and pillars, or a pagoda carved over with the most extraordinary but rich figures, or a mosque with its twisted and gilt spires surrounded by the striking contrasts of native huts, made of bamboos, rushes or grass and turf with a kind of rude verandah supported on crooked branches, under which in heaps lie the people apparently in the luxury of total idleness." Arrived at his hotel, he found a bundle of whips hung up in his bedroom for use on the coolies. And their extortionate demands "put me into such a heat and harassed me so in the *irritable state of my nerves* at the time, that it was almost difficult to refrain from laying the lash on their shoulders; the very boy indeed who had just tried to remove the whips told me I should whip them well". Perhaps his voyage had tinctured him with the Indo-British point of view: he advocated a certain romantic pride to keep the Englishmen above meannesses; if the Indians once suspect that the Anglo-Indians are as "bad and vicious as themselves" it's the end of white superiority in India.

After he had gone on to Calcutta and been posted to his regiment he started making his way up the Ganges in a covered canoe. Already India was beginning to have its effect on him, as too often we grow like what we hate. "*It is almost impossible*" he writes "for anyone to avoid becoming almost a different being in a very short time after arriving in India, and I dare say I am wondrously altered among the rest in my ways; while every griffin swears he'll never get into such and such habits that he sees everyone, in spite of their having made the same determination, dropping into by degrees, they will be seen living exactly as the rest of the old Indians. It's so completely John Bull to swear he'll stick up to the old way—he can't bear the idea of this and that, but his antipathies soon vanish, and perhaps there's not one in a hundred, but what by and bye can't do without their punchers, their hookahs, and servants to dress them like a child. You talk in England of the *luxuries of the East*, and all the best things come from abroad. *But such is the perversion of human nature*, that here nothing is fit to touch but what is British." So everything then in England was known by the name of the firm responsible for it, and the same thing pre-

vails to-day. Perhaps people are compelled to take on authority what the private judgments of their own senses or palates are not competent to decide. On one subject however Anglo-Indian ladies were an authority (not now) ; they knew what to drink in the way of beer, and evidently how to drink it. "There was no squeamishness in them. Indeed," says William Massie, "there is a great want of refinement in conversation in India, increasing as one advances up country, but I really think the fault is almost entirely on the gentlemen's side, though I by no means wish to excuse the ladies for allowing it ; indeed they join in it, and often carry an ordinary joke on while they put their hands before their faces, and positively blush through them, laughing in fits. This charge is against married ladies, and indeed I saw it in some of the most beautiful and ladylike."

What gives such value to William Massie's remarks on Anglo-India is that he is so vivid and accurate in describing his experiences among *things*. The last half of his journal describing his tour up country is given up to these. He goes out shooting from the Ganges in the morning, and picks up a good bag of game: teal, snipe, partridge wild duck and quail and wood pigeons all came his way. And then he goes dreaming along, thinking of home, and misses the next bird. Everywhere the English more sacrosanct, accepted as rulers by natural right, even though the young officers (sent out as William Massie says 'without nurses') kill the village dogs and treat the kind and helpless natives of the country in a bullying and "scurvy" sort of manner. Around him are the steep banks and the sand of the river bed, the brown metallic water, and the endless plain, here and there a village of mud with its trees ; "to me", says this keen youth "the very name of the Ganges and the East has always carried with it a notion of something *splendidly magnificent*. I had looked forward to find rich green banks sloping to the water, with *spice* groves and Palmyras hanging over the water and gardens like scenes in a play. (Indeed there is something very like all this in the reaches below Calcutta.) I fancied the country near the river had been full of deep ravines almost impenetrable for trees and thickets, and dangerous to venture into them for fear of tigers and all sorts of wild beasts. Instead of that the country is... .. one immense flat, in general overrun with long grass some 14 or 15 feet high." Following black

partridge one day further up the river he went rather too far on to the plain and came actually on the fresh tracks of a tiger. "I turned round to my man Friday with a Robinson Crusoe look, and saw him looking in such a miserable funk that I could almost have laughed if I had not been rather *thunderstruck* myself." A little further he heard the rustle of a large animal in the grass, and felt even more uncomfortable, when out bounded a young deer, but the sportsman though he was hunting tiger had loaded his gun only with shot. Somewhere near Allahabad, Massie left the Ganges and struck down into Central India. His last letter was written from Hosseinabad in July 1827.

Such is the valuable account of "the young ensign": it is free from rhetorical effect because it was inspired not by the thought of publication but by the wish to make his life real to intimate relations. It was not elegance, he said, that he aimed at depicting, and he had no patience with those that put a graceful ash where there ought to be an apple tree. "*The height of my ambition* would be to give you a true notion of the country, without *climbing up trees* in search of fine views," he said, and we must admit, he has attained it.

H. G. Briggs' *Cities of Gujarastra*, 1848, in a verlose account of his subject by an old man who tried to rise to the style of Forbes and Tod and sinks into ponderousness. But his introduction is a valuable essay on the history of travellers in India.

VII

Far above the standard of Jones and Leydem, of Richardson or Parker, of even Lyall and Edwin Arnold, are the melodious verses of Derozio. Derozio's work is little known ; his name was made known to students of literature by Mr. Oaten only a few years ago ; few authorities are familiar with his verse ; there is not even a copy in the Bodleian Library,⁽¹⁹⁾ and it is necessary to support one's references by generous quotations.

Derozio was a Eurasian of Portuguese extraction, and unlike most Portuguese Eurasians, a Protestant, born in Calcutta in 1809. He left school at the age of 14 and went into an office for a short time. He then transferred

⁽¹⁹⁾ The Librarian, in reply to a suggestion of the present writer, wrote that the Library did not buy minor poetry.

That when the eye is fixed on boundless space

Spurning the earth, yet grows the giant mind
And seeks in some bright ere a dwelling place.
And it may be, that in my breast the fires

Of hope, and fancy both are burning bright,
And all my aspirations and desires

May pass away, e'en with thy shadows, Night.
But could my spirit fly from earth also,

'Twould dwell with one I love in yonder lovely star

The Neglected Minstrel, The Golden Vase, The Eclipse, The Ruins of Rajmahal and The Enchantress of the Cave are specifically Indian poems: the names, the description, the whole *mise-en-scène*, have the lusciousness of Bengal's beauty. But they are not as vivid in description as Heber's *Evening Walk in Bengal*. To the native of India the tropics and the bazaar have seldom the magic picturesqueness with which they charm and intoxicate the stranger; the accustomed eye less quickly captures what is distinctive in them.

The Fakeer of Jungheera was the most sustained essay of Derozio in dealing with a single theme. The poet found the subject in his wanderings along the Ganges. Above Monghyr the rock of Jungheera, reputed to be the haunt of a holy man, suggested a theme of love. Derozio conceived a robber chief as adopting this disguise and rescuing a lovely young widow from suttee: he is later overcome by the widow's family and slain on the field of battle. Such is the theme on which the poet fixes his romantic verse.

All Derozio's work is so closely modelled on his English examples that they seem to those that know the Romantic Revival as little more than excellent academic exercises in imitation of them, the academic exercises of a young genius. This is worth an illustration.

The charming restrained sentimentality of Byron's well-known stanza in *Don Juan* is echoed in the more sensuous spirit of India in the twelfth stanza of Derozio's second canto:

'Tis sweet upon the midnight moon to gaze
As o'er the waters shed her trembling rays,
'Tis sweet at starlit hour to hear the breeze
Waking o'er pebbles its rich melodies,
Like a young minstrel with his tuneful art
Singing to soften the unfeeling heart—
But ah! to gaze upon the lowlit eye,
To feel its wraith, and all its witchery;
To hear the melting notes of that voice
Which bids thee to somnolence or rejoice;

To know that every glance, and thought, and tone
Of one devoted spirit is our own--
O! this joy, like that to angels given,
Filled to the brim the heavenliest cup of heaven.

The Fakeer of Jungheera was dedicated to Derozio's native and enthralling land:

My country! in thy day of glory past
A beauteous halo circled round thy brow,
And worshipped as a deity thou wast—
Where is that glory, where that reverence now?
Thy eagle pinion is chained down at last
And grovelling in the lowly dust art thou,
Thy minstrel hath no wreath to weave for thee
Save the sad story of thy misery!
Well, let me dive into the depths of time
And bring from out the ages that have rolled
A few small fragments of those wrecks sublime,
Which human eye may never more behold;
And let the guerdon of my labour be
My fallen country! one kind wish for thee!

Derozio is the sole example of a poet of Anglo-India surrendering his genius to India with the passionate loyalty of her own children.

VIII

David Lester Richardson who rose to the rank of Major in the Indian Army, came out as a cadet in the year that Victoria was born. His unusual personality and tastes had asserted themselves in the fifteen years before Macaulay arrived, and in the new system of education in English, he was transferred from the Indian Army to be Professor of Literature in the new College in Calcutta. He had already done some literary work during a furlough in England and after his retirement he became editor and proprietor of the *Court Circular*.

His name is little known, but he was a writer of no ordinary merit. There is a certain grace and elevation in his style which takes one back to Addison, a certain epigrammatic quaintness and richness of effect which suggest the cadences of the earlier seventeenth century essayists. There are other times when Richardson is obviously modelling himself on the sentimental formalism of Washington Irving. All his essays are recollections of English masters, reproduced in cadence, in imagery, in quotation. Though his favourite reading was evidently the romantic revival, which inspires both his poems and his prose, he was a student of all English literature from Chaucer to his own day. A certain

came out in 1827. In 1828 he produced *The English in India*, a novel which sought to delineate the life that people about to set out for India might expect to live when they reached there. It is more forced than the others which all lack vividness and construction, though they are very readable. Later Hockley's authorship of this book, as well as of two later ones, *The Vizir's Son* (1831) and *Memoirs of a Brahmin* (1843) were disputed. It was asserted that they were the work of a Captain or Major Ottley. But this idea need not be considered. The style in all these books, the treatment, the successes and failures, are all so much alike that any further consideration is unnecessary. Furthermore they are boldly announced on the title-page as the work of the author of *Pandurang Hari*, and neither Ottley nor the publishers could have been so dishonest as to attempt this falsehood, especially as Hockley was still alive.

The circumstances under which he wrote were peculiar. Born in 1792, he arrived in Bombay on May 9, 1813. In 1821 he was dismissed from his position, and finally removed from the Company's service. We hear no more of him, except that he died on August 22, 1860. There was a revival of interest in his work in the '70 when a new edition of *Pandurang Hari* was brought out with a preface by Sir Bartle Frere, and of the *Tales of a Zenana* with a preface by Lord Stanley of Alderley. He is not mentioned in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, or in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

Yet there can be little doubt that he more than any other was the model of Meadows Taylor.

X

The figure in the world of letters which represents the old-fashioned type of Anglo-Indian, the type to which Colonel Newcome belonged, is that of Philip Meadows Taylor. He was born in 1808, a descendant on his father's side of noted dissenters and on his mother's a grandson of Bertram Mitford of Mitford Castle. He arrived in India at the age of 15; a year later he obtained a commission in the Nizam's army, and published his first romance in 1830, *The Confessions of a Thug*, the most graphic and entertaining of all his works. In his novels, *Tara*, which treats of the rise of Shivaji in 1657, *Ralph Darnell* of the conquests of Clive, culminating at Plassey in 1757, *Seeta* which is a Romance of the Mutiny which broke

out in 1857, *Tippoo Sultaun* a story of the conquest of Mysore, and *A Noble Queen*, he was certainly successful. Twenty or thirty years after he first began to write, his books had what is called a "run". The period of intense romantic interest in India which followed the Mutiny made them a delight to those whose lives and imaginations had brought them in touch with India.

Taylor gave many appreciative descriptions of India, and probably few Englishmen have had a more intimate affection for the Indian landscape. This is a description of Tuljapur from the *Story of my Life* :

"How beautiful it was! The hills were all clothed with verdure and the view from the tent was lovely. In the north side of the promontory where I was, lay the town, built on both sides of a deep ravine, and its head the celebrated shrine of Bhowani or Kalee, which lay in the hollow beneath—not indeed, in itself, a remarkable edifice at all, but surrounded by picturesque cloisters and courts, always thronged by pilgrims, and which formed a curious combination of all kinds of Hindoo architecture." (20)

So it goes on. To those who know such scenes it has some meaning; but when all is said it is mediocre. It never creates a single suggestion of the scene itself.

A certain conventionality of romantic style, a tendency of false effects, and an incapacity to make adventure really exciting or absorbing, prevent these works from reaching the level of the *Confessions of a Thug*, which is simply a record of fact filled in by imagination and description till it attains the vividness of life. The subject was a thrilling one: the career of the tribe who made murder their religion, the victims of an infectious sadistic mania in an extreme form. The pathos, the savagery, the evil and the wild romance of the Thug's life were brilliantly combined in Taylor's treatment. Indeed his touch was sympathetic on every phase of Indian life, even on this one. He knew the Indian well, and realized that the only successful upholders of British prestige and popularity in India will be those who are so familiar with the Indian character and manners that they will treat all ranks of society with the authority or the courtesy that their elaborate standards require. Taylor never pretends that Indians are incapable of cruelty and wrong-doing. But he shows that

their subtle and elaborate life covers a very wide range, and is capable of the most noble and the most passionate emotions, that indeed there is something poetic in their temperaments even when their faults have been terribly developed.

The importance of Taylor is the importance of the aristocratic secret of life. Careful manners, fine distinctions, the combination of friendship with dignity through an acute perception of character and social requirements, gave him his *flaire* both for administration and for Indian romance. He had not lived his life before the glass of fashion; he was a gentleman of the old school. His personality makes the charm of all his books: and we see it vividly in his autobiography published after his death as *The Story of My Life*. Quite simply and sincerely Taylor reveals himself. "The author has drawn in his own person a portrait of the chivalrous officer, the laborious and philanthropic magistrate and the man of versatile accomplishment."⁽²¹⁾ These gifts enjoyed some measure of appreciation. From 1840 to 1853 he was the Indian Correspondent of *The Times*.

XI

The cheerful energy which Thomas Arnold generated from his curious mixture of culture, Protestantism and moral zeal, turned to melancholy and uncertainty in his sons Matthew and William when they took up his traditions. When Mathew Arnold wrote poetry, his Greek culture super-invested his questionings with the beauty he loved as a Greek to contemplate. With the agnosticism, tending to pessimism, of Hellenic poetry, he revived its platonic passion for reality; discovered or suggested through art. William Delafield Arnold had the same eagerness, the same hopelessness as his brother; the same moral passion liable at any moment to become self-righteousness. His novel *Oakfield* tells his own story; Borrow's more famous books are autobiographically altered to give himself fuller expression, and departure from fact never makes them less of literature. But the writer of *Oakfield* was so self-absorbed that the reader cannot separate the hero from himself. Byron's self-preoccupation is wearying, but even Byron, though he may have idealized his passions, never places himself as a protagonist of moral righteousness, in a society of vulgar and evil men supposed to be his comrades. Arnold went to

India to gratify a whim—a delicate, cultivated, affectionate youth, self-centred, sensitive even to morbidity, who had been an undergraduate at Christ Church; he was never well in India; he was haunted by the realization of his approaching death, he took no interest in the country itself; he completely lacked a sense of humour; his personality was everything that William Massie's was not; except that each of them was a gentleman; and Anglo-Indian society with its odd language, its rough standards, its lack of culture, its coarse pleasures, was exceedingly distasteful to him. He relieved his feelings by writing a book with himself as hero and his less congenial brother-officers as villains. It shows English in India not necessarily falsely, but at their worst. It shows them as they appeared to an earnest, fastidious, Oxford Protestant. It is a document not to be disregarded in the history of the English in India. Like almost every new arrival in India, he had been first fascinated by the beauty of India's tropic strangeness, but a feeling of oppression mingled almost immediately with his appreciation, and a half-suppressed doubt as to the value of British power in India never left his mind. "There were the scorching sun⁽²²⁾ and almost fearful verdure of Bengal; the ceaseless hum of unseen animal life; the white flat-roofed, hundred-doored palaces of the European inhabitants, the mud hovels and the swarming natives; the natives themselves and their strange language; the dull, broad Hooghly, bearing down the dead bodies of Hindus, glad to have their last home in its holy waters; bearing too the living ships of less revering nations to all parts of the globe; there, above all, were the palm and the banyan tree so alive with oriental association, speaking of a time ere yet that British power, now so manifest in all directions, had emerged from infancy in its own island cradle; when the same scene might have been witnessed here the same scorching sky, the same rich vegetation, the same funereal river; while primeval Bramins, sitting in primeval groves, asked where shall wisdom be found and where is the place of understanding?" Mixed with the first impressions of outward subjects, arose that wonder which must more or less strike everyone on first arrival in India; which may well follow them all the days of their sojourn there—for most wonderful it is—at the extraordinary fact of British dominion, so manifest everywhere;

(21) Dictionary of National Biography.

(22) *Oakfield*, edition 1850, Vol. I, p. 12.

apparently so firmly planted in the soil and yet so manifestly separate from it; so that while it was impossible to fancy the power being swept away, it was easy to look round and think of it as gone; the prominent feature in the picture, still were it once removed, the picture would seem almost the same without it.

Oakfield was posted to a regiment up the Ganges. He found his fellow-officers "mere animals with no single idea on any subject in the world beyond their carcasses"; they were dishonest in money transactions and as for courtesy, such an idea never entered their heads. "Fancy" writes Oakfield "talking to an officer of courtesy to a native". Their language was disgusting; they took no interest even in their regiment; and though the first dismayed glance may have missed some redeeming point the maturer writer still insists that the first experiences of Indian society are to most people disappointing and often shocking. Oakfield's only consolation was the companionship of a beautiful youth, four years younger than himself, who held a commission in the regiment and whom he gradually weaned away from the degrading atmosphere of the mess. But even he caught a chill in the Ganges and died soon after from an internal abscess. Bored with the stupidity, disgusted with the lowness of wit, ill at ease in a company where moral earnestness was at a discount, Oakfield's problem was how much he was to live to himself till he could get a transfer to another regiment; after a few months he was travelling up the Ganges to Allahabad on his way to Meerut. He was accompanied by an Irishman, a clergyman, and a civil servant from Ferozepore, Middleton, who became one of his greatest friends. He reached Meerut only to find that war had broken out along the Sutlej; his regiment was already marching to Ferozepore; and a friend Stanton, whom he had made on the voyage, described his own experiences in an engagement.

Before going on to Ferozepore, where Oakfield began his regimental life again, Stanton joined him at Meerut. With Stanton he found a new friend Wykham, a delightful person with all the health and spirits and freshness of youth: he was short and dark, with small but well-formed features, a firm lip, a bright eye, black hair and moustache; an Etonian, downright, cheerful, honourable, gentlemanly, the son of an officer; the memory of Wykham brightened much of Oakfield's despondency. At Ferozepore he

found his friend Middleton again with a sister who, being beautiful and interesting, was naturally a subject of disapproval to the society of the station. The new regiment was a "crack" one, very different in its standards from that to which Oakfield was first posted. But he found it hardly more congenial. The ringleader of his enemies was a senior lieutenant, Stafford, who one evening having spoken insultingly of Miss Middleton, called Oakfield a hypocrite and a coward. Oakfield appealed to the senior officer present who took no notice. He refused to challenge Stafford. Stafford, however, saying that he himself had suffered interference from a junior in the mess, challenged him. Oakfield, on account of his religious scruples, refused to fight, but maddened by the insulting tone of Stafford's young second, he got down from his horse and thrashed him.

He was then court-martialled, firstly for conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman by suffering without notice a public insult in the mess, and, secondly, for assaulting a fellow-officer. The decision went up to the Commander in-Chief, and after some months Oakfield learnt that he was found "not guilty" on the first charge, and on the second, was sentenced to be reprimanded, as "personal violence is a mode of redress which neither civil nor military law can for a moment tolerate".

Although Oakfield was saved from the visitations of official tyranny, his intercourse with his mess was as strained as ever, and his health began also to depress him. He got a leave in the hills, which he spent with Wykham at Simla, after a miserable journey in a palki over the plains, with no rest but at dreary Dak bungalows. His return in the cold weather to Ferozepore coincided with the second Sikh campaign in which he had an opportunity to prove his physical courage. Indeed he saved his regimental colours at Chillianwala (23) and returned with them in triumph at the end of the day. Stafford was killed in the battle, and made his peace with Oakfield with his last breath. Wykham received a wound in the leg which sent him back to Simla on leave. There Oakfield joined him in the hot months. Wykham went home on furlough at the end of it, Stanton became engaged to Miss Middleton and Oakfield entered on a new phase of his career, accepting a post as a civil servant in Lahore.

(23) Meredith wrote his first published poem on this battle.

In the following May—1850—Oakfield writes a letter to Wykham in which he reviews the value of the British Government in India. He likes his post better than he had hoped, or rather dislikes it less; the routine controlled and supported him, he is thankful his brother is not coming out: "one in a family is enough for this place of torment.....for one whose character is refined and strengthened by the fiery furnace of Indian temptation there are ten who are carried away, withered up and destroyed by it" Sunday had come for the first time to have a meaning to him, as a link which bound the duty and justice of earth to eternal reality, as a warning not to mistake efficiency in the performance of the daily task for the consummation of eternal principles. He saw in the Government of which he was a member a tendency to be thoroughly loyal to principles which, though better than those of many governments, were still low and bad; and for this reason he thought that no other Government was in so bad a way. Other Governments had an ideal, a notion of higher truth; they recognised, at least in a general or partial way, the higher spiritual ends in administration and human life, whether social or individual, but, writes Oakfield "our Government (24) is purely secular; and thus while there can be no doubt of the very great relief which British rule has given to this country, though it is certain there is a growing desire to treat the natives well, to improve the country physically, to improve the courts of justice, and so on and though I fully admit that these are great blessings (a great deal more than can be said for most Governments), yet I maintain that to a Government that has no higher ideal than all this, the words 'great' or 'noble' are misapplied. There is an utter want of nobleness in the Government of India; it still retains the marks of its commercial origin; we see every year in England the evils of a merely commercial spirit, developing themselves in selfishness, in coarseness, in cowardly shrinking from brave endurance; in England this is partly counteracted by other influences; but here it is counteracted by nothing but the good which undoubtedly is contained, together with the evil in itself. The good, as has been said a thousand times, is great; it consists in vigour, force, energy, a terrestrial justice, infinitely better than a lawless rapine and a politic benevolence; but the evil, though less

talked about, is great also and no less certainly exists. The evil is a money-getting, earthly mind that dares to view a large portion of God's world, and many millions of God's creatures, as a more or less profitable investment, as a good return for money laid out upon them, as a providential asylum for younger sons." Such was the spirit of Anglo-India as a whole, such likewise were its individuals: vigour, strong sense, prompt and business-like dexterity: these things earned them a deserved distinction: they were good, honest, intelligent men of business, but can you run a country with only such for its guiding spirits? Is there any spirit of philosophy, of poetry, of godliness, in the Anglo-Indian mind? These are the quaint questions which arose in the mind of the hero of Thomas Arnold's son as he wrote to his bosom friend. Perhaps his statements, like so many young men's, were sweeping and dogmatic, says the author, but what if they were? It was better than lukewarmness. There was plenty of physical courage; but the country languished for the lack of visionary enthusiasm.

A few months later Oakfield was sent home on medical furlough too. He reached his home too weak to regain his strength and died that winter. Wykham, who was engaged to his sister, married her on the next birthday of Oakfield after his death.

It is a depressing story. India is a land of lying people void of loyalty to a Government whose obtuseness they could not be expected to understand, a land administered by well-meaning and energetic officials too vulgar, too mundane to do it lasting good, a land with a foul exhausting climate and stations characterized by dusty hideousness. It shows India as the sick man sees it, as nearly all Englishmen settled in India have seen it at one time or another, a theme of gloom amounting to despair. So must an administration of expediency, where the people and their Government are out of sympathy, where indeed the Government regards the people not as human beings with the rights of human beings, but simply as the field of its own constricted efficiency, and the people regard the Government as an effective engine which, if neglected, may be dangerous, so must such a Government always appear to one brought up to seek to harmonize private and public life with an eternal order of lofty moral principle. For such was William Arnold. The poet has sketched in haunting lines the charm of his young

(24) *Oakfield*, 1853 edition, Vol. II, p. 223

brother, and given a hint of a conception of India which he associated with his brother, though it is not expressed in *Oakfield*. William Arnold died at Gibraltar on his way home on sick leave, after losing his wife in India.

For there with bodily anguish keen,
 With Indian heats at last fordome,
 With public toil and private teen
 Thou sank'st alone.
 For there, where morning's sacred fount
 Its golden rain on earth confers,
 The snowy Himalayan mount
 O'ershadows hers.
 Not by those hoary Indian hills
 Not by this gracious midland sea,
 Whose floor to-night sweet moonshine fills
 Should our graves be.
 Of thee I think, my brother! young
 In heart, high soul'd.
 That comely face, that cluster'd brow,
 That cordial hand, that bearing free,
 I see them still, I see them now,
 Shall always see.
 And what but gentleness untired,
 And what but noble feeling warm,
 Wherever shown, howe'er inspired
 Is grace, is charm?

XII

Henry Whitelock Torrens was a friend of Sir Elliott as well as of Parker, and wrote much the same things as they: but there is in his work a certain finish of satire which raises him far above Parker and which still gives value to his work. His *Remarks on the Scope and Uses of Military Literature and History* was his principal work, but he also wrote essays, verses and travel sketches, ranging from *Rhodope and Mendno-phus* and a translation of *Orlando Inamorato to Sport at the North Station in Bengal*. In all his work there is a certain whimsical brilliance, an evidence of literary accomplishment never quite reaching the standard of permanent achievement. His work was described by Richardson as "always smart, lively and ingenious". A rather vain and self-satisfied person, paying too much attention to the flattery of his success in frivolous amusements, he was an industrious and useful worker. He was for many years Secretary to the Royal Asiatic Society in Bengal. He was one of those who were in India at the time of Macaulay and Sir Charles Trevelyan, and probably received his impetus

towards his literary and journalistic activity from the circle which grouped itself round them.

XIII

William Waterfield, a member of a well-known Anglo-Indian family, wrote the most popular volume of poetry that an Anglo-Indian has ever produced. Others have scored greater successes in humorous verse, Richardson has expressed more delicately the yearnings of melancholy memory, Jones produced a more scholarly presentation of what most inspired Waterfield, the myths of Hinduism, but he had not such a command over soft metre and could not make so intimate an appeal to the feelings. Waterfield printed his poetry in three divisions: Indian Ballads, Miscellaneous Ballads, and Album Verses. From the third category we will not expect more than was intended. The Miscellaneous Ballads range from a *Hymn of the Spartan Nations* and a *Lament of the Thebans on the Death of Epaminondas* to a conventional ballad on the *Days of Old* with many humorous or satiric touches. But his Indian Ballads are the great body of his work, and they are better than anything in Southey.

The first stanza of the *Hymn to India* illustrates his art.

God of the varied bow,
 God of the thousand eyes,
 From all the winds that blow
 Thy praises rise;
 Forth through the world they go
 Hymning to all below
 Thee, whom the blest shall know
 Lord of the skies.

What Good may come out of the India Bill (1854), by Francis Horsley Robinson, is an indictment of the British Government on two grounds: Proselytization to Christianity and Injustice owing chiefly to the *esprit de corps* of the Civil Service. A moderate illustrated story of British shortcomings well put together, it shows the danger of tyranny in having the country well under control, the co-operation of the Indians being no longer necessary. It is a re-statement of the contentions of Burke.

XIV

Henry D. Torrens, a member of the well-known family, did not write literature, but his story of an expedition from Simla to Leh and back again through Kashmir is the ground of

literature. It takes us into that wonderful world of mountains and mountain passes and gorges which are behind Simla, into the vast scale of the mighty ranges where Nature displays undisturbed her wildest grandeur. This is not the least mysterious or the least wonderful in the world of India. The book describes a thousand miles march over routes which are still very rarely trod: it takes us through Kulu and Sultanpur over the Rohtang Pass at 13,000 feet into the upland valley of Lahoul, where they leave the ways of India and wander among those of Tibet, where few but Moorcroft and Cunningham, Huc and Gabet had gone before them. Up in the barren valley, with the snow peaks vast above them, they came on the Moravian Mission. Up a drear valley they climbed the Bara Lacha at nearly 17,000 feet and so along the Yunam and the Lingti and over the Lung Lacha at 17,000 again, and the Lung Ling Pass higher still into Ladakh. They then descended the Indus valley and crossed the Zagi-La to Srinagar, returning to Simla by the novel route of Chamba and Kangra.

In this atmosphere of peaks and valleys and snow bridges and lakes and deodars and camping-grounds, there is a hint of that reserve of inspiration from nature which returned the interest of Wordsworth's contemporaries to India and which though largely overpassed is the background of so much of India's wealth to the life of the imagination. Thought and feeling are steeped in those remote scenes of grandeur, in that rare air, in those high difficult tracks, as in a stream of living water running clear over rock and sand.

XV

Burton began his life of romantic travel as a subaltern in one of the Company's regiments, and while still in it he began his literary career. He was given the most cosmopolitan education and escaped from Oxford where he was a member of Trinity and was meant to be a parson, to find his way into the Army. He soon devoted himself to a study of the people and their language, and when in 1851 he returned to England after an absence of seven years, he published no less than four volumes. One is a vigorous narrative of a holiday spent between Bombay and Optacamund; it is called *Goa and the Blue Mountains*. It exhibits at once Burton's personality as we know it in its later development, exuberant, adventurous, redolent

of the fruits of curiosity, unconventional, strong and self-assured. In the same relaxed but vigorous mood he wrote *Scinde or the Unhappy Valley*. *Falconry in the Valley of the Indus* is however on the whole a more typical work, for in it he combines his expression of his personality with exacter study. It is more than mere gossip, as Burton's best work always is. It is a formal subject treated in a natural and vital way. It braces Burton to a splendid style; free and probably unconscious, it expresses him as a man who looks straight at life and sees it with its details clear. "The European official in India" writes Burton⁽²⁵⁾ "seldom if ever sees anything its real light, so dense is the veil which the fearfulness, the duplicity, the prejudice and the superstitions of the natives hang before his eyes". Burton determined to be rid of these, so he dressed himself up as a Moslem from the Persian Gulf, which excused his accent and explained his unorthodox religion, and went about among them on equal terms. So as he himself writes⁽²⁶⁾ "With hair falling upon his shoulders, a long beard, face and hands, arms and feet, stained with a thin coat of henna, Mirza Abdullah of Bushire set out upon many and many a trip. He was a Bazzaz, a vendor of fine linen, calicoes, and muslins,—such chapmen are sometimes admitted to display their wares even in the sacred harem by 'fast' and fashionable dames;—and he had a little pack of *bijouterie* and *virtu* reserved for emergencies. It was only, however, when absolutely necessary that he displayed his stock in trade; generally he contented himself with alluding to it on all possible occasions, boasting largely of his traffic, and asking a thousand questions concerning the state of the market. Thus he could walk into most men's houses quite without ceremonies;—even if the master dreamed of kicking him out, the mistress was sure to oppose such measure with might and main. He secured numberless invitations, was proposed to by several papas, and won, or had to think he won, a few hearts; for he came as a rich man and he stayed with dignity, and he departed exacting all the honours. When wending his ways he usually urged a return visit in the morning, but he was seldom to be found at the caravanserai he specified—such was Mirza Abdullah, the Bushiri."

Mr. Lane Poole writes in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* of Burton's most famous work, *The*

(25) *Falconry on the Indus*, edition 1851, p. 99.

(26) *Falconry on the Indus*, p. 100.

Pilgrimage to El Medinah and Mecca, that "its vivid descriptions, pungent style and intensely personal note distinguish it from books of its class; its insight into Semitic modes of thought and its pictures of Arab manners give it the value of an historical document; its grim humour, keen observation and reckless insobriety of opinion, expressed in uncouth, but vigorous language, make it one of the curiosities of literature". There were yet other qualities which gave fame to his even greater work, his translation of the *Arabian Nights*, a sweeping vocabulary, an amazing felicity of choice of words, an intimacy with Arab life, and not least an unparalleled boldness of pornographic atmosphere and detail. The qualities which gave fame to Burton's most famous work give literary value, though they never gave popularity, to his early works on India. Indeed the treatise of

Sindh that he wrote for the Company is one of the least faulty of his works. It set out to be an account of the country and the people, with notices of the topography and history of the province. It is in fact the work of a gazetteer, and perhaps such work was never done better. The personality and the interests which Burton too freely expressed in other works colour and illumine this. It is literature because the whole study is instinct with life. And it takes us much further into India than that succession of ladies' journals which—beginning with *Hartley House* and continuing through the vigour of Maria Graham and the rhapsodies of "Mrs. Colonel Elwood" and the cattishness of Eliza Fay, culminate their light though high satiric tradition in the lively journals of Lady Maria Nugent and Lord Auckland's sister, Miss Emily Eden.

CURRENCY REFORM.*

(Contributed)

Mr. Keynes is, if anything, a bold and an original thinker. One of the foremost British theorists, a delightful writer on abstruse subjects, a sound economist and a sincere Liberal-Radical in political convictions, Mr. Keynes drew considerable attention when his advocacy of rational economic justice for the vanquished, in *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* earned him sneering opprobrium from the Junker elements and only a mild and faint-hearted praise from the saner groups. But they live to learn. His prophetic insight into the logical consequences of the crazy patchwork of selfish interests, they call the Treaty of Versailles, evokes admiration for his powers of acute perceptiveness as much as it extorts acknowledgment from the doubting 'victors' for the brilliant analytical powers with which the Cambridge Economist is gifted. Mr. Keynes furnishes in his sequel *A Revision of the Treaty* a reasoned analysis of the economic bankruptcy of Western

Europe and defines and outlines the data necessary for achieving that attitude of mind which harbingers peace and prosperity. In his latest volume he returns to an attack on the old economic system from a fresh angle. The epoch of reconstruction needs to be well and truly laid, and learning from the results and consequences of the catastrophe which overwhelmed the currency and credit machinery of the belligerents, Mr. Keynes advises a thorough revision of our ideas about money and finance. In *A Tract on Monetary Reform*—like the *Economic Consequences of Peace*, a boldly original and disturbing book—he marshalls with ingenious skill a formidable array of arguments in favour of shelving the pre-war currency ideas, and advocates after a brilliantly reasoned analysis the building up of the new credit machinery on, what seem to him, sounder and stabler foundations.

A Tract on Monetary Reform is an eminently readable book. The layman discovers in his readings varied points of refreshing interest as

**A Tract on Monetary Reform* by John Maynard Keynes, C.B. (Macmillan & Co., London, 1923), 7s. 6d.

much as the expert finds exhilarating contact with brilliant analysis and bold programmes. The secret of Mr. Keynes' success lies in his faultless interpretation in an easy and lucid, yet impressive, language of doctrines that expressed by a less skilful pen would appear cold and abstruse. Currency is a difficult branch of Economics and it is fortunate that the sponsor of the new creed is a distinguished literatteur as well as an eminent theorist.

Mr. Keynes has divided his *Tract* into two well-marked parts. He acts as a shrewd pathologist when he opens his arguments with a discussion of the *malaise* that has enveloped European currency during and since the war. Chapter I is devoted to the consequences to Society as a whole and to its industrial groups of a wild and erratic disturbance in the value of money. Mr. Keynes assumes the current conceptions about the function of Money—as a medium of exchange, as a standard of value, as differentiator of utilities. With money he associates its obverse face, the price level. His problem is to distinguish the unequal incidence of a change in the price level on the different classes of society as well as on the different phases of economic harmony, *viz.*, the productive and the distributive aspects of industrial capitalism. The investor or the *rentier*, the entrepreneur and the wage-earner—all three feel the consequences of a wild fluctuation in the value of money, but with a difference. Both a progressive rise and a regressive fall in the prices affect the social psychology of the classes in so far as their individual claims and dues are concerned. Mr. Keynes limits the notions of inflation and deflation to strict monetary commitments and consequently avoids the pitfalls during his discussion which an all-embracing doctrine would encounter. The un-controlled vagaries of the price level during and since the war provide an object lesson. The economic mentality of the classes has been materially affected. While inflation has disrupted the tendency toward saving and capital investment, it has also given a false idea of prosperity and security to the business men and the wage earners. The notions of normalcy of profits and stability of vocation have undergone a drastic change generating as a consequence the following period of stagnation and trade paralysis and acute unemployment. Cogently does Mr. Keynes argue that in face of such catastrophe a grave social duty rests with the State. Price level or the

standard of value should become a subject of deliberate decision in conjunction with an active policy for a juster redistribution of wealth.

In Chapter II the argument on inflation is carried a step further. The powerful instrument which the Government possesses in its printing press acts like a boomerang on the country's industrial stability; witness the German currency debacle. As a method of taxation, inflation provides the line of least resistance for a weak, unstable and bankrupt Government; and yet the merry whirl of ceaseless toil in the note-producing departments spins its own nemesis and time comes when the 'flight from currency' offers an effective resistance to the policy of further debauch. During its progress however the Government also stood to gain in so far as the claims of her bond-holders have been depreciated in real values. Unless bankruptcy and chaos is the goal arrest must be made of the movement on the sharp incline. Mr. Keynes, in company with Prof. Pigou of Cambridge University, blesses the method of Capital Levy as a perfectly feasible one. Concurrently, possibly a necessary choice for countries that have travelled far on the road to depreciation, he suggests devaluation at or about the present levels. Writing in October, 1923, Mr. Keynes again proves a prophet in the matter of the sensational fall of the franc which proved the excitement of the winter of 1923-24.

So far Mr. Keynes' analysis is on well-tried and known lines. But when he proceeds to restate his conception of the Quantity Theory and of Cassel's Theory of Purchasing Power Parity he breaks new ground. The introduction in the Quantity Theory of a recognition of violent upheavals in the consumption-units is an advance on the accepted interpretations, the importance of which can not be exaggerated. Distinguished economists like Prof. Loughlin who have rejected the Quantitative doctrine did so on the fact of prices having been affected much earlier in time than a change in the currency units appeared. The quantitative relation was further disguised by changes in what was termed velocity or turnover of circulation. Mr. Loughlin perceived, for instance, the fact of a change in the mental attitude of the average purchaser of commodities toward normal price and this psychological change appeared to be unconnected with the number of units of legal tender in circulation. Mr. Keynes' original contribution to the monetary aspects of the price variations consists in diagnosing accurately this

mental attitude. He contends that "an expansion in the circulation of legal tender money is generally the last phase of a lengthy process", and this being so the mere regulation of the number of currency units in circulation does not constitute an effective remedy for controlling the fluctuations in the attitudes of men who have come to believe that a larger amount of purchasing power is required for obtaining a specified quantity of consumption-units. The cyclical trade movements embody these changes in the minds of men in regard to the real *value* to them of consumption-units available without any reference to the number of currency-units at their command collectively. There is also the inter-locked complexity of fluctuations in the actual amount of legal tender and the effect—in no way quantitative—of such fluctuations on the price level. To put it briefly, the equation of value contains no independent item; change in one may have a more than proportional effect on the other because of the reactions of the change on the passive or sleeping items. The phrase, *ceteribus paribus*, or "other things being equal", has no standing in reality so far as the Quantity Theory is concerned. Mr. Keynes deduces that control of one item in the equation of value can not by itself protect the price level. If we want stability of prices we have to steady up not merely the number of units of "cash" in circulation, but also the number of consumption units, the monetary equivalent of which the public find it convenient to keep in cash or in current bank balances and the proportion of their potential liabilities to the public which the banks keep in "cash". This leads up to the problem not merely of currency control but also a control of bank credits.

Before proceeding however to discuss the remedial measures Mr. Keynes criticises the doctrine of Purchasing Power Parity, made famous by Prof. Gustav Cassel. The author builds up the limitations necessary to comprehend the practical working of the Cassel theory and after a very pertinent and shrewd analysis succeeds in showing that the value of the theory lies not in indicating the mechanics of exchange but in exhibiting in its proper relation the problem of internal prices and the market rates of exchange. He also indicates the scope of seasonal fluctuations in exchange rates and discusses the influence of the speculative Forward market on exchange parities.

Chapter IV and V of *A Treatise on Money*

Reform contain Mr. Keynes' practical proposals for reform. These have attracted attention, unduly we think, for it seems to us that the background which the author has furnished for his drastic proposals is of considerably greater importance than the discussion of ways and means. Nevertheless he has raised a controversy equal to the Silver Question of the late sixties and seventies of the last century. The trend of the argument leads the author to dismiss deflation as being both undesirable and impractical because of industrial paralysis and the following acute unemployment. In the light of his discussion of the purchasing power theory Mr. Keynes rightly decides for stability of the internal price level as against a stable exchange, the one condition of which is control beyond national jurisdiction. The goal therefore should be stability of internal prices at or near the existing values. Will a return to the gold standard do it? Mr. Keynes thinks not. For, firstly, "there is no escape from managed currency whether we wish it or not". Why not then fashion a tool more serviceable than gold? Secondly, America has the whip hand in the control of gold stocks and therefore of the price of gold. Why should England hitch her wagon to the star of an unknown and alien firmament? If she does not wish to surrender the regulation of her price level to America, if she has sense enough to reject the needless expense of "bottling up redundant gold", if she can cut herself away from the illusion of gold—the specific for her currency ills is then, according to our author, a simple and expedient one, *viz.*, an elaboration of the paper issue at present in existence and a well controlled Bank policy directed toward a carefully planned restriction and expansion of credit. Mr. Keynes contends that the changes in the structure of society necessitate a revision of our currency and credit systems. His discussion of the Quantity Theory revealed the importance of recognising that the limitation of currency alone can not be effective in checking inflation. It is also to be recognised that bank credits far exceed in influence the actual cash units in circulation in so far as internal prices are concerned in cyclical upheavals. The veteran Prof. Cannon has joined issue with our author in this respect and has re-stated with emphasis the orthodox doctrine of a "sound" currency. Mr. Cannon is undoubtedly right when he speaks of the dangers of an inconvertible currency in the hands of an unscrupulous Treasury; but we consider he rather

overstates his case in respect of a rigid limitation of the supply of legal tender money in relation to prices. The emphasis in the orthodox doctrine on one item of the equation of value to the entire rejection of initiative in any other item is questioned by Mr. Keynes. According to Prof. Cannon the recent history of Germany may provide a lurid lesson where control of credit would have been absolutely futile; but German history also tells us that under the circumstances control of currency was not a practical policy for the vanquished nation. Mr. Keynes has, no doubt, presented his thesis in strong lights and placed emphasis on the analytical deductions he has drawn from recent currency history to the exclusion of considered views on conditions slightly or entirely different from what prevail in modern Europe. He has also been frightened of America; perhaps like a far-seeing politician he perceives an ultimate antithesis of interests between the New World and the Old. We must admit however that he has submitted with ability a deductive reading of the equation of value and asks us to recognise at a certain point of time and place the specific values that attach to each individual item of the equation. A fruitful solution can be expected only if all the facts are searchingly analysed.

In proceeding to define his proposals for reform Mr. Keynes cuts himself away entirely from the conception of a gold-regulated currency. There is no such thing as free money; we must not delude ourselves with false ideas regarding convertibility. Currency has got to be a *managed* institution and if we can trust the Treasury half way why not go a little further and by trusting Government we may perchance evolve a solution to the recurring cycles of alternating boom and depression. Mr. Keynes pleads for a scientific control of internal price levels. The stability of exchange he would

assure by asking the Bank to take over the duty of regulating the price of gold and of maintaining a free forward market. He would combine these proposals with separating the gold reserve from the note issue—a drastic proposal for the conservative Britisher. The author has not developed the details of his scheme and criticism levied at his book fail to reach the mark for the success or otherwise of Mr. Keynes' proposals depends almost entirely upon the details in which the scheme is set to work. Journalists like Mr. Harold Cox have denounced the author for introducing political influences into the Treasury. What served the 19th century best, argues Mr. Cox, should serve the 20th century equally well. Mr. Cox however forgets the turn which the wheel of time has taken. He has no use for new-fangled notions, even when he feels that human knowledge is a progressive accumulation and that history never repeats itself. Of necessity the main criticism has been directed at the proposal to dissociate currency from gold. The idea has proved too radical even for advanced economists like Prof. Cassel who still believes in the essential sanity of European finance and considers a return to the gold standard—may be at new parities—both possible and desirable. Mr. Keynes' analysis can not however be curtly dismissed, for he has laid his finger on some of the most vital points of danger, and in his constructive scheme built up an ingenious argument in his favour. His book will remain for many years to come a central pivot of discussion among currency theorists.

The ideal of a stable currency still remains a mere ideal, but that it has been brought within vision of practical economics is no small advance and Mr. Keynes' stimulating *Tract* has undoubtedly worked for this achievement.

WHIP.

THE DISMAL DEVIL'S GLARE IN THE DARK—II.

THE POPULATION PROBLEM.

By MR. K. C. SEN.

Outline of its History.

Before entering upon a discussion of the schemes designed and executed by man for the purpose of evading the Devil's Glare I shall take a bird's eye view of the history of the truth, now known all over the world as the Law of Malthus. The sub-conscious and therefore unacknowledged indebtedness of the latter to the ancient wisdom of semetic culture will appear from the following quotations from the Book of Genesis, which form the foundation primarily of the religion of the Jews, and secondarily of Christianity, the religion of the civilized races of modern times:

"Chapter 3. 16. Unto the woman (Eve) He said, I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and the conception; in sorrow shalt thou bring forth children; and thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee.

Chapter 3. 19. In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground.

Chapter 3. 23. Therefore the Lord God sent him forth from the garden of Eden to till the ground from whence he was taken.

Chapter 4. 12. When thou tillest the ground it shall not henceforth yield unto thee her strength: a fugitive and a vagabond shalt thou be in the Earth."

These truths have been fully verified by human experience. The economic life or three-fourths of the total life of man is directly related to the curses passed by God upon Eve, Adam and Cain. The curse regarding the growth of population was addressed to Eve in a most impressive manner though not given as a morsel of algebra. That relating to the difficulty of successful agriculture formulates in a rudimentary fashion the law of diminishing return in agricultural industry. Through Adam God announced to mankind that hard work and misery were to be their lot.

The laws of production and reproduction and their relation, and of diminishing returns lie hidden within the curses. The Malthusian law is a restatement of these curses, changed in form, and finical in appearance, and provided with a civilized tailored garment in place of the primitive fig leaf apron, devised by the philosophers of the ancient Hebrew world. No writer on economics has so far called attention to them, because no body outside the Christian world has seriously handled economic problems; and a Christian writer would probably feel the sensation of a hot potato in handling them. During the five thousand years that elapsed between Cain and Malthus man had left no stone unturned, though in a sub-conscious way, to evade the curses, and had uniformly failed. Indeed, the economic history of man from the beginning down to the present time is the history of the failure of successive schemes designed to make the curses nugatory for the whole or a portion of mankind.

The form of economic production that the primitive man adopted was of the communistic type. During the pastoral period all cattle were common property. The women were prolific, and population soon outgrew subsistence. Nomadism calculated to check the growth of the birth rate in excess of the death rate among infants, and to find good scope for the growth of the herds of cattle, was tried tentatively, till all the pastures of the world were exhausted. Then came the age of communistic agriculture.

This also failed because the conception of woman segregated in comparative idleness in the homes was greatly multiplied. Man next tried the individualistic form of social organization. The foundation of the scheme was extremely wicked. It embodies the principle sometimes boldly formulated as 'every man for himself, and the Devil take the hindmost'. It seems as if

men in some undefined stage of history argued thus:—"We have all tried to eat bread without sweat, and have failed; let us now try as a tentative scheme, to allow half the men to eat bread in joy, while the perspiration on the brows of the other moiety is doubled, so as to keep the total quantity of sweat unchanged." It was implicitly agreed that individuals of the wet group would be free to push themselves up into the dry group, putting down in the process an equal number from the latter. The total population went on increasing, that of the second group more copiously than the population of the first, until it was found that the second group comprised ninety per cent. of the total population. It was found also that gravitation was a stronger force than capillarity: Men more largely fell from the upper plane than they rose from the lower. Discontent made its appearance among those who fell, and the society lost peace. This border land of discontent is called the bourgeoisie or the middle class. Poison filtered down from the class into the sweated proletariat, and now anarchy, though in thought more than in action, is the prevailing condition of society; and of late the scheme of life, known under the general name of socialism, has been slowly pushing its way like a wedge into the individualistic scheme of social organization. In some countries order has been so far preserved by compromises, and in one or two the old communism has been revived in a form suited to new environment. The world-tendency as a whole is decidedly towards equality of perspiration in the eating of bread.

Malthus makes no mention of the curses which constitute the key stones of the truth discovered by him, though he was a Churchman, and had good reason to know them. Faith in the Bible had already been weakened by Science, and the advocates of the religion had assumed an apologetic tone in cultured society. Instead of the Bible being used in judging the value of other books, new thoughts were used in judging the value of the thoughts contained in the Bible, which were interpreted in different ways by different advocates. In the new light the curses seemed to represent God as a being made in the image of man, and that too not of the best type. They showed that he had strong passions and a weak intellect. So the curses were not much thought of in the Christian world; and the Malthusian law came to be regarded in course of time not as a law of God, but as a reality that

had emerged out of the wicked heart of the Devil. It is thus that Professor Keynes more than a century after, came to think that Malthus had disclosed a Devil. Indeed a God that can curse his creatures in the way indicated in the Malthusian law cannot honestly be regarded as good; and belief at present in the civilized world has become too pragmatic to make much discrimination between God and a Devil. Yet there are cultured Christians who seem to feel plunged in a swamp of loathsome thought when they are told by a Hindu that creation is a sport of Mahamaya, who creates and kills at pleasure, and creates and kills again presenting a panoramic procession of births and deaths, joys and sorrows, music and noise, good and evil, truth and untruth, belief and scepticism, order and chaos, evolution and revolution, individualism and socialism, justice and injustice, war and peace, oppression and vindication, triumph and defeat etc.

Malthus published his book in 1798 inspired by the call of Truth which felt disgusted by the stream of wild optimism welling out of the marvellous enterprizes of the creative impulse brought into life by the steam engine and the mechanical revolution of recent years, supplementing the triumphant adventurer, all over the world, of the possessive impulse of Western Europe, and specially of England—disgusted by the monstrous Himalayan hopes of paradise built upon the products of grinding super-added to those of grubbing. Man had begun to hope that the kingdom of God on earth was in sight, and that the entire civilized world would be turned into a garden, where gratifications would come ere wants were felt, by the direct exploitation of nature, added to the exploitation of uncivilized neighbour, whose claim to take rank as man was not yet definitely recognised. Godwin and Condorcet were the leaders of this optimism. Condorcet was so far maddened by illusion and hallucination that he had actually the temerity to record the opinion that death would leave mankind afraid of the art of medicine equipped with the power of indefinitely elongating life. Malthus by publishing his law of arithmetical and geometrical progression, applied to the growth of subsistence and population respectively, threw a snow-wet blanket upon these wild, hot aspirations. The essay on population was at once denounced as unholy, as atheistic, as subversive of social order; and Malthus himself was denounced as anti-Christ.

immoral, revolutionary, hard-hearted and cruel. It is strange Malthus does not appear to have thought of defending himself with the weapons placed at his disposal by the Book of Genesis. The essay, however, received appreciation from men in influential quarters, and soon commanded genuine intellectual respect. Professor Keynes writing in 1920 A. D. speaks of the flux of opinion thus:—

“Before the eighteenth century mankind entertained no false (millennial) hopes. To lay the illusions which grew popular at that age’s latter end, Malthus disclosed a Devil. For half a century all serious economical writings held that Devil in clear prospect. For the next half century (when the law of increasing return was temporarily asserting itself) he was chained up and out of sight. Now perhaps we have loosed him again.”

The Professor might have said that Malthus disclosed God in incomprehensible wrath, not a Devil wallowing in his wealth of wickedness.

The Napoleonic wars had diverted capital to unproductive purposes for a time and had in a general way made it shy with the consequence that wealth did not increase at a satisfactory rate of progress. And afterwards, mismanagement, (political and industrial) Nature’s caprices and other causes brought distress to the people of England in sufficient magnitude to make the evanescent enthusiasm of wild anticipations slowly wake and take a pessimistic turn, and this enabled the popularity of the Malthusian law to spread over the civilized world. New economic conditions appeared in Europe about the time of the Franco-German war, as the result of new exploitations among the weak races, and reckless utilization of the depressed classes, turning the tide of popular opinion, which began to cast doubt on the Malthusian law by indicating that it was within the power of man to make subsistence grow faster than population, and that it was not necessary for individual or national prosperity that any moral restraint should be imposed upon the growth of population. The age of the law of increasing return was come. Population grew fast, and subsistence grew faster for thirty years in Europe. But this notion of the coming millennium and of the discomfiture of the advocates of the Malthusian law was disfigured by two inhuman errors: (1) It failed to take note that the law of increasing return in Europe was counter-balanced by the law of diminishing return in

Asia and elsewhere where the new exploitation was carried on, and (2) it failed to take account of the fact that foreign exploitation was a game in which more than one could take part. England and France had been peacefully carrying on this exploitation, but now appeared a terrible competitor, a Himalayan Monster, on the gladiatorial amphitheatre. Germany, in her new imperial vigour, utilizing the indemnity of two hundred million sterling received from France, entered into competition with England and France. France was left behind by a few leaps and jumps in a semi-final contest leaving the game for England and Germany to complete. Population rose in both the countries along with increasing prosperity enabling them to fill the barracks with the surplus of the factories. Preparation for war can never lead to peace and War came at last, and ended by dividing the population of Europe—between the dead and the dying.

The following extract from Professor Keynes’ *Economic consequences of Peace* will repay perusal as indicating the clever prolonged trick of the Dismal Devil preparing the world for the great catastrophe:—

“After 1870 there was developed on a large scale an unprecedented situation, and the economic condition of Europe became for the next fifty years unstable and peculiar. The pressure of population on food which had already been balanced by the accessibility of supplies from America, became for the first time in recorded history definitely reversed. As numbers increased food was actually easier to secure. Large proportional returns from an increasing scale of production became true of agriculture as well as of industry. With the growth of the European population there were more emigrants on the one hand to till the soil of the new countries, and on the other more workmen were available in Europe to prepare the industrial products and capital goods which were to maintain the emigrant populations in their new homes, and to build the railways and ships which were to make accessible to Europe food and raw products from distant sources. Upto about 1900 a unit of labour applied to industry yielded year by year a purchasing power over an increasing quantity of food. It is possible that about the year 1900 this process began to be reversed, and a diminishing yield of Nature to man’s effort was beginning to reassert itself.....In this economic Eldorado, in this economic Utopia, most of us were brought up.”

It will appear that for thirty years (1870 to 1900) the Dismal Devil in Europe had failed to overtake the growth of subsistence, as if we were too old and fatigued to keep pace with God, who had given a geometrical progression to the growth of subsistence, while the devil had slowed down to arithmetical progression in the growth of consumers. The old insane optimism of the last quarter of the Eighteenth century was revived on a larger scale, and people had begun to think that the order of growth had been permanently reversed; and Malthus began to lose respect in the world of Economic literature. It seemed as if the world had suddenly expanded, and was at the same time "yielding unto man her strength when he tilled the soil." It appeared as if man would soon cease to be a "fugitive and a vagabond" in the earth, and become the absolute ruler of the world, living in the highest prosperity and joy, instead of eating bread in the sweat of his face. Down came the crash of War in 1914 like the all destructive wrath that John, the baptist, predicted as the purifying process to prepare for the advent of Christ,—and man felt he had been tempted by the devil into an abysmal catastrophe. It now appears that civilized man mistook hectic flush on his face for good health, while the deceitful friendly glare of the devil was consuming the vital forces of his moral life.

The Malthusian law is an algebraical formula comprising two simple propositions, namely, that subsistence varies arithmetically and that population varies geometrically. The variation in both cases are either upward or downward. The mathematical exactitude is of course unreal; and it may be affirmed in general terms that the wisdom of the modern economic mind does not represent much of an advance upon the wisdom of Hebrew philosophers, who enunciated the law in the form of curses passed by the Regulator of the Universe upon mankind. It is therefore marvellous that no writer on Economics has so far called attention to the curses mentioned in the Bible as the corner stones of philosophic thought on the subject. The reason seems to be that economic thought has developed most in the Christian world, and the curses seem to obliterate the distinction between God and the devil. It is a sort of intellectual cowardice that has made Christian Economists keep quiet over the curses. The boldness of the Hindu is conspicuous in the domain of thought, and he is not afraid of ascribing to *Mahamaya*

what appears to be monstrous in the eye of the worshipper of a personal god, supposed to have created man in his own intellectual and emotional and volitional image. The truth seems to be that the god of Christianity is himself created by man in the latter's image.

No Economic writer has so far drawn attention to the implication of the law that in a decaying society while subsistence decreases in arithmetical ratio, population decreases in geometrical ratio. Thus it would appear that in a decaying society the people live in increasing plenty and prosperity, as individuals, though not collectively as a nation, and that the population may finally die out leaving a large balance of commodities ready for consumption. Some countries have actually discouraged population, and welcomed decay for the sake of abundance and superfluity. France is supposed to have undergone this sort of decay for a long time. But the course of the great war seems to point to the conclusion that decay in western civilization, after all, is not worse than progress. France has undoubtedly shewn most muscular and intellectual power in the war among the allies. Foch has been declared to be the greatest general, and Clemenceau is unrivalled in diplomacy.

The two preceding paragraphs show, (1) that it is difficult to distinguish between god and the devil in the Christian religion, and (2) that it is difficult to state whether decay or growth is the more desirable process in Western civilization.

There is another question which deserves consideration in discriminating between pessimism and optimism. Suppose the law were that while subsistence increases in geometrical progression population increases in arithmetical progression. This law, if real, would apparently speak very favourably of god's solicitude for human progress. Every man would have more than enough for his consumption in the second or third generation, and by the time the fifth generation came into the world, there would be a surplussage of the good things of life which the people would find it difficult to dispose of. They would find it an encumbrance and a clog. The commodities would begin to rot and to poison the atmosphere—the moral atmosphere even more than the physical. This is what actually took place in Europe during the thirty years from 1870 to 1900 A.D. The moral atmosphere was poisoned before surplus commodities began to rot and pine for consumers.

Jealousy, intrigue, tariff disputes, meddlesomeness, desire for ascendancy, the debasement of human aspirations, the desire for muddling and bungling, quickly replaced the ethical by the cosmic modes of mentality and eventually relieved the continent of Europe of her bloated plethora of wealth and her vigorous buoyancy of heart. Half the iron of the world was drowned in the Atlantic, and the steel frame for administrative and other structures has become too costly.

It will appear from the above adumbration that neither prosperity nor poverty, neither the growth of subsistence beyond population, nor the growth of population beyond subsistence, touches the roots of human life, nor determines its ultimate or real purpose and mission. At present philosophic opinion in the Western world, perplexed by futility of correlatives in opposition has been veering towards the notion that there is no ultimate purpose of life, and if any such exists man, in his present condition, has nothing to do with it, his duty being to live from moment to moment in the way most agreeable to it, gathering new and shaking off old experience, and perpetually changing from one state to another, maintaining only a small residuary identity, which itself is liable to be overturned in the long run. He lives and ought to live very much like the creatures of the animal world, subject to evolution, whose activities are not influenced by the thought of heaven and hell, happiness and misery, ultimate perfection or complete corruption, and to whom ideals are unreal. The pragmatic theory of life has no dread of the glare of the Dismal Devil ; but it is different from the Hindu's theory of life and truth. It advocates a kind of dynamic existence whose ultimate object is to breathe in the maximum quantity of oxygen and to breathe out the maximum quantity of carbon dioxide. Life is a perpetual process of consumption and conservation of energy. Life in the Western world is steadily running in this direction, making a new experiment in human experience.

The history of the Malthusian law would be incomplete without a reference to the discovery of law of natural selection, which sprang out of it, and has now overspread the world of ethics, sociology, politics and every other branch of science and philosophy. Indeed the value of the Malthusian law now lies perhaps in the fact that without it the law of natural selection might not have seen the light of day. Darwin

himself acknowledged his obligation to Malthus unreservedly, and the advocates of his theory of evolution following his lead acknowledge it freely. But there is a fundamental difference between the two theories. Malthus by assuming the law of self-assertion, as a permanent unalterable fact of life, merely pointed to the struggle for existence without indicating either its exact nature and scope or its ultimate issue. In Darwin's theory the ultimate issue is the essential phenomenon, and the struggle a mere mode of its operation. The issue however is not founded upon reasoned purpose, but follows as a natural effect brought about by a natural cause. Final causes are outside the scope of the theory. In both the theories the struggle is caused by insufficiency of subsistence. In Darwin's theory this insufficiency is limited to subsistence provided ready-made by Nature. In Malthus's law this insufficiency is such that the effort of man cannot change it into sufficiency, except for a very short time. Spencer's utopia suggests that human perfection will consummate itself in superabundance of production and fairness of distribution, implying a drastic change in ethical psychology in man. It is doubtful whether Darwin originally had any intention of extending the application of his law to advanced humanity, equipped with prevision and a moral nature, which antagonises the unqualified self-assertion of cosmic life. But subsequently he was encouraged by the support of his followers to include man within the scope of his law. His true friend and supporter Mr. Huxley continued to the last to maintain that in proportion as man advances in civilization he transcends the power of the law of natural selection, and becomes free from its operation. The Darwinian theory however has such a charm that no philosopher, social, political or economical, feels pleased with his work until he is able to demonstrate that progress has always been due to the force of natural selection though the method of its operation is still not clearly discernible. The real question seems to be this:— If Darwin's hypothesis is true, at what stage of biological progress does it cease to be operative, and at what stage does it begin to decline in vigour and creative influence. In plainer language the question seems to be at what stage of progress does life begin to relax in self-assertiveness, and at what stage self-assertion terminates altogether. Self-assertiveness has ups and downs in the progress of society, and

group-self-assertiveness, though stronger than individual self-assertiveness, marks the advance of Western civilization by its development, and not by its decline. This has added new strength to the Darwinian theory which tries to include within its scope the problem of natural progress as a thing apart from the progress of the individual. The most advanced nation may thus comprise the least morally advanced individuals. The antagonism between the moral progress of man and the civilization of the nation is steadily casting the former into the shade of neglect and is creating a new order of life in which civilization is largely leavened with barbarism. The theory of natural selection, however powerful in moulding national character, remains open to the serious criticism that its terms admit of no precise definition. It makes survival the test of fitness, and fitness the cause of survival. It whirls in the vicious circle of Logic, and spectators who look on the whirl suffer from what may be called a whirling belief.

KINDS OF OVER-POPULATION.

Over-population may affect a family, a profession, a class or caste, a nation or the world. Every gentleman who has more than two sons feels the pressure of over-population in an individualistic society, for subsistence means comforts and commodities, required for consumption, which vary in quality and quantity suitable for the standard of living adopted by him. He feels that he cannot earn enough to enable him to educate his children properly and to settle them in life suitably. Further, he is depressed by the idea that he cannot leave to each of his sons the same competence that he himself enjoyed, while he feels that each of them is bone of his bones and flesh of his flesh. Every aristocrat or plutocrat who has more than one son has an over-populated family. In his case subsistence includes costly luxuries, which cannot be dispensed with without causing anguish. Every king that has more than one son suffers the sorrows of over-population. There was a time when kings used to make war because they wanted new territories for their sons. Shah Jahan the richest Emperor of India suffered most from the effects of family over-population, and was compelled to spend the last years of his life in prison. Imperialism in modern times is prompted by the desire to obtain adequate subsistence for the entire popula-

tion of a country, suffering from the corroding effects of over-population. There was a time when it was suggested by the desire to provide for the Military aristocracy of a country. Further back Emperors wanted imperial expansion to provide for their sons. The world being too small in area, subtle and sordid forms of imperialism are being invented by civilized cerebration in the shape of railway and mining concessions and other forms of commercial exploitation.

A labourer need not feel the pressure of domestic over-population with a dozen children. If he cannot find ample subsistence for them by his own labour he asks his wife to lighten his burden, and if the labours of both fail to bring adequate income for the family's consumption the more grown up among the children can join them in the factories instead of wasting their time on the streets, and learning much that is bad. Over-population in the poorest classes is the corner-stone of national prosperity. It cheapens both national production and national protection. It keeps down the wages-fund as well as the Military budget. These classes form, not the back-bone of society, but the stick on which it is supported in its infirmity. Plainly speaking they do not form part of the nation, specially in peace times. If national prosperity includes the prosperity of the labouring population then I think the judgment of historians and social philosophers regarding the condition of nations at different periods of history will call for much emendation. The labouring classes form the second group in the unequal compact made for frustrating the curse of God, the first group being exempted from the process of perspiration which attends the eating of bread. The industrial and military welfare of a country goes on merrily so long as the labouring classes are successfully kept from the social poison of self-consciousness. That poison has now overspread the entire western world, and is being exported in large barrels to other parts of the world in the name of humanity and the natural rights of man.

This poison ensures the premature death of young industries in countries trying to acquire national prosperity and civilization on Western lines, and either destroys or introduces drastic changes in the character of established civilizations. It steadily tends unperceived to easternize the West—to change her institutions, tradi-

tions and customs, her very psychology and culture.

Over-population in the professional classes is the seed plot for the cultivation, growth and diffusion of anarchy. The children of Sambo and Quimbo are a treacherous and dangerous tribe. They have a plebeian origin while they enjoy a patrician life. Sons of labourers they live as clerks and overseers, and when unemployment comes they become the leaders of strikes, working from behind the screen. They cruelly exact work from workers in peace times, and when disorder comes they desert over to them, instil self-consciousness into them, and incite them to sabotage and anarchy. Every state ought to beware of this class. They are not the back-bone of society, but the bone-breakers of it. They are good bolsheviks and bad citizens. Advocates of inequality in times of peace, they preach the doctrine of equality in times of disorder.

The outlook as described above is rapidly changing on the surface, but the essential principles of the social order remain unaffected by reforms and innovations, and are bound to remain unaltered so long as man does not understand his real mission and destiny as a thinking being, and not merely as a living being, guided by impulse and passion too strong and headstrong to consult reason—so long as he is unable to live in the future with as much facility and felicity as he commands in the present.

In India the caste-system started in life with the unreasonable postulate that the population of each caste would indefinitely maintain a disturbed the system was doomed. At present definite ratio of growth. That ratio having been the system is in a ramshackle condition showing cracks and crannies all over, except in certain structures connected with intermarriage. The fact is, foreign contact has changed the ratio of growth, and the old principles of division of functions and occupations have become extremely fluid. The sight of a brahmin no longer reminds one of sacerdotal functions, nor does the meeting with a sudra put one in expectation of having a new menial for one's household. A *Shah* is not necessarily a shopkeeper nor a Kayastha a clerk. The whole system has been thrown into confusion, and the rigidity of the prohibition of intermarriage, itself an excrescential outgrowth, alone keeps alive the distinction between caste and caste. The system has ceased to be beneficial in any respect, and

is steadily showing its maleficent consequences in the shape of national degeneration. Its old unifying influence has been converted into a principle of disunion, and caste-self-consciousness is fast disorganizing the incompleteiv organized society. The principles of both rights (*adhikar*) and responsibilities (*dayittva*) are crumbling in pieces. The old order of precedence has changed into a new order based upon the possession of wealth, and pride alone props up the system.

Several castes have all but disappeared, while others have developed amazingly. The growth of the sweeper and scavenger caste, pushed forward by Municipal needs has been marvellous. Town life with all its concomitant implications could hardly have developed without this growth.

OVER-POPULATION OF THE WORLD.

The Malthusian law is not understood in the world outside that part of it where Western civilization forms the moral basis of life. In China and India people seldom care to inquire if there exists for a country a normal density of population, or how its deviations or fluctuations affect the welfare of the people. Yet about half the population of the world are congregated in these two countries. Labour is unorganized, industry is diffused, and unemployment goes unnoticed, because idleness is the normal condition of life, and work, the exception. The standard of living is low, and the climate is favourable, while the moral and religious teachings of the ancient sages have created a culture of indifference and inhibition, unfavourable to the gratification of impulses and appetites, and to the creation of new wants and desires. Births and deaths moving out of their normal dimensions, create neither hope nor fear; and famine and pestilence are forgotten, like stray man-eaters, as soon as as they have left the neighbourhood. The moral code abounds more with prohibitions and omissions than with positive commands leading to action. The zest of animalism is at its lowest ebb. The fields are cultivated neither better nor worse in the year following an epidemic than in the one preceding it. Life is conserved as a potential force, free from the troubles of consumption and reproduction.

A country like India is difficult to govern not because the people are discontented or disaffected, but because their capacity for discontent

and disaffection towards the existing order is never far from the zero point. Good government and bad government are not much discriminated, because good and evil are not yet satisfactorily defined by theology or philosophy for purposes of the mass-life. The general psychology is that whatever is, or whatever happens, is good, either immediately or remotely; and as there is an almost uniform conflict between immediate good and remote good, and further as remote good is more permanent, and, therefore, more desirable than immediate benefit, evil, though never deliberately courted, does not create much internal perturbation.

The British government working for two hundred years has gradually changed this psychology of saporiferous serenity of rationalism, and people have now come to learn that eating two meals is better than eating one, that wearing two sets of clothes is better than having one, that an umbrella is useful in sun and rain, and that a pair of shoes is not only comfortable but gentlemanlike, and that the ideal of human life consists in eating cake instead of bread, on which God has fixed a heavy price in the shape of sweat on the face. Maximum comfort with the minimum exertion is the motto of life.

The government had great difficulty in making the people taxable, and was forced to resort to the salt tax which is a universally acknowledged abomination of civilized rule. Progress has been rapid and government is now in a position to dispense with this primitive form of taxation, though it is retained for historical continuity of administration.

In Africa exploiting explorers found the people naked and wholly unindebted to Manchester, living on roots and fruits, and were puzzled how they could be made to work for wages. They at length decided on levying a tax on huts, and this proved successful. The people worked in the plantations, received wages, paid the hut tax, and spent the savings on imported goods. Economically their condition remained unaltered, for the time being, income and expenditure presenting a balanced budget. But there was a clear moral gain in the shape of new wants, desires and appetites, and of a capacity for work partially to minister to them. There was no archaic philosophy to teach them the value of inhibition. Civilization developed quickly, and the people once drilled into the

groove of progress lost the sense of beauty in free-mentality as well as their arcadian simplicity. They became irredeemable slaves of comfort and staunch advocates of western civilization.

The great question in dealing with such people—mere rotting energy of human muscles—is, how to bring them under the civilizing influence of over-population. The subjective consciousness of over-population must precede its actual objective pressure. This has been the process of civilization all over the heathen world. God's curse was passed for the benefit of humanity, and the dismal devil's glare came in time to complete the fulfilment of the curse. The duty and the devil have put their shoulders together to the common task.

The periodical administration reports, in India, show the moral and material progress of the people in terms of the degree of over-population attained, the rate at which the animal appetites have increased, and their gratification secured, of the number of marriages effected and of the borrowing capacity of the reckless masses, of the number of babies born and left surviving, of the quantity of foreign finished goods imported, and of raw materials exported, of the amount of stamp duty paid, and the quantity of intoxicants and sedatives consumed, of the measure of fierceness in the struggle for existence, and of the development of new coloured jealousies, and of the substitution of crooked hate for simple indifference or straightforward love in the relations of neighbours.

Civilization in the West thrives most by its corruption in the East, where over-population is artificially stimulated with the object of cheapening labour, and of making it everywhere and always available. Labour is an exportable commodity and can be shipped, across the oceans to places where it can find a good market, and when by dumping the market is overstocked and the dry rot of politics sets in, it can be reshipped to the port of Embarkation after a lapse of five or six generations. The beauty of the things lies in the fact that the civilized exploiters are not primarily actuated by any desire to injure the savage or semi-savage populations of the world. Their object is to bring to the service of man the unused natural resources of the new countries, but they find it impossible to utilize these inorganic materials

without cultivating the organic resources which are running into waste throughout them. For several centuries the civilized people held inter-oceanic commerce in the commodity of labour which grew wild in the swamps and forests of Africa. In India they are producing the commodity by refined and sometimes intensive cultivation, which in the absence of a recognized term may be called home-culture. India is getting poorer in wealth and richer in labour. South and East Africa, West India Islands, New Zealand and Fiji, British Guiana and Mauritius and a lot of other places are copiously supplied with labour with the product obtained by cultivation in India. Efforts are now being made to keep it for home consumption, where capitalists from abroad are expected to arrive to make India a gloriously industrial country. These are some of the methods in which over-population in the uncivilized world is developed and exploited for the purpose of promoting the cause of civilization. If we look a little carefully into the process we shall find that the occasional operation of the law of increasing return in the civilized countries is the obverse face of a simultaneous assertion, in an intense form, of the law of diminishing return in the outside world. For the world as a whole the law of increasing return seems to be a trick of the dismal devil—a tantalizing illusion for invigorating the possessive passion in the civilized mind without causing a feeling of compunction to stand in the way of exploitation among the helpless races of the semi-civilized world. It is a trick to convince those who wish to evade God's curses, by limiting the sudoriferous process to the faces of half the people of the world, that they are mere myths and need not influence practical instincts and beneficial impulses.

NATIONAL OVER-POPULATION.

I have briefly adverted to several kinds of over-population, viz., over-population in a family, in a class or caste, and in the world as a whole. But when we speak of over-population without any qualifying term we generally have in mind national over-population, that is, over-population in a compact society with its own traditions and customs, and distinguished by a culture peculiar to the people living in it, and ruled by an authority supposed to be capable of regulating the density of population, not merely as a whole, but in its separate parts and strata

Such regulation will be guided by principles calculated to secure the greatest prosperity for the nation. The government that can so regulate population as to secure the greatest contentment and happiness for the people, and the greatest strength for the nation with the prospect of stability in both directions will be justly regarded as the best government. Such a government, however, has never existed in the world and is not likely to exist so long as man remains morally and intellectually as imperfect as he is now. The regulation of population is a complicated art which no human institution can command, either on account of the undue interference with personal liberty which it involves, or on account of the fluctuating demand for population caused by ill-regulated international relations and ambitions which now call for a larger and again for a smaller population. Under ordinary circumstances the conflict between the external and internal needs, between national and political interests, between military and industrial requirements keeps the government in a confused state of indecision, leading to *laissez faire* as the safest policy. *Laissez faire* is dependence upon Nature as opposed to Art. When Nature shows a tendency to lead the country to ruin the Government sometimes shake off their superstitious policy or the policy of ignorance, and adopt measures calculated either to increase or to decrease population. When war is expected an increasing population becomes a necessity. When trade is depressed a decreasing population is desired to restore equilibrium between population and subsistence. The relations between capital and labour automatically tend to regulate population according to the country's needs. State action shows itself at its best when it moves with the natural current of tendencies. In countries in which industry is organised over-population manifests itself in unemployment. Unemployment is like the mercury in a barometer, indicating normal or cyclonic social conditions.

Broadly speaking national over-population mainly implies over-population in the labouring classes, which are now virtually castes in the social organism; for the flow of population from one class to another, is inspite of progress in civilization, perceptibly decreasing in rapidity, for though human rights are steadily moving towards a common level, opportunities for the fructification of capacity and self-expression in

practical life are diminishing. Population in the this class when measures for increasing or higher castes, where forethought is common, is decreasing the national population become all but fixed. The national nursery for the culti- necessary.

vation of population is in the lowest class or caste, and state action is chiefly directed towards

(To be continued.)

THE VILLAGE LABOURER IN WESTERN INDIA.

By "YUGAL KISHORE"

Reading about the manorial system in England brought to my mind an interesting and curious system of labour adjustments in some of the villages of Western India. The system I propose to describe does not prevail over the whole of India or even over a whole province but is confined only to the district of Surat in the Northern Division of the Bombay Presidency. I should not however be surprised if a somewhat similar system holds good in some other distant corner of India, for in spite of all the researches of the antiquarians, there are curious regional and historical gaps that cannot be accounted for in the social customs and manners of the mediæval India. One very often finds the beginnings of some practices in a part of India and something very similar in a more or less developed form in some far away regions at the other end of the country without any tangible continuity of either time or space.

Slavery as everybody knows is illegal in India. Yet something very similar to slavery in spirit has continued to exist almost upto the present day. For a proper setting of the picture a short description of the Gujarat village system is necessary. In greater part of Western India there are very few Zamindars or Landlords with any considerable holdings in land. The general system is that of small holdings. Every farmer is his own master. He owns from about five to fifty acres of land and deals directly with the government in regard to payment of land-taxes, etc. Gujarat village consists of about fifty or sixty such small farmers, a few village artisans such as a carpenter, smith, barber, potter, shoemaker, etc., and the labourers. The villages vary immensely in size and population and the

smallest of them have very often no artisans of their own but they share them with some neighbouring village or villages.

The farmers hold most of the agricultural land and the labourers as a rule have none of their own. The farmers all live in the village and not on their farms because in the greater part of Gujarat the farms are not in one compact area but in strips.

The artisans live more or less near to the farmers, often in the same streets. But the labourers group themselves together in small numbers of four or five families at different places around the village, but always at a respectable distance from the farmers. Very often the labourers live in single families scattered over a very wide area compared to the village proper. They live in low, thatched, single-roomed huts, the walls of which are made of mud. Across the walls are placed some dry sticks over which a kind of grass that keeps out rain is spread. They are in almost all cases made by the labourers themselves with the help of their wives and children and sometimes of friends and relatives. Some of these huts have a small shade in the court-yard without any wall but only with a thatched roof. A large part of the time of the labourer when he is at home is passed under this shade. He and his family take their frugal meal of rice, soup and sour milk there and sleep on beds which consist of a straw matting on the bare floor. The labourers have hardly any covering at night. In winter which is not severe, they light a fire with some dry grass, leaves, rubbish, some dry sticks and a log or two which they pick up on their way home or which the young

children gather during the day and huddle together round this open fire. All the wealth of the labourer consists of a basket, a few earthenware, kitchen utensils and a few rags, sometimes enhanced by a few coppers that he hides either round his loins or in the roof and some brass trinkets of his wife.

Almost all of these village labourers are attached for life to one or the other of the farmers in the village. They are virtually the slaves of the farmers. I have very often heard people talking about the possessions of some particular farmer, and along with the other things that the farmer in question holds such as land, ploughs, houses, grass, grain, cotton, gold and silver trinkets, etc., his labourers are also mentioned. They are called *dublas*. It is not unusual to hear a remark of this kind: "Oh, what's wrong with him (meaning a farmer), he has twenty bighas (a measure of land) of good fertile land, and thirty bighas of pasture and ten *dublas*!" How much each of these *dublas* counts for in terms of money nobody in the village is clear but both the speaker and the hearer as a rule understand the measure of the utility of these *dublas*.

How is it that the *dublas* make themselves the virtual slaves of their masters? The system is not exactly hereditary. How is it then that generations after generations of these people have sold themselves to the farmers, especially when the law does not recognise such a servitude? These are very natural questions. It is not that the *dublas* love this system or that they are morally degraded to such an extent that they do not desire this most elementary form of freedom. The fact is that they are the victims of the economic system. It is the thousand year old story.

It is the origin, not of this system but of every individual *dubla's* slavery that is very instructive. How does the *dubla* come to be a slave when he is born a free man? It is very simple. As soon as a *dubla* boy grows up and is, say, about eighteen or twenty, he wants to marry. Now he cannot straightaway marry her. He has first to approach, through some elderly person of his caste, the father of a girl and settle the price of the girl. That is one thing. Next even if he can pay this price to the father of the prospective bride he cannot marry unless he gives a dinner to all his caste-fellows in the vicinity. Without this dinner the marriage is not recognised. The *dubla* dare not do anything to offend his caste or more accurately

the five leading elders of the caste. The girl and the dinner between them used to cost the poor *dubla* far from possessing such a fortune hardly fifty to sixty rupees. Now it costs anything between hundred to two hundred rupees. The *dubla* far from possessing such a fortune hardly ever gets the chance of seeing such a sum at a time.

The poor *dubla* goes to a farmer who is short of labourers and wants one, preferably to the man who owns his own father and borrows this sum to marry with and sells himself, his wife and to some extent his children to the farmer. He signs only an I. O. U., but he signs his life away and of many others along with his. The terms of the agreement which are, of course, never committed to paper, but which are sanctioned by long custom are that the farmer gives the *dubla* enough money to cover his marriage expenses, a piece of ground to build his hut on and perhaps some extra money to furnish his house which however does not amount to more than five rupees. In addition, according to custom the farmer has to give the *dubla* a pair of shoes every year and his wardrobe which consists of three or four pieces of rough cotton cloth. It is also understood that the farmer will lend him money (a few rupees) in the slack season when he does not want any work from him and when he does not give him any wages. Of course all these advances and the interest on the original sum at twelve per cent. or more are added every year to the balance and a fresh I. O. U. is signed by the poor labourer.

The labourer in his turn agrees not on paper but according to the old custom to place himself at the disposal of the master whenever he is required for which he gets the midday meal and from two to five pounds of corn according to the relative value of the corn given. He does not get anything in cash except on certain occasions. He also agrees that his wife shall give two to four hours a day as a domestic servant for fetching water from the well, washing, grinding corn and such other work. For this she gets two loaves of bread and some vegetable or salad every day and about five rupees in cash every year. At least one of the boys, when the *dubla* happens to have sons, must take the farmer's cattle out for grazing to the pasture in the morning and bring them back home in the evening. For this he gets his scanty midday meal which he takes with him and his evening meal on his return. The *dubla* is free to go and work for wages for

somebody else on days when his master does not require him. As a rule, however, it is only in slack seasons that the master does not want him and therefore the *dubla* has not much chance of getting any work elsewhere. It is at these times and in times of illness, when he cannot work and therefore does not get wages, that he borrows money from his master and more often than not the master repays himself this amount and interest from the wages of the *dubla's* wife and children when on busy days their services are also required for the whole day on the farms. On these busy days when extra labour is required all round and which is the one of a few chances of getting cash for the *dubla's* family, the farmer has the option on the services of the *dubla's* wife and children, whom, however, he separately pays or gives credit to the poor *dubla* for the amount of wages against the money advanced to him during the year.

Most of these labourers are or at any rate used to be loyal to their masters. Loyalty to master figured as an important item in their moral code. They looked down upon those who were not and very often would not have anything to do with such deserters. The master on the other hand always appreciated this loyalty and put a premium on it by raising the status of his faithful *dubla*. There was not much of material reward but the labourer was admitted more and more into the confidence of the master, given a freer hand in his work, allowed a sort of familiarity and intimacy with the master's family and was trusted with work of a more delicate nature than that of a purely agricultural labourer. He was nursed well and on the whole taken great care of even in his old age when he was no longer able to work, by his master's family.

On the other hand the cases of runaway *dublas* were also frequent. But in the old days there were two or three great checks on this practice. In the first place there was not any very appreciable scarcity of agricultural labour. Secondly, there was a sort of a co-operation amongst the farmers in the whole of the district to discourage this practice and to help in restoring the runaway *dubla* to his master. There were no great material obstacles in the way of the *dubla* who wanted to run away except the absence of the means of rapid communication. His worldly wealth could all be carried in a basket or two. There was no watch ever kept on him to prevent him from running away. The

dubla would make his plans, hurriedly collect his scanty property a little before midnight and set off for his destination with his wife. But he came back to his masters eventually for some reason or another. First he could not go very far. Secondly, wherever he might go, he would find it difficult to get regular work without attaching himself to some farmer. The farmer unless he was very short of hands on his farm, would first make inquiries and if he found out that the *dubla* was a runaway he would instead of giving him work, send information to his master. Thirdly, the labourers in this new neighbourhood would not have much to do with the newcomer. And lastly, his master having followed him and got on his track very soon arrives and is as a rule assisted by the elders of the village and even the village officials in taking his man back with him. In case where the *dubla* is engaged by some other farmer in some distant village, his new master would pay his old master a greater part of the amount that the latter succeeds in making out against the *dubla*. The original I. O. U. is torn off and the *dubla* signs or puts his thumb impression as he is in almost all cases innocent of any education, on a fresh I. O. U. for his new master. The *dubla* is no better off for all his trouble and is separated from his friends and relatives into the bargain, which is a serious thing in the life of the *dubla*. Very often he runs back to his old master who buys him back.

Now this system is fast disappearing because of several economic forces. There is a great demand for not only agricultural labour but for factory labour in towns and cities and the wages are much better. The co-operation amongst the farmers to keep up this institution is not so strong to-day as it was ten or twenty years ago. Any farmer would be only too glad to harbour any runaway *dubla* because of the great scarcity of agricultural labour as the labourers now all flock to the towns. The *dubla* has a great facility in the railways for running away which take him to a place like Bombay in a few hours where he is assured work at a higher rate of remuneration. Also as a result of the elementary education which is becoming more and more wide-spread, the young *dubla* is in no hurry to marry on the old terms, but prefers to wait and work and save enough to defray the cost of his bride and the caste-dinner himself. Also it is possible for him to borrow at interest without binding himself down to work for any-

body. He gets his wages now in cash and is therefore able to repay his loan, which was not possible in the old days. On the whole one should not be surprised if the last vestiges of the system disappeared in the course of the next ten or fifteen years.

I do not condemn the system wholesale. It was an important institution in the old economic system before the Industrial Revolution began in India. One who knows Gujarat well will soon see the great part that the system has played in the agricultural and social history where it prevailed. In the first place, labour was abundant, wages were very low, and land though comparatively cheap was not held by this class of the labourers. The crops were seasonal and there was not enough work to go round for all or all the year round. Consequently there were periods of unemployment. There was not and there is not any organisation for the care of the aged, the poor, the sick, the disabled, etc. One could very well imagine the condition of a labourer in India in those days who was not attached to some farmer. The master helped the labourer by loans of money or grain in times of unemployment or sickness, maintained him by putting him to some easy work if he came to be disabled as a result of an accident or illness and generally made some provision for him in his old age by giving him a small piece of land near his hut or thereabout to grow some corn or

some vegetables in the monsoon. When there was no social and collective responsibility for the aged, the maimed and the poor, this institution however bad, came to distribute this responsibility amongst the farmers. Also there were two unwritten rules of this system which prevented it from being degraded to downright slavery. The system in the first place was not hereditary. The sons of the *dubla* were all born free men though he was a bondman. The master had an option to pay the marriage expenses of at least one of his *dubla*'s sons and thus to convert him into his chattel, but this was never rigorously enforced and in any case the rest of the sons were free unless they chose to bind themselves to someone for the sake of some girl. Next, there was no selling or buying of these *dublas*. I have not during the course of my inquiry into the nature of the system come across a single case where any such transaction was recorded, except in the case of a runaway *dubla* whose new master paid the price to the old one. These two checks that of making it non-hereditary and non-transferable prevented the system from being characterised as a slavery. The system has, however, outgrown its necessity and it is satisfactory to know that it is fast dying out. The new system is more or less of a gamble and Heaven alone knows whether the wage-slavery now being established in India in the place of the domestic slavery will be any better.

INTELLECTUAL UNEMPLOYMENT IN INDIA.

By MR. D. S. GORDON, M.A.

The past quarter of a century has seen an educational advance unprecedented in the annals of India. More than half a dozen new universities have already been established while nearly as many more are still in contemplation. In some parts of the country, notably in Mysore, free and compulsory education of the masses has been introduced; and if this step is not yet taken throughout India, it is only due to want of funds.

Now this general spread of education, and especially the tremendous development of uni-

versity education, has affected society in a vital manner and has created what may be called the problem of intellectual unemployment. There is no need to explain the problem any further, for every one knows what a considerable number of our graduates are either unemployed or employed for paltry remuneration.

The price of labour, as the price of everything else, is determined by the laws of supply and demand. If the supply of intellectual labour is greater than the demand for it, naturally the

remuneration will fall. Now, what the recent educational developments have done is precisely to increase this supply. There has not, however, been a corresponding rise in the demand for this kind of labour. Government, which is the largest single employer of mental labour, has indicated by retrenchments that it has had more than enough of it. The result, therefore, must inevitably be unemployment and a lowering in the rate of remuneration. And since the supply of brain-workers appears to increase in geometrical progression while the demand does so only in arithmetical, the rate of remuneration must continue to decline until at last a point is reached when education will cease to have an intrinsic money value of its own which it now possesses. The completing of a course of training or the passing of an examination will have no value then, except that which is acquired by actual work.

But to speak of education purely in terms of economics may appear to be too sordid and one-sided; and certainly it is so, for the culture of the mind is too valuable a thing to be measured by the material benefits that it brings. Nevertheless, is not education commonly estimated at its exchange value in this country? Is it not a fact that the worth of a university degree is often considered as practically equal to what it will fetch? But there are other reasons why education may be regarded from this mundane point of view. In the first place, it is really important and eminently practical to consider education in this aspect. In the second place, economics cannot, with facility, measure the intangible utilities of education, although it can, and often does, make allowance for such things. Education, therefore, may be looked upon as a commodity whose market price is determined exactly in the same way as other economic goods.

The price of an article is governed by its cost of production, for no article can sell below cost; and Ricardo thought that the same factor determined the price of labour also. He believed in an Iron Law which tended to reduce the wages of labour to the level of its cost of production. We now know that the explanation is not so simple, but that as Prof. Marshall remarks, "The wages of every class of labour tend to be equal to the net product due to the additional labour of the marginal labourer of that class". In India the existence of a large number of brain-workers of the same class has reduced the net

product of the marginal labourer of that class and his remuneration.

Now it may be pertinently asked, since the earning capacity of this particular type of educated man has fallen so low, why should larger numbers of the same type continue to be turned out? Economically speaking, the demand price of a commodity determines the quantity of its supply; for an article will not be produced when the price paid for it does not remunerate the producer. But when large capital has been sunk in plant and machinery it is sometimes necessary to go on producing the article as an alternative to losing the capital altogether. Similar, I conceive, is the state of education in this country. Everyone knows that, from an economic point of view, the long period of preparation demanded, the large expenditure incurred, and the considerable trouble taken to obtain a university degree is scarcely justifiable, considering the prospects held out; but yet our universities must go on producing larger and yet larger numbers of the same type of men for whom there is little need.

Thus it is seen what a great discrepancy there is between our educational system and the needs of the people. And this is all the more serious when it is remembered that the Indian student is almost invariably one who studies in order to gain a livelihood. Study, therefore, is not an end in itself, but it is a means to an end. No wonder that this is so, seeing that most of our college men are drawn from the middle class whose position has been rendered very precarious by several causes. The fall in the purchasing power of the rupee, greatly accelerated by the war, has affected adversely that section of the middle class which depends on fixed income; while those engaged in industry and trade are unable to look forward to a prosperous balance sheet owing to various economic causes over which they have no control. Thus we see that people who count upon fixed salaries or incomes are troubled on account of that very fixity, while people with elastic incomes are troubled by want of fixity.

Students drawn from such a class must need look upon their educational careers as something leading up to a livelihood. "Art for art's sake" may be a sound motto among people of means in the West, but it is not suitable for India at the present stage.

But how far does present day education help in earning one's bread? It is a notorious fact

that the knowledge acquired by Indians is generally not of such a nature as to be directly applied to the yielding of an income. Their education is in the majority of cases confined to learning of an impractical kind; and even among those with technical training there is an over-mastering desire to seek some "service", preferably under Government. Thus the great professions—Law, Medicine, Engineering and Teaching—which absorb such a large proportion of independent talent in other countries do not seem to attract any but the most enterprising few in India except perhaps the legal profession. On the other hand, the hankering after a fixed salary in the Revenue, Judicial, Medical, Engineering or Educational Departments of Government has increased considerably with the result that Government service became congested and retrenchment inevitable.

The blame for this state of things must be laid at the door of our educational system. The immediate end and aim of all our education appears to be to teach our students to *know*. But no country can afford to have all its educated men merely men of knowledge. There ought also to be men who can *do*. In fact the sciences of knowing and the sciences of doing ought to find a suitable equilibrium if talent is not to be wasted. I conceive the United States of America to be a country where more men do than know, and India to be one where more men know than do. It is true that one ought to know before one can do, but the fault is that we are more often contented with merely knowing.

Time was when our Bachelors and Masters of Arts and Sciences cherished their degrees as a sword with which to open the oyster of life. But now that sword has lost its edge; for the need for such men is past. Progressive India requires men who do not worship a university degree, but who can, instead, help its ordinary economic activities. The country needs men specialised in agriculture who would run private farms; men specialised in the various branches of industry who would push on the work of private capitalists; men specialised in commerce

and finance who can grease the wheels of material progress. On the other hand, the country does not want specialists who would look for a Government job.

Agriculture, industry, and commerce are the true mainstay of a nation; and under normal conditions most men engage themselves in one or other of these pursuits. The prosperity of a nation is measured by the condition in which these are found; for these in fact yield the wherewithal to carry on the intellectual activities of the people. And conversely, the intellectual activities should be so directed that they will furnish men who would in their turn help the material activities of the nation. But where there is a discrepancy between the intellectual training and the economic pursuits, there is bound to be serious dislocation and unemployment. This is what has happened in India. Our educational system produces year after year thousands of graduates who, by the very nature of their training, will not fit into the economic structure of the land.

How then is this situation to be remedied? In the first place, our educational system should be remodelled so that in addition to the present general education, special attention should be devoted to technical courses, the sciences of doing. The Germans have a word, "*Brodstudien*," to denote those studies which are pursued with the direct object of earning one's bread. We ought to devote more energy to these studies.

In the second place, more avenues for employment ought to be opened. In Europe the army and the navy, the mercantile marine and the consular service absorb a considerable proportion of peculiar talents, and there is no reason why this should not be the case in India. Diversify the educational training of our young men, and you throw open to them endless possibilities; you fit them for different kinds of occupations.

The problem of intellectual unemployment will then solve itself.

THE SPIRITUAL CULTURE OF THE HINDUS AND THE INTERPRETATION OF THEIR CIVILIZATION.

By DR. NARENDRA NATH LAW, M.A., B.L., P.R.S., Ph.D.

It is one of the essentials for the right interpretation of the civilization of an ancient nation, and the writing of its history that the historian should be able to understand rightly the various elements that compose that civilization, or at least be able to realize the lines of thought and feeling that can put him in sympathy with those elements that are either dimly apprehended or are beyond his comprehension. The interpretation of the religious and spiritual side of the Hindu civilization has, I think, suffered much in this respect, at the hands of the modern writers of the history of India. Deficiencies in the matter of interpretation of an ancient civilization are only natural because of the gulf that keeps it apart from the civilizations of the present day. In the case of the ancient Hindus, the value of the spiritual side of their civilization is very difficult to be realized by a man of the twentieth century because of the frame of mind that is generally developed in him under the influence of current thoughts and environment. But it was this spiritual culture which was indissolubly bound up with ancient Hindu civilization and influenced and determined to a very great extent their manners, customs and institutions through which their thoughts and feelings found expressions. So long as this basic and central element of spiritual culture remains a sealed book to us, the value of the several branches of ancient Hindu literature connected more or less with this element will not be realized. Though attempts are being made to master the Hindu spiritual lore theoretically and practically both in the East and West, yet the historians by whose hands are drawn the picture of the Hindu civilization which gets currency throughout the world are yet far from performing their task in unison with those who are able to master the actualities of spiritual life by following the ways laid down in the early works of the Hindus. So long as this unison between the writers of the history of our country and the adepts in the spiritual science is not established, the former are bound to wander about on the

fringes of the spiritual civilization of our ancestors, and depict this basic element of their entire civilization, without which it can never be fully understood, in a way that would be far from just to its real value and importance. It is true that much progress has been made in the domain of comparative philology and the interpretation of the Vedas, in comparative mythology, and other branches of study relating to the interpretation of the Hindu religious books, and such studies have indeed yielded materials, which have been utilized by the writers of history for their purposes. The result has been the emergence of a view-point that sees but superstition, magic, inane verbosity, or meaningless rites in the texts of the religious books from the Vedas downwards, which are looked upon as important only as relics or curios. But such an angle of vision can never bring about the realization of the actual spiritual life led by the Hindus and its results, unless it corrects itself by the other factor without which our labours can never yield the desirable results, *viz.*, the light afford by the *sādhana* of the Hindu spiritual adepts. It is then and only then that we can put ourselves at a standpoint that will see the right significance of the various bases of spiritual culture that escape our observation at present. With this object in view I have ventured to make some observations intended to show that our present ways of investigating into the Hindu spiritual culture which forms the keystone of the Hindu civilization are in my opinion deficient in certain respects yielding undesirable results in the interpretation of the Hindu civilization and the writing of its history.

The contact of Western civilization with that of the Hindus has brought about, in diverse directions, great changes, one of which is in the domain of religious thought and belief. The principal factors that have contributed to this result are:—

- (1) The sceptical, scientific spirit forming an adjunct of Western education that leads one to refuse to take on

trust anything that is not based on data regarded as sound by the rules of induction or deduction of European logic.

(2) The processes of historical criticism that have dissected the religious works of the Hindus from the Vedas downwards, and shown according to the rules of historical criticism (a) their limited antiquity as opposed to their eternal existence in the forms in which we see them, (b) their growth, (c) their interpolations which were made to serve various purposes, (d) the emergence of the various branches of Hindu religious literature in a certain chronological order in which (the composition of the *Māhatmyas*, forming part of the *Purānas* not ceasing yet) the *Purānas* stand last, and among which there is an internal connection by reason of the evolution of thought in the later branches of the literature from the former ones, and (e) the gradual evolution of the Hindu pantheon (as has also been proved in regard to other countries) showing an order of emergence of the objects of worship as opposed to the current beliefs.

(3) The mutual contradictions or dissimilarities between portions of religious books, of which, one cannot be supposed as true without considering the other to be in error, e.g., the dissimilarities or contradictions in the lists of royal dynasties in the Puranas which as the fifth Veda are believed to be infallible.

(4) The modern progress of the physical sciences or the modern geographical, astronomical or other branches of knowledge prove certain statements of the religious books to be untenable. This appears quite natural if we take into account the time when the statements were made but they militate against the orthodox belief as to those religious books.

(5) The criticisms, sometimes undeserved or even ruthless (by Jean A. Dubois Talboys Wheeler, and others) against the manners, customs and institutions

of the Hindus, and the ideas and beliefs underlying them directed for the first time in the history of India a radical but fearless examination which destroyed or shook to the foundations many a fond idea or belief found in the Hindu religious books.

(6) The study of religious books in the light of historical criticism has shown that statements found in them may be such that they can be more satisfactorily accounted for by the exigencies, changes, or demands of religious thought than by the supposition of the actual occurrence of the incidents in the statements.

The influence of all these factors has been to leaven the mind with a spirit of reasoning which checks the free play of belief in regard to religious matters. Now the question arises whether after conceding the various factors all that they can reasonably claim, would there be nothing left of the contents of Hindu religious books, beliefs and practices, that can well hold up its head against the attacks? The lives and sayings of those who have attained success by proceeding along the ways prescribed by the *sanātana dharma* lead one to believe that even after leaving aside all that must

How for the spirit of scepticism is justified be rejected, there must be left much that the acutest reasonings of scholars best equipped

with modern secular scholarship cannot probe, because their conclusions leave out many premises of which they do not even dream, but which must be duly noted to account for the actual results. Just as credulousness can be pushed too far, so also scepticism, and what we regard as opposed to the laws of nature, or to philosophy may be quite in accord with laws, or philosophy, beyond the comprehension of the present day scholar of the college and the laboratory. The result is that the prevailing attitude of the generality of the people of the present day towards the ways by which the highest spiritual life is prescribed as attainable in the Hindu *sāstras*, or towards those mortals who are widely recognized in India as successful in their pursuit of the ideals of the *sāstras* such as Ramkrishna Paramahansa, or Trailaṅga Svāmī is either of disbelief that dismisses them with curt phrases like 'lunatics' or 'mystics,' and their experiences as 'visions' or 'hallucinations', or one of transient

adulation that bestows praises on them for the moment and rests satisfied.

The present Hindu society has ceased to keep up the provision, that was zealously maintained by it of yore, for a regular supply of people from within itself to take to the third and fourth 'stages of life', namely

Disorganization and disuse of 'stages of life' are responsible for the spiritual ebb among the Hindus.

vānaprastha, and *yati* in order that nothing might deter those who had climbed up to the highest rung of spiritual life from having suitable men to follow in their footsteps and

keep alive in the country the spiritual truths and attainments that might be well-nigh or totally lost for want of adherents, who would have otherwise been unwilling to join them by sheer unbelief at the very outset. Whatever might be the defects of the 'stages of life' of early Hindu society, one thing is certain that without them, India could not have attained to the degree of spiritual culture that made it 'the land of rishis', the home of realities of spiritual life that are still but enigmas to many other countries of the world.

Its spiritual culture is generally supposed to be one of the causes of its decline, in view, as is alleged, of the fact that it made the people but philosophic imbeciles and dreamers, but the supposition, I think, fails to hit the right nail. India declined not because of its spiritual culture but because it could not keep its stream of spiritual life ungarbled and unabused, and could not practically act upon the scheme of individual

The decline of material prosperity of the Hindus, not due to spiritual culture but to its abuse and misapplication.

and social life in which the material interests of the people and the country are not allowed to be overshadowed by the zeal for spiritual and religious matters. There was a class of thinkers (Kautilya) who saw that, of the four aims of human life *dharma*, *artha*, *kama* and *moksha*, *artha* is the basis upon which rest the three other aims, which cannot be achieved if the basis be shaky and unsound. In the human body, the legs are generally regarded as occupying a very low position in comparison with the brain, but if this low estimate of their value gives rise to practical neglect of the two limbs causing them actual injury or destroying their efficiency, then the best brain has to succumb in competition with another that is not so hampered in the use of the

legs, as the result of its own action, in giving effect to its thoughts. The same is the case in regard to the body politic. The spiritual and religious matters came to receive the attention of the Hindus at the expense of secular matters, and this is one of the principal reasons why the body politic of the Hindus has to give way in its struggle with that of the other peoples who prosecuted it in right earnest. The second 'stage of life' (*Grihasthāsrama*)

Material and spiritual responsibilities of the second stage of life.

of a twice-born was the only stage that was meant to be principally devoted to the secular side of human life and society, and the practical duty of maintaining or increasing the strength of the body politic in economic, financial, political, and military matters and protecting it from evils, arising from within or without and threatening to destroy it, rested on the people in this 'stage of life', though suggestions, inspirations, additions to existing knowledge, and so forth could come from those in any of the four 'stages', from the fourth caste, or from beyond the pale of Hindu society. It is clear therefore that if the second 'stage of life' grows in course of time apathetic to worldly matters under the influence of a conception of life that relegates the acquisition, preservation, and improvement (*yoga-kshema-sādhana*) of all secular matters relating to both the individual and the society to a neglectable position, and attaches the sole importance to religious and spiritual matters, though these latter cannot be maintained in a good condition without the former, the country is sure to deteriorate and succumb to powers that are more attentive to their material interests, and that would not hesitate to put on it their yoke of subjection out of consideration for its higher spiritual attainments. The Hindu society primarily looked to its member in the *grihasthāsrama* for its preservation and improvement in all matters; and if by gradual changes of thought which were not, or could not be corrected in time their conception of the ideal duties of this portion of their life be influenced in the majority of them by an all-absorbing aspiration for divine contemplation, and not for secular work which in the proper spirit may also be pursued as religion, the result cannot but be disastrous to society. The 'stages of life' with their proper allotment of duties were so planned that each had a particular contribution to make to the ideals of human life and to minister to the necessities of the society. If,

by circumstances, the second 'stage' (as also, of course, any other stage) be diverted away by a misconception from serving the purposes for which it was intended, the whole body politic falls out of gear. It must not be supposed that I mean to say that people in this *āśrama* should be of materialistic tendencies, in order that they might cling to things of this earth to preserve and improve them. On the other hand, action accompanied with the thought and deliberation necessary to make it fruitful, can be characterized by a spirit that can raise it to a very high level of moral and spiritual worth, and this is a view of life that was not unknown to the Hindus. Life with action as its objective pursued in the right spirit ought to be as a rule the peculiar feature of the second *āśrama*, relegating purely contemplative life to its appropriate place in the later 'stages.' In this way alone, can the strength of a society in all spheres of its activities be maintained and increased, and not by allowing the 'stage of life' to be engulfed by the later ones. The material degeneration of the Hindu body politic was due mainly to this encroachment of the ideal of life of the third and fourth 'stages' upon that of the second, and not due to the intrinsic inanity of their spiritual belief and culture, a conclusion that is generally drawn as a corollary to the supposition that spirituality, the outstanding trait of the Hindu character, was principally responsible for their decline in material prosperity, while really it was its misapplication as shown above. One feature stands out clearly, namely, that the organisation of the four interconnected *āśramas*, peculiar to India as it is, proved to be the instrument through which was expressed the peculiar Hindu psychosis with its deep spiritual tendencies and which, by passing every member of the three higher castes through the first two 'stages of life' with their duties, and obligations discharged in compliance with the generally stricter discipline of those days intended to make and keep him fit for the life that awaited him in the next two 'stages.' This organization, not found in any other country, served to maintain the regular supply of a large number of persons who were each given opportunities for entering the higher life under the direction of the adepts, who again could thus obtain greater opportunities of lifting a large number of persons from among the initiated to the highest rung of spiritual life. When the organization of *āśramas* was dislocated, there

ceased to be a smooth and ordered flow of the stream. The adepts were in want of sufficient desirable candidates as the result of the defective functioning of the first two *āśramas*, while the people in the *āśramas* themselves deviated in a much larger measure than formerly from the prescribed duties and obligations, which were wisely meant to contribute both to secular welfare and to spiritual benefit. Every body at any time of the first two stages of life thought himself fit for the spiritual life that was, as a rule, reserved for the last two stages, because spiritual life could easily be transformed into one of idleness without loss of public esteem, while duties for secular benefit meant physical and intellectual labour, which could not be very alluring, as they could not so easily be counterfeited and yet passed round as pure gold. I do not mean to say that any body below fifty, when usually the third stage commences, is unfit for spiritual progress ; far from that. What I mean to say is, that a thing which may be successful in individual cases may not be proper and desirable or as a rule generally applicable to a community, a race, or a nation. It is essential to every country that it should always possess a desirable proportion of its members in the second 'stage of life' or its equivalent, attentive to, or even zealous in the pursuit of their secular duties, and not apathetic to their performance ; for upon them depends principally the material welfare of the country. This evil of confusion in the sequence which the duties of human life should generally follow, and the disorganization of the *āśramas* in other ways, brought about, on the one hand, a paucity of virile and earnest workers in the secular fields of activities, which was principally responsible for the material degeneration of the country, while on the other hand, they caused the failure of the country to conserve and at the same time keep distributed among a large number of people the highest spiritual attainments, which henceforth com-

menced to be confined to a lesser and lesser number of adepts, between whom and the people of the *grihasthāśrama*, came to intervene a gulf which gradually became wider ; while

formerly it was the *grihasthāśrama* that led on naturally to the next two stages, in which the spiritual masters were, as a matter of course, ready to take within their fold the newcomers, who had completed their first two stages which

were generally calculated to train their mind and body for the next stage.

The consequence has been that at present there exist between the two classes a mutual mistrust and misunderstanding that have been heightened by the modern Western spirit. This spirit faithful to the methods of Western science appears to demand from the Hindus, 'if your adepts in *yoga*, *jñāna* and *bhakti* have treasured up the highest truths, let them come, preach about, and demonstrate before the unbelieving masses the reality of their pretensions, just as the modern discoverers of truths in the physical sciences, instead of munching their truths in caves or cloisters, demonstrate before the wondering masses their discoveries in an intelligible form, or in their concrete and useful applications!'

The aeroplane or the gramophone, the telephone, the telegraph, or the steam-engine leaves no room for doubt in the minds of the people that the Western science

The mode of cultivation of physical sciences radically different from that of acquisition of spiritual culture. has attained to a great height and is rising daily to higher heights, and that it is worthwhile spending time, labour, and money in learning the

means by which the truths have been discovered and applied. Thus the people feel naturally attracted towards the sciences, which do not run the risk of being lost for want of learners, or of being confined to the fortunate few. There is much truth in these statements, which however miss a point that should be considered. Are spiritual and physical sciences of such a kindred nature that what can be demanded or applied to one can also be done to the other? The answer, I think, should be partially negative, and partially affirmative. Let us turn to the negative portion of the answer first. The cultivation of the spiritual science is essentially an inner realization of spiritual truths, an uplifting of the whole man, a culture of the soul that tears asunder the veil that conceals from view the ultimate realities, a direct communion with the ultimate consciousness, of which the universe is but a manifestation. The learning of the physical sciences is not necessarily connected with the mental and moral nature of the man, and not dependent upon their uplift. A scientific man would not necessarily experience his moral depravity to be an obstacle in the way of mastering the physical science, for

such a mastery has connexion only with the exercise of his intellect and not with his whole self. For this reason, a man cannot make much spiritual progress, even if he be put on the track, unless he purges his self of its evil qualities and worldly propensities. Next, as to the affirmative portion of the above answer, it should be stated that spiritual progress puts within the reach of the *sādhaka* certain powers, which may be utilized for spiritual benefit in view of the new vistas by which many things that are now objects or guesses or doubts become matters of certain knowledge, offering grounds for the solution of many problems of the super-sensual world, and steadying generally his belief in many directions; while, on the other hand, these powers are standing temptations to use them for selfish, worldly purposes, or even for working positive evil for selfish ends, which of course bring sooner or later the punishment in the downfall of the *sādhaka*. This abuse of the powers, which is so very likely to take place unless the learner is equipped by an elevation of his self and his desire for spiritual life higher than the stages at which the powers can be acquired (specially in these days of absence of preliminary training given by the first two 'stages of life') is one of the causes that make the adepts so very reluctant to admit as *chelas* any and every body that may be animated by a passing desire to be put on the track. Besides, it means, to the *Guru*, waste of time and much labour which could have been more beneficially utilized by him, if the disciple falls off in midst of his journey. This is another deterrent. Exhibitions of the powers constitute the demonstrations that are demanded by the modern spirit; but these demonstrations are not altogether absent in these days, though they are liable to be misinterpreted or dismissed as products of too much credulity of the spectators. But yet there are several accounts of such manifestations of powers witnessed by the Europeans themselves with their characteristic observing habits, and sceptic attitude towards such manifestations, from which it cannot be denied that the realities were otherwise than as the accounts describe them. I leave out of consideration the accounts penned by Indian writers as they are likely to be taken at a discount in regard to the present question. I have no space for quoting from the European accounts and suffice it to say that they relate not only to powers dominating the physique and the physical world, but also

to those over the mind, which constitute the peculiar conquests of the *sādhakas* and which are but dimly seen through these occasional manifestations necessitated by the particular circumstances of each case. But as already mentioned, these powers come in the train of *sādhana*, and as they tend to be temptations on the path of the devotees, their proper place demands them either to be set aside, or utilized for further progress, but never to be used as

instruments of achieving selfish ends. But even these manifestations, occasional and few as they are, are very often disbelieved ; but they are the only material and visible evidences of the internal acquisitions of an adept ; and as such an attitude fails to rouse a spirit of systematic enquiry, the gulf separating the spiritual culture from the man of to-day tends ever to increase, though of course there are movements at work, feeble though they be, aiming to bridge it over as far as possible.

THE CHITPAVAN PERIOD IN MAHARASHTRA.

By "RAMANUJA".

The year 1920 will be long remembered as the year in which India lost the late Lokamanya Tilak, one of the All-India leaders supplied by Maharashtra. But the same year may be said to have marked the close of what may aptly be termed the Chitpavan period in the history of Maharashtra. To many readers of this *Review*, even the term Chitpavan may not be known. For the sake of these it will suffice to say, that, Chitpavan is the name of that community of Maharashtra Brahmans, to which the Peshwas of Poona and the late Lakamanya belonged. It is proposed in this article to give a short account of this small but interesting community and incidentally to justify the claim put forward on its behalf in the heading of this article.

People outside Maharashtra probably take Maratha Brahmans to form one homogeneous community. But this is far from the truth. There are in Maharashtra at least a dozen sub-castes among the Brahmans. Though inter-dining is generally permitted among them, inter-marriages among them are strictly prohibited by inexorable custom. The Chitpavans, better known as Konkanastha Brahmans are only one of these dozen sub-castes. They numbered about a lakh and a quarter at the last census.

As their alias shows the native place of the Chitpavans is the Konkan, the narrow strip of hilly country that lies between the Western Ghats and the Arabian Sea. It would however appear from the legends prevalent about them,

that, Konkan is not their original home. According to one legend Parashuram, the sixth incarnation of Vishnu ordered the sea to recede twelve Koshas (twenty four miles) westwards and gave the land thus reclaimed to the fourteen families of Brahmans, who had gained his favour by their devotion. These were the ancestors of the Chitpavans. The Skanda Purana says, that, Parashuram conferred Brahmanhood upon sixty families of fishermen, whom he found near a burning ground on the West coast, and who according to their own admission excelled in hunting. As they were thus purified at a burning ground (*चित्तास्थाने*) they came to be known as Chittapavanas. Many present day Chitpavans naturally look askance at this account of their origin and interpret their caste-name to mean 'pure minded.' A still different legend has it, that, the ancestors of the Chitpavans were fourteen foreigners, whose dead bodies were washed ashore in the Konkan, and who were through pity resuscitated by Parashuram and endowed with the rank of Brahmans. The number fourteen in the above legends has reference to the fourteen gotras to one or another of which all Chitpavans belong, while sixty represents the number of the family-names that originally obtained among them. The latter have however now increased to several hundreds owing to the assumption by many Chitpavans of new surnames. The above-mentioned legends have naturally tempted many persons to specu-

late about the country from which the Chitpavans migrated to the Konkan and they have been variously assigned to a Phoenician, Egyptian or Jewish origin. None of these theories is however founded on undisputed facts, and has no more value than a fantastic, if interesting, speculation.

However that may be, Konkan has been the home of the Chitpavans for several centuries, so that they are better known as Konkanastha Brahmans, though admittedly there are Brahmans of other castes also domiciled for centuries in that region. The Chitpavans appear to have lived quietly and almost unknown to the outer world for a long time amidst the hills of the Ratnagiri District, studying the Vedas and tilling the scanty and none-too-fruitful soil. Their way of life was simple, nay positively poor, as in return for the most strenuous labour nature would yield them nothing more than the bare necessities of life. The rise and fall of dynasties beyond the Ghats did not much affect them. Even the great upheaval in Maharashtra at the time of Shivaji seems to have left them almost untouched, as no Chitpavan name is to be found among those that took a prominent part in laying the foundations of the Maratha Empire. Sometime previously they had been compelled by their increasing numbers to seek new habitations for their surplus population in the Northern Konkan, *i.e.*, the present Kolaba and Thana districts. Here they were forestalled to a large extent by the Chandraseniya Kayasthas from Upper India, who had migrated to those parts several centuries before. The latter had almost monopolized the Prabhu Vats in those parts and had adopted Prabhu as their caste name. The meeting of these two able and industrious communities set up a feeling of rivalry between them. It was further embittered by squabbles over social and religious privileges, which have not ended even to-day and which did not fail to produce a disastrous effect at a critical period in the history of the Marathas.

The credit of bringing the Chitpavans out of their narrow and isolated surroundings into the ampler political activities of Maharashtra and ultimately of the whole of India belongs to Balaji Vishwanath Bhat, a man of great ability and administrative capacity. Though his patronymic was Bhat (Priest), he was not brought up to the duties of a member of the priestly class. He held an important position in the civil administration of his own district, but migrated beyond

the Ghats in the closing years of Shivaji's reign to find new channels for his abilities and ambition. He appears to have played a part of some importance during the troublous period that intervened between Shivaji's death and the capture of his grandson Shahu. He then returned to his native place, Shriwardhan, only to be compelled a few years later to flee from the tyranny of the Siddi ruler of Janjira, who held sway over the region. He was taken into service by Dhanaji Jadhav, a Maratha general, whom he induced to side with Shahu on the latter's return from Delhi. On the death of Dhanaji, Shahu took him into his confidence, and convinced of his ability and devotion made him his Peshwa or Chief Minister in 1714.

This was a turning point in the history of the Chitpavan community. The spectacle of a member of their community rising by sheer merit to the highest post in the kingdom was a great stimulus to the others and inspired them to follow his illustrious example. Balaji and his successors naturally extended the hand of fellowship and patronage to promising members of their own caste. Many Chitpavan families thus rose to prominence during the 18th century, chief among them being the Bhanus, the Mehendales, the Rastes, the Phadkes, the Patwardhans and the Gokhales. Not that other communities did not receive encouragement from the Peshwas. The Scindias and Holkars among Non-Brahmans, and the Bundeles of Jhansi, the Panses and the Vinchur Kars among Brahmans of other communities owed their rise to the favour of the Peshwas, and furnish shining testimony to the impartiality of the latter in the recognition of merit.

The achievements and failures of the Peshwas are a matter of history and need not be recounted here. No one can justify each and every act of theirs or deny that they committed some mistakes. But whatever their detractors may say, it is certain that the advent of the Peshwas to power not only prevented the Maratha nation from degenerating into a second class power under an easy going and pleasure loving monarch like Shahu, but brought it to such a state of efficiency as to enable it to make a bold bid for the sovereignty of the whole of India. One cannot but admire the three successors of Balaji Vishwanath for the ability and steadfastness with which they strove to build up a great empire. It must be the regret of every patriotic Maharashtrian that the careers of the gallant

Bajirao I, his son the sagacious Balaji II, and his grandson the spirited Madhavrao I, perhaps the ablest of the Peshwas, were cut off in the prime of their lives. The last named succumbed to an insidious attack of consumption before he reached the age of thirty. After these the meed of praise must be given to Balajipant Bhanu, alias Nana Fadnavis, for striving to keep the Maratha confederacy together during the last quarter of the 18th century and to stave off the dissolution of the empire amidst family feuds, internal dissensions and the attacks of a foreign and better organized foe. After his death the inevitable happened, the doom being hastened by the weakness and tyranny of the last Peshwa.

It will be seen from the above sketch, that, for the hundred years that followed the accession of Balaji Vishwanath to power the political situation of Maharashtra was dominated by the Chitpavans. Other communities had of course their part and an important part in its achievements, but the Chitpavan Peshwas directed its policy and inspired its undertakings. It will not therefore be amiss to style this period in the history of Maharashtra a Chitpavan period. We have now to see whether the first century under British rule may also be appropriately called a Chitpavan period though in a different sense.

The disappearance of the Maratha nation as a politically independent power gave a different turn to the activities of the Chitpavans. No laurels were now to be won on the field of battle or of state craft. They at once took with conspicuous success to English education which had become the sole avenue to distinction under the changed circumstances. They filled a large majority of the posts in the educational, judicial and administrative departments that were thrown open in the provinces to Indians. They were soon in the forefront in the learned professions of law and medicine not only in Maharashtra proper, but in Berar, the Marathi districts of the Central Provinces and the Karnatic. In fact their success in these directions was so unique as to excite the envy of sister communities in various centres. In the Indian Civil Service also more than half of its Maharashtra members are Chitpavans.

But striking as this success certainly has been, it alone cannot justify the claim to call the hundred years ending with 1920 a Chitpavan period. That claim rests mainly on the part played by the Chitpavans in the public life of Maharashtra in literary, educational and most of

all in political matters. They were pioneers in all activities in these spheres and are still in the forefront. Taking literature first it will be seen, that, Chitpavan writers have laid the foundations of modern Marathi literature. It is a very strange fact that the Chitpavans did not contribute anything to the growth of Marathi literature till the second quarter of the 19th century. But they have more than made up for this inactivity by the galaxy of brilliant poets and writers of prose they produced during the last hundred years. To mention only a few names among many, Gopal Hari Doshmukh, Vishnushastri Chiplunkar, S. M. Paranjpye and N. C. Kelkar among journalists and writers of prose, 'Keshavasuta,' 'Vinayak' and Rev. Tilak among poets, Kolhatkar, Deval and Khadilkar among dramatists and Hari Narayan Apte among novelists have won permanent places in Marathi literature. In historical research V. K. Rajwade sane and Khare have made their names by lifelong and selfless devotion. A special mention must also be made here of Mr. Vasudev Govind Apte, the creator of a humble but very useful branch of literature, *viz.*, books for children. Even now a glance at the names of the writers of newly published books and articles in the magazines will show that a majority of them are Chitpavans.

The Deccan Education Society of Poona has set a brilliant example of self-sacrifice in the cause of education. The founders of this society and most of its prominent members have been Chitpavans. Vishnushastri Chiplunkar, B. G. Tilak, V. S. Apte, M. S. Gole, G. K. Gokhale and R. P. Paranjpye are names too well-known to require further introduction. Many other societies have been formed on the model of this society for the spread of education and the Chitpavan community has contributed more than its quota to each. The Hindu Widows' Home and the Indian Women's University, which are unique institutions in the whole of India owe their existence to the lifelong zeal and selflessness of Prof. D. K. Karve, another Chitpavan of note.

If we turn to politics we shall find that the Chitpavans were unquestionably pre-eminent in this sphere during the century that ended with 1920. It was of course in the fitness of things, that, the community which was at the helm of the independent Maharashtra during the last hundred years of its existence should take to politics with enthusiasm with the object of

winning back for the country its past glory by ways suitable to the altered state of things. The political movement in Maharashtra owed its origin to the great Mahadev Govind Ranade and was taken up with zeal by Vishnushastri Chiplunkar, Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Gopal Krishna Gokhale. Of these Chiplunkar is not much known outside his own province as a political worker. But he wielded a powerful pen and was fired by an intense enthusiasm. His writings aroused the rising generation of his time to the realities of the situation, and helped to sow the seeds of political thought far and wide throughout Maharashtra. His career was cut off in the prime of life. Otherwise he would have naturally become the leader of the Maharashtra Nationalist party which was afterwards formed by Tilak. Ranade and Gokhale represented the Moderate School of Politics. These differences did not however become acute till some years after the death of Ranade who was always acknowledged by all political workers as their Guru. Besides these four outstanding personalities D. A. Khare, N. V. Gokhale, Hari Narayan Apte and G. V. Joshi, the well-known student of economics, deserve mention in this connection. The press was early recognized in Maharashtra as a potent instrument of political propaganda, and has been from the beginning largely in the hands of Chitpavans. Even now almost every well-known newspaper is edited by a Chitpavan.

A brief reference is due here to some ardent spirits who were misled by a mistaken zeal into the paths of violence and political crime. Vasudeo Balvant Phadke tried to imitate Shivaji in the early seventies, was caught and died in jail. The Champhekar brothers startled the whole country by the Poona murders in 1897. Recently several young men were found concerned in a secret revolutionary society at Nasik which was detected after the murder of Mr. Jackson. Phadke, the Chaphekar and their associates, and the leading members of the Nasik organization were all Chitpavans.

Politics in a country ruled by an alien people is never a safe game, and the Chitpavans have not been allowed to indulge in it without paying a heavy penalty. Tilak was sent twice to jail, Ranade was under a shadow for some time and Gokhale also was not without his trials. In 1897 and 1908 many editors were convicted under Sec. 124 A and almost all of them were Chitpavans. The violent spirits referred to above

either suffered the extreme penalty of law or had to undergo long terms of imprisonments. Besides these individual sufferings the community as a whole has become an object of great dislike and distrust to the bureaucracy, and it has been the consistent policy of the latter for more than a generation to withhold government patronage as far as possible from its members. But to their great credit be it said, that the Chitpavans have never faltered in their duty to the motherland from fear of official disfavour, or sold their souls for a mess of pottage. They are still in the forefront of every political movement, and though there is at present no Chitpavan leader of the calibre of Ranade, Tilak or Gokhale, still their banners are worthily held aloft by leaders like Messrs. N. C. Kelkar, Khadilkar, Vamanro Joshi, R. P. Paranjpye, V. G. Kale and others.

The above resumé will, it is hoped, satisfy the readers that in calling the period 1714 A. D. to 1920 A. D. the Chitpavan period in Maharashtra the writer has not unduly elevated one community at the expense of or with injustice to other communities. I shall here refer to a simple but very significant fact which indicates how broad the outlook of the Chitpavans has been under British rule with regard to the country's advance. While almost every other important community in Maharashtra has its separate organization to look after its special interests political and educational, the Chitpavans have never attempted to start a similar organization solely for themselves. They have from the beginning recognized that the need for the day is a desire to work for the common good, and that the interests of a single class or community must never be placed before the interests of the country as a whole.

I shall conclude this article with a brief description of the present condition of the Chitpavan community. They are to-day easily the foremost community in Maharashtra in every walk of life, where a liberal education is a necessary qualification for success. In spite of a suspicious bureaucracy they still hold their own in the public services and are at the top in the learned professions, in scholarship, in journalism and literature. With the steady spread of education among all classes it is not to be expected, that, they can continue indefinitely to dominate in these spheres in future. The number of literate men that these can absorb is limited, and many young Chitpavans have already to earn their

livelihood by following other avocations, such as shop-keeping, tailoring, mechanical engineering, carpentry and even running tea-shops and small restaurants in the larger towns. The dislike of the Government and the Non-Brahman movement, which threatens in Maharashtra to assume the form of an unreasoning communal vendetta unless wiser counsels prevail on either side, will also tend to drive them from fields, where they have won conspicuous renown, and which they will continue to hold for a long time to come, if only fair play is allowed. That the Chitpavans will have to turn in larger numbers to other professions is not regretted by many among the community. For while government service and the learned professions confer conspicuity, they are not the paths that lead to wealth. The Chitpavans are to-day a comparatively poor community. They have not till now engaged in trade, business or large industries, in which fortunes are generally made, nor if we exclude the few Inamdars and Sardars, are they the inheritors of broad acres of land. Many Chitpavans who can look ahead think therefore

that if the members of their community are ousted from their beaten tracks, they will have perforce to take to trade, business, industries and agriculture, wherein their intelligence and spirit of adventure will stand them in good stead and lead them to fortune, and the influence and power to do good that it brings. That the spirit of adventure has not yet disappeared from them may be seen from the fact, that, they are ready to migrate to any part of India or even outside the country in search of better prospects. It was the same adventurous spirit of old that enabled one Chitpavan to win a flight-lieutenancy and another the Military Cross during the last war, and a third to rise to a membership of the Executive Council in East Africa. The Chitpavans have no commercial or industrial traditions behind them. They have yet to learn the value of concerted action and mutual trust in trade and business. But the writer has no doubt that when compelled to turn to these, the Chitpavans will achieve therein the same success that they have won in politics and letters.

TO THE EAST OF SAMATATA.*

By MAHAMAHOPADHAYA PANDIT PADMANATH BHATTACHARYA
VIDYABINOD, M.A.

When I wrote my first article under the above heading and demonstrated therein the location of the six countries heard of but not visited by Yuan Chwang in a way not attempted before, I anticipated a vigorous protest from some of those who had so long bound themselves up with the former view: and so I have not at all been surprised to see M.

Louis Finot appearing with his criticism in an article headed "Hsuan Tsang† and the Far East" in the October number of the *Journal of*

*The first article appeared in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* in January, 1920.

†Even in the spelling of the Chinese Pilgrim's name, M. Finot has called the form 'Yuan Chwang' as "undoubtedly inaccurate"; but as notwithstanding the adverse French criticism this spelling continues to be adopted in English writing, I have thought it proper to retain it; I believe also that an Englishman who devoted his life in the study of the Chinese language (as the late Mr. Watters) is apparently a more reliable authority in spelling a Chinese word in his own mother tongue, than a foreigner.

the Royal Asiatic Society, 1920. But I regret very much to observe that the learned critic has done but scanty justice to my humble contribution: it seems he has taken a superficial view of my contentions and has sometimes misunderstood—if not deliberately misrepresented—my meaning.

Before proceeding to probe the critic's statements, I should confess at the outset that I do not know French and read none of the French publications mentioned by M. Finot in his article. I submitted however my article to and got the support of the late Dr. Vincent A. Smith, C.I.E.†—the then greatest living authority on the matter of Indian Antiquities—who might well have been cognisant of the French contributions on Yuan Chwang as referred to by M. Finot.

I do not think, however, that it would have benefited me much if I had gone through those French publications referred to by the learned critic—which, by the way, have served no doubt the purpose of advertising to the world the labours of the French *savants*, including Mr. Finot himself, in this direction, in the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. To understand that there are certain principles underlying the transcription of Sanskrit words in Chinese or vice versa, it is not absolutely necessary to study M. Julien's "Methode" or its improvements by French scholars: the appendix to Watter's Yuan Chwang giving indexes of Chinese names in original, their transliterations and rendering into Sanskrit, is enough for the present purposes for a person like the present writer who has some knowledge of Sanskrit and of Philology—the latter, let me remind M. Finot, had its development—if not the foundation—on the study of Sanskrit by occidental scholars. Notwithstanding our critic's efforts to show that Annam was Champá, it has not been proved that any other place could not have that name—

†It may not be out of place to quote here a portion of Dr. V. A. Smith's letter to me, dated 14th March, 1919. "I agree with you on the whole, although some minor points are disputable". It may not be a breach of secret, I, hope, if I say that in the original (type-written) copy of the article, Dr. Smith was pleased to note against my concluding remarks on "Shih li chatalo" and on "Kamolangka":—"I agree V. A. S. March 10, 1919"; and against those on "Ishangnapula",—"That seems to be right even if the etymology be rejected". It is therefore an exceedingly regrettable matter to me that the great antiquarian is not now in the land of the living—in which case, he would, I dare say, have himself given a rejoinder to M. Finot in a far abler way than I can possibly do with no knowledge of French

which, as I have already stated in my previous paper, was an imitation of Champá in India (near Bhagalpur).

I shall now proceed to show how careless superficial and unjust M. Finot has been in his criticism: while representing what I wrote in localizing the six kingdoms mentioned by Yuan Chwang, he says: "Mr. P. B. V. (*i.e.*, my humble self) does not hesitate to brush them (*i.e.*, the previous identifications) aside and to localize Hsuan Tsang's toponyms as follows:—

- (1) Shih li chá-tale = Sylhet, Skt. Srihatta (Assam).
- (2) Kamolangka = Comilla, formerly Karmánta (Bengal).
- (3) To lo poti = Tipperah, Skt. Tripurapati (Bengal).
- (4) Ishangnapulo = Visnupur (Manipur).
- (5) Mohachanpo = Bharno, formerly Campánagar (Burma).
- (6) Yenmonachou = Jambudvīpa (Burma)

Having thus shown in a distorted manner the skeleton only of what I actually said on the identification of each of these countries, M. Finot has been pleased to conclude that "it is quite unnecessary to insist on the fact—evident to any informed reader—that the above equivalents do not conform in any way to the present condition of Philology and are phonetically untenable".

As half truth is worse than untruth, a distorted presentation is worse than misrepresentation: and in order that the readers may form their own judgments and see how far M. Finot has done injustice to my humble contribution, I shall put here in brief what I stated in detail in my previous article:—

- (1) Shih-li-chá-talo = Sríhatta (modern Sylhet):—"('h' heard* as pronounced like 'ksh') also spoken of as 'Sríkshetra' in Tantra, as Sríkshetra and Sríhatta are almost identical in meaning, (vide pp. 3—6, including footnote—J. R. A. S. January, 1920).

I beg to remind the readers that these countries were "heard of" but not visited by Yuan Chwang, and to quote what Dr. Rhys Davids has said in his Preface to Watter's Yuan Chwang—"The names of places that the pilgrim heard in conversation were heard in local dialects. In his transcriptions the pilgrim would naturally therefore reproduce as a rule the Sanskrit forms, but he knew Pali forms of ancient names and the local forms of modern ones". Preface to Watters' Yuan Chwang Vol. I—p. vi

- (2) Kamolangka = Kamalánka represented latterly by Kámlák in the old songs of Mayanámátí) and was probably identical with Karmánta (Kámtá) (*vide* pp. 7—9 *ibid*).
- (3) To-lo-poti = probably a contracted Chinese representation of Tripurapati: it might have other names too—'Tarapati', 'Dváravati' or even Sthala-vatí† (*vide* pp. 10—11 with footnotes, *ibid*).
- (4) I-shang-napulō = Ishánapura = Vishnupura ('V' pronounced almost inaudibly) modern Bishnupur, former capital of Manipur: might have been called Ishánapura even on account of its position N. E. from Samtata. (*vide* pp. 12—14 including footnotes, *ibid*).
- (5) Moha chan po = Maháchampá, whereof 'Mahá' is an adjective; and so = Champá-nagara, 'nagara' meaning city, latterly Sampenago near Bhamo: even 'Mau Shans' might be a reminiscence of Moha chanpo (*vide* pp. 15—16 including footnotes, *ibid*).
- (6) Yen-mona-chou = Jambúdwípa—whereof Jambu was pronounced in a Burmese corrupted form perhaps: latterly represented by 'Tambu deepa' (Burma). (*vide* pp. 17—18 with footnotes, *ibid*).

From the above summary the reader will see that—not knowing Chinese myself—I have tried to keep my suggested names as close to the accepted forms as possible: and far from being dogmatic in my assertions, I have given various suggestions of names for my proposed identifications, and in the case of "Yen mona" I have explained how it differed from the Chinese form of "Jambu", in the footnote. Is there any room therefore for the diatribe indulged in by M. L. Finot?

Next, the critic has been pleased to stigmatise my paper as hardly successful from a historical point of view: "generally speaking", he says, "a theory which pretends to overthrow an admitted one is based either on discovery of new evidence or on a new interpretation of the older one". That he has seen neither of them in my article is regrettable: but a dispassionate critic would have at least found the former, I contend, in connection with those six countries in an

article that tried to traverse over a hitherto untrodden field.

Let me now examine how M. Finot has criticized my statement about each of the kingdoms severally: I shall begin from the very beginning† viz.:—

1. Shih-li-Chá-talo: If any body said anything of Shih-li-chá-talo being Sylhet it was a mere assertion without demonstration: so the rejection thereof was of no importance. Superficial observers will not find any good similarity in Sylhet with Shihlichátalo unless they know that the real name is Sríhatta a name still in use by the people, and a mere glance at the present map would show nothing of the 'sea' in Sylhet. M. Finot with his usual superficiality has taken into no account the fact, that only about 140 years ago an Englishman—Mr. Lindsay—had to take recourse to a compass as in the sea to steer through a lake of about 100 miles in extent to reach Sylhet from Dacca: that copper plate inscriptions about 900 years (at most) old make mention of Ságara (sea) as the boundary of a grant and of 'War boats' in the kingdom of Sríhatta, and that the name 'Háor' still in use of these extensive marshes (that formerly formed one continuous sheet of water) is a corrupt form of Ságara (i.e. sea).

Between the valley of the Prome and the sea on the other hand there is an extensive and almost inaccessible ridge of hills that made it apparently an inland kingdom.

M. L. Finot has cleverly brushed aside the fact that the kingdom of Tharekhettara had become extinct about 500 years before Yuan Chwang visited India by saying that the dates in the native chronicles are of no value whatever, without quoting any authority in support of so sweeping a remark; and then with 'perhaps' and 'if' tries to infer that the Urn inscriptions of the 7th century recently discovered may be a single guide post in the desert. Those who will go through Mr. Blagden's article referred to by M. Finot (*vide* Ep. Indica XII, 1913) will consider it a mirage rather than a 'guide post' in respect of our critic's contentions: the inscriptions have only tentatively been read and interpreted and there is not the slightest mention therein of Tharekhettara. Nor does M. Finot give any proof that the urns so discovered could not but

†Sthala' would be pronounced 'Thala' in the vernacular.

†M. Finot has begun from the middle, viz., 'Champá' the only place about which he seems to have felt himself sure, and dealt with the other countries in no order at all.

belong to rules of Tharekhettra. Does he not know that the rulers of all and every kingdom, large or small, in the Indo-Chinese Peninsula bore Hindu names? Surely Prome was not left without any rulers after the extinction of the Tharekhettra kingdom.

Now comes the question—which is the most vital one—whether the “North east” in the Pilgrim’s record should not be “South east”. In saying that it must have been ‘South east’, M. Finot says, “this is not the only error of the kind that one might detect in Chinese pilgrims”: but he has not supported his statement by quoting instances from Yuan Chwang or even from others; and then he adds, “one must not forget that what we have here is not a real itinerary, but a piece of information picked up by hearsay”. The critic should not however forget that the pilgrim went up to Samatata—the contiguous kingdom—and that the information about the orientation of a next lying kingdom though gathered from hearsay could not be anything but correct. If this be condemned as incorrect, those about the remoter ones must be looked on with greater suspicion and why should then the antiquarians trouble themselves in localizing these kingdoms? Moreover, a devoted Chinese scholar like Watters fully cognisant of the adverse opinion of his precursors—could certify the correctness of the pilgrim’s statement about the direction. If it were wrong Itsing who actually went to Shih-li-chátalo might well be expected to have corrected such a misleading statement in his immediate predecessor’s record.*

2. Kamolangka—M. Finot has admitted that the identification hitherto made has not been definite: and he puts against it “Tenasserim” with a ‘?’ (vide p. 447 J. R. A. S.—Oct. 1920). This is against the former assumption generally made, viz. “Pegu and the Delta of the Irawadi” (vide Watters’ Y. C. vol. ii. p. 189). Pegu had one advantage, namely it was contiguous to Prome, whereas to reach M. Finot’s Tennasserim one has to take a frog-leap and cross over Pegu! Verily the “Waters are deeper here”—so it would seem at any rate to those who would look about in a wrong direction. As for “Mr. P. B. V.” (i.e., myself)—he does not at all imagine the waters as in anyway deep—but

considers them easily fordable: The mention of Kámlák in an old poem at once indicates the locality of Kamolangka (Kamalánka) to have been where there is Comilla now.†

3. Tolopoti—Here our critic is rather in an uncomfortable situation: saying that it has not been located definitely he goes on to say that “it may have been situated either in the neighbourhood of Ayudhya as Gerini thought, or at Lophburi as Pelliot suggested:” and he concludes by saying, “what alone interests us is the question whether Dvaravati corresponds roughly to Lower Siam and the fact is attested by the Old History of Tang according to which the “Water Tchenia” i.e., Lower Cambodia is bounded on the west by Tolopoti. “Now, if by Lower Cambodia is meant the southern half of Cambodia as represented in a modern atlas, we find neither Ayudhya nor Lophburi on the west or even northwest: and the western boundary is “Sea” rather than any land at all. Even if what has been quoted by M. Pelliot from the Old History of Tang is considered as authentic, I shall state here that there were many Dváravatis‡ in the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, as was already stated by me in the previous article. Moreover in order to establish that this Tolopoti was what was mentioned by Yuan Chwang, it must be definitely localized and shown to have existed during the earlier half of the 7th century. The kingdom of Tipperah has been shown as flourishing in that period when an era was founded there.*

4. Ishangnapulo—Here again M. Finot has misunderstood what I wrote, and has misrepresented my meaning: Professor Chavennes identified Ishangnapulo with Cambodia because there happened to be a king in that locality

†Mahámahopádhyaý Pandit Haraprosád Sástri C.I.E., then President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal wrote to me after perusal of my former article: “that Kamalánka was Comilla was the idea from my boyhood: that was the idea of Rájkrishna Babu (Mukherji—one of the pioneers of Historical researches in Bengal). * * * Your article will serve to have a decisive effect on many matters” (Translated from Bengali). The imprimatur of the late Dr. V. A. Smith on this and on Shihlichátalo has already been shewn in a previous footnote in the present article.

‡In imitation of Devaravati in Western India—the city founded by Srikrishna.

*After I had despatched my former article to the Royal Asiatic Society, my attention was drawn to the Tipperah District Gazetteer compiled by Mr. J. E. Webster, C.I.E. wherein (page 11) the official compiler states, after quoting from M. Julien’s version of *Yuang Chwang*—“this Kamalanka is generally identified with Comillah the present capital of the District of Tipperah and perhaps Tolopoti may stand for Tipperah.”

*In my former article I have shown how Itsing’s description of his way from Nalanda to Shih-li-chátalo supports the location of the latter in Sylhet (vide footnote p. 6 J. R. A. S. January, 1920). It is rather curious that M. Finot should have passed over it quietly.

named Isánavarman—a little before Yuan Chwang's time. On this I wrote, "but the learned Professor does not state if the said king founded any capital bearing his own name, as formerly a kingdom might also be named after the capital but seldom by the personal name of its ruler." M. Finot after quoting my statement observes—"If Mr. P. B. V. had gone through the Cambodian inscriptions he would have known that the giving to a new capital the name of its founder far from being an unusual occurrence was the ordinary custom of the country: Isánapura is not the only example of it: we know Bhavapura capital of Bhavavarman etc., etc." I did not challenge the custom of giving the founder's name to a new capital, as even in India, 'Hastinapura' was called after its founder "Hastin": but I asked for a statement if a capital was *actually* founded by Isánavarman: if so, *then* only would Isánapura be the name of a kingdom. M. Finot has not stated if any trace of Isánapura has actually been found in the Cambodian inscriptions that he speaks of.

5. Mohachanpó—Here is the real rub. This was Maháchampá† undoubtedly: but the pilgrim might have meant 'Champá' as 'Mahá' is an adjective used probably to distinguish it from Champá in India. M. Finot is upset by my statement that there were other Champás in the Indo-Chinese Peninsula than 'Cochin China and Annam' and although I quoted authorities in support he appears to have held me personally responsible for the same and has used sarcastic language with reference to my humble self: moreover, as is his wont, he has distorted my meaning; I did not say "Cochin China and Annam" was not Champá†: only, I saw no harm in stating that there were other places bearing that name. The critic, however is so confident of the monopoly of the name in favour of Annam that he has not cared to take into serious consideration the case of Champánagara (Sampenago) near Bhamo, fancying it probably something arbitrarily brought forward by me! He forgets that the information has been gathered from a Government publication. M. Finot concludes by saying that as in the parallel list of Itsing Maháchampá was replaced by Lin-i and as that name (Lin-i) was never used by the

Chinese for another state than the Champá on the Annamese side, so Maháchampá could by no ingenuity be located elsewhere. But even here I suspect M. Finot may not be quite accurate: he has quoted no authority for his statement about Lin-i meaning the Annamese Champá only. Moreover, Mr. Beal who translated Yuan Chwang's work from the original Chinese and so knew Chinese well, interpreted Yuan Chwang's Moháchanpó as 'same as Lin-i' (Siyeki Vol. ii p. 200): yet identified Lin-i=Champá as 'Siam' (Life, i. p. 133).* As regards Itsing's parallel list I shall deal with it later on.

6. Yenmonachou—M. Finot has put against it "Yavadvipa Java (?)": but he is neither accurate in his transliteration (about which he is so very keen in criticising others) nor careful about the identification:—Yenmona='Yamana' (*vide* Watters' Yuan Chwang Vol. II, p. 189); and 'Java' lies far far away to the south, not even southwest. My interpretation has a plausible appearance and is geographically correct.* *

I should re-iterate here which was said in my previous article: starting from Srihatta (Shih-li-chátalo) northeast of Samtata the Pilgrim's informer stopped with southern Burma (Yenmonachou) which was southeast of Samatata—thus he in a manner completed a circle: leaving aside these nearer kingdoms—all of which existed in Yuan Chwang's time—why should a person care to tell him about far off kingdoms lying in a parabolic line—many of which could not as yet be plausibly identified that way?

I should also state here what is my honest conviction—but which may not be looked on with favour by critics like M. Finot yet I humbly hope it will be given a dispassionate consideration. Itsing has hitherto been looked upon as traversing five of the six countries as mentioned by Yuan Chwang and this has made confusion worse confounded. The only place common to both is Shih-li-chátalo and after this Itsing seems to have travelled over countries

*Quoted from Dr. Takakusu's Itsing, p. 1 (ii) footnote: Dr. Takakusu differs from Beal's view but does not make the same allegation as put forward by M. Finot.

†M. Finot means by "Maháchampá" the "Kingdom of Champá", although it was stated in my previous article that "Mahá" meant 'great'!

‡In fact I had consulted Encyclopaedia Britannica and found that locality known as Champá formerly

† On this point I asked for the opinion of Mr. Tawseinko of the Archaeological Department, Burma, and he wrote "your theory is that by Yenmonachou the Chinese traveller meant the southern half of Burma. You are perfectly entitled to hold your own theory and I am not disposed to oppose it."

other than those enumerated by Yuan Chwang. My reasons are as follows:

It is admitted on all hands that Itsing had read Yuan Chwang's Itinerary before he started on his journey: it is expected that he took note of the countries visited and mentioned by his predecessor who was his contemporary. Coming only about 30 years after Yuan Chwang had left India he must have found the names of countries in India and near about it almost identical and making allowance for the dialectic and personal idiosyncracys of both these Chinese pilgrims, it is expected that the names of countries recorded should be fairly identical. With the exception, however, of Shih-li-chátalo—which has been spelt alike by both—the other four countries show wide divergence* as will be seen from the statement below:—

(Yuan Chwang).	(Itsing).
Kamolangka.	Lankasu.*
Tolopoti (Talapati).	Shehopati Javapati, (<i>vide</i>
Ishangnopulo.	Watters' Y. C. II, p. 189).
Mohachanpó	Pohnan or Funan.
(Maháchampá).	Lin-i (Chinese for Champá).

The direction of one country from the other in succession among these five, is no doubt identical, in both viz. southeast and east: but un-

like his predecessor Itsing seems to have crossed over unnoticed the intermediate country or countries—as he did in his touring within India: for instance, while Yuan Chwang noticed in detail each country next adjoining in order, Itsing went from Nalanda eastward until he came to the great Black Mountain on the southern boundary of Tufan (Tibet) and said nothing of the intervening countries except merely as “eastern frontier”!

In conclusion I should respectfully ask those who might care to criticise this and the former article to take a sober, kindly and sympathetic view of my contentions. I never thought—nor do so even now—that I have said the last word on the matter. Let truth be found out, though my views be proved wrong. I beg again to invite the attention of the veteran antiquarians for working in this almost virgin field of research wherein I have tried to locate the six kingdoms: and if eventually all my efforts this way prove futile yet I hope they will have the same sort of satisfaction as the successors of a Farmer in Æsop's Fable had—who following his direction dug the ground for hidden treasure, and though found none of it yet were rewarded with a richer vintage.

‡ It is curious that M. Finot should have accommodated himself with such divergence and call these ‘parallel’ though these have at best a very vague analogy of sound!

*Dr. Takakusu mentions a country called ‘Lankasu’ in a Chinese History which has not been definitely identified—*vide* a foot-note at p. 9 Dr. Takakusu's “Itsing”.

† Vide p. 9. Dr. Takakusu's Itsing. I should state here that I could consult only Dr. Takakusu's Itsing wherein there is no Index (such as given in Watters' Yuan Chwang) to show the original Chinese forms or transcription thereof, of the names of places mentioned by Itsing, which would have helped comparison with Yuan Chwang's names.

BOOKS OF THE QUARTER.

India—A Bird's-Eye View. By the Earl of Ronaldshay, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., (Constable and Company, Ltd., London, 1924). 18s.

Travel in the younger sort, said Bacon, is a part of education, in the elder, a part of experience. It has been both in the case of Lord Ronaldshay who may well be regarded as one of the most cultured Governors who have come out to India and one of the few Anglo-Indian administrators who do not regard the country as a land of regrets and of rupees and themselves as mere birds of passage. Throughout his period of office, he tried to understand India, her vast stores of tradition, her numerous systems of thought, her culture and her people. If there were more men in India of the type of Lord Ronaldshay there would be a better understanding between the British and the Indians. The former maintain in this country an insularity, a reserve, a *hauteur* which naturally serve as a barrier against intimate intercourse, with even the educated classes. As regards the Indians, living as they do in an enervating atmosphere of political inferiority, yet conscious of a superior inherited civilisation, justifiably proud of their achievement in the realms of thought, naturally keep to themselves, avoiding contact with the British when they can. Against this mutual distrust all well-wishers of the British-Indian connection must strive. The circumstances are without a precedent in Indian history. There have been countless foreign invasions of this land in the past, numerous conquerors have also in the past obtained sovereignty over the country. But it is the first instance of India being under complete foreign as distinguished from domiciled alien rule. The earlier invaders settled down in India; their interests were centred in the country; they did not cast longing eyes towards Suez, where they would settle after they had made their pile; they became, for all practical purposes, Indians. It is in this that the peculiarity of the present situation consists. As a London weekly well puts it in its latest issue: "We put on a morning coat to go to an official garden-party in the blazing sun, and we dress

for dinner in the jungle. There is little harm in these slightly snobbish idiosyncracies in themselves, but they have kept us farther apart from Indians than we need have been, and have contributed to our misunderstanding of the Indian mind. It is of great importance that the British in India, both officials and non-officials, should endeavour to modify this attitude, and get rid of the inherent distrust of the Indian, which is such a tremendous stumbling-block in the path of those who are endeavouring to bring about a better understanding between the two countries." To the charge of reserve and insularity, Lord Ronaldshay at least cannot plead guilty. He used his time in India to the fullest advantage, trying to see and hear and understand, and the result is that he has produced—in his *India—A Bird's-eye View*—a volume which may without exaggeration be described as the most remarkable in Anglo-Indian literature since the publication, more than a generation ago, of Sir Alfred Lyall's *Asiatic Studies*. It would have been quite easy to write a more attractive volume, filled with pleasant nothings, and with witty anecdotes,—which would have won many readers for the moment; but it is a work of a more permanent character that we have before us. It is full of penetrating observations; there is throughout an effort to go beneath the surface of things; passages of great literary merit abound, and all that read it once will like to keep it with them and treasure it, alike for its thoughtfulness and for its illuminating comments.

The reader who follows the author through the twenty-four chapters of the book will come into contact with a personality of great intellectual vigour, and catholicity of outlook. As one reads, one wonders whether during his five years' stay in this country, the late Governor of Bengal did anything else besides travelling throughout the country and storing up deep and wide and intimate knowledge of the life and thought and culture of the Indians: And then one remembers that the entire administration in Bengal, in all its various branches, felt the impress of a masterful personality, who himself

looked into the minutest details of Government. The book ought to provide an object-lesson to the hundreds of 'sun-dried bureaucrats' who, after scores of years spent in this country, retire with no more knowledge of the real India than they brought with them on their first arrival. Lord Ronaldshay provides us with varied fare; he tells us all about the famous buildings and their styles of architecture; he discourses with knowledge the subject of the North-West frontier; the lure of the primitive and jungle-life are the topics dealt with in two chapters; and a further couple of chapters are devoted to Islam. But the portion of the book which is most interesting—not necessarily likely to be so to the general reader—is that which considers the causes of Indian Pessimism.

We have spoken of the literary skill of Lord Ronaldshay. Here is a passage, in which, after describing the life of the frontier official, and touching on the rugged landscape, he proceeds:

"Closer acquaintance proves that they do contain spots of marvellous beauty, where the views to be obtained under different effects of light and shade are such as to stir the deepest chords of one's aesthetic sensibility. Who is there indeed, among those who have experienced it, who will not testify to the indescribable delight of long days of glorious toil among the mountains, followed by night beneath the stars crowned with the golden glory of the dawn? The world slumbers, all Nature is at rest, and then there comes the first faint stirring of the breeze among the trees; the soft, cool caress upon one's cheek as it passes by, a perfumed herald of approaching day. Slowly the black draperies of night fall away. There is no colour yet: all is black and white with innumerable shades of grey—a giant etching on the canvas of the sky—a marvellous monochrome. The silence of the night is broken; something scurries among the pines; the note of a bird trembles on the air. While one gazes spell-bound the monochrome becomes irradiated under the influence of a magic brush. The chilly whiteness of the distant snows softens and glows pink and gold. The dark shadows which veiled the mountains to the west creep slowly down to the valley bottom. The trees become green, the mountain torrents limpid, the smell of incense rises from olive-coloured tufts of worm-wood, and from far below spirals of blue-grey smoke rise lazily from the abodes of men. Day has come.

"Such is the wonder of the dawn. An artist may paint it; a master of words may describe it, but who can explain it? The material of the picture is simple enough, crude, elemental substances for the most part—rock and stone, earth and conglomerate, humidity congealed by low temperature, wood and fibre coloured by chlorophyll, all tinted, perhaps, as a result of the effect of varying quantities of vibrations known as light waves; but the whole, when analysed by the chemist and the physicist, a mere collection of energy and matter in different forms. To the beasts of the field, and the fowls of the air it is this; to the primitive man it is probably little more; but to the man who has eyes to see and ears to hear and a soul to feel it is something infinitely more—it is the far-off reflection of a splendour which is not of earth; a token of the divine in man."

It is the literary artist at work here, and the two paragraphs quoted above are (in spite of the harsh jingle of 'breeze' and 'trees') a fine specimen of sustained piece of descriptive prose, mingled with thoughts that crowd into the reflective mind. But it will be a great mistake to imagine that these are mere purple patches, appearing here and there; the style of the whole book is uniformly brilliant. There are interspersed throughout the book numerous shrewd remarks which bear evidence both of a very analytic intellect and of remarkable powers of observation. Lord Ronaldshay thus sums up the distinguishing features of Muhammadan and Hindu architecture. It may, of course, be possible to quarrel with a generalisation so sweeping as this, but that there underlies a great deal of truth in it cannot be disputed:

"As a general rule the outstanding characteristic of Muhammadan architecture is its simple grandeur of outline, its purity, and its stateliness, while Hindu architecture is characterised by an amazing exuberance of ornamentation and an elaborate intricacy of design."

Later, discussing the difficulty of making any generalisation as to what India is, the author says:

"Nor is the contrast between the peoples at each end of the civilised scale less striking than that between the tropic luxuriance of one part of India and the sterile aridity of another. In the peoples of India is to be found an ethnologic pageant epitomising the gradual growth of civilisation through centuries of time. At one

end of the scale are men of the finest culture who have reached dizzy heights in the realms of speculative thought; at the other, men whose religion has not yet outgrown the stage of the crudest superstition. At this end the bow and arrow represents the highest achievement in the domain of mechanical invention; at the other we are presented with the spectacle of an Indian scientist contriving and constructing apparatus of such 'exquisite refinement' as to excite the astonished admiration of the scientists of the west."

These extracts should induce readers to go to the book itself for many more similarly pregnant thoughts. But it is the chapters dealing with "Indian Pessimism" which are of the greatest value, and we may briefly refer to the author's observations on the subject. We think he has hit the right point when he says that to the Indian, life is a very minute episode in an eternity of existence. Behind the present, unnumbered lives stretch back into the dim and receding past; ahead lies an ever-expanding vista of lives still to come. The idea prevalent among western peoples that life is the great present reality to be made the most of, and that the future that lies beyond it is dim, shadowy, and unrealisable—an abstraction, consequently, of little immediate interest or concern—is altogether alien to the Indian mind. This typical outlook found expression in a memorable line of Tulsidas—"Koi nripa houhi hamahi ka hani"—"What matters it to me who rules the land?" The whole duty of man in this country has been summed up in the observance of the various religious rites, and owing to centuries of inherited tradition, the instinct of the average Hindu is one of indifference to this world and to present existence: the eyes are turned upwards, in another direction; the effort always is to get away and escape from the shades of the prison-house. Whether this mental attitude is sound or otherwise it is difficult to say; whether in the struggle for existence, a people with these traditions can long survive we cannot discuss here; nor can we pause to find out whether this other-worldliness has resulted in endowing the peoples with generosity, tolerance, kindliness, and the other sovereign virtues. But that this is the typical Indian outlook cannot be questioned; of course, there are notable exceptions, particularly among those whose pulses have been quickened and stimulated through contact with the life and thought of the virile West; but the fact remains

that the Indians are essentially men of thought, and not of action. In the realms of pure, abstract thought, probably their achievements remain unsurpassed; but in action—that is a different story. Recently, a reaction has set in, and the Hindustani poet, Akbar Husain, emphatically says:

*Jab "Khub Kiya" ka koi mauqá na nikala,
Phir Kya? jo hui dhum faqat "Khub Kahi" Ki?*

"If your admirers cannot say "well done", it is of little moment, if they say only "well said!" In other words, it is deeds done and not merely things said that should be the ideal in one's life.

But, it may be asked, why need there be pessimism? Indifference, detachment, one can understand, but why pessimism? And it is doubtful whether Lord Ronaldshay is right in thinking that "pessimism" is the correct word for describing the Indian temperament. One has little difficulty, says the author, in discovering the causes for "a certain submissive sadness," and he mentions the physical causes first—the damp and heat-laden atmosphere of the tropics and the prevalence of epidemic diseases, such as plague, influenza, malaria, and he remarks that the fierce and unceasing warfare waged by disease against the people of India points clearly enough to the physical source of Indian pessimism. After discussing the malaria problem at great length, he proceeds to speak of the mental attitude of Hinduism towards human existence and the problems arising therefrom; and it is here that he trenches on land debatable. Let us summarise his argument. An immense stock of patience; a contemptuous disregard of time; an almost complete indifference to all external phenomena; a suggestion of indestructible repose; the doctrine of Karma, whose sombre shadow spreads far and wide, impregnating men's minds with the germs of an enervating fatalism; a belief in re-incarnation—these constitute, if we understand aright, the diagnosis, according to Lord Ronaldshay. Of the doctrine of Karma, he says that it may be said to be the equivalent in the domain of morals of the modern theory of conservation of energy in the physical sphere. After a profoundly interesting discussion of the views of the Upanishads and the various systems of philosophy—a discussion into which we cannot, on account of limitations of space, follow him—the author is brought back to speak of the inherent pessimism which darkens the outlook

of the Indian upon life. But we may remark that the doctrine of Karma has not this limited denotation; it is also a powerful incentive to noble action which will bear fruit hereafter in the Great Beyond. The path of *nivritti*, of quiescence, of non-activity is for the ascetic who has renounced the fever and the fret of life and passes his time rapt in divine meditation. Why, even the *Bhagwatgita*, it should be remembered, is a clarion-call for the most active of actions, participation in War. And people are now beginning to agree, in spite of the haze of dialectic and mystic interpretations put by earlier commentators, with the point of view contained in the late Mr. Tilak's *Gita-rahasya*, that it is essentially a Gospel of Action. Time and again, we find throughout Sanskrit literature, good action lauded; the warlike hero deified and sung in deathless verse. It may be—we think it is true—that towards this earth, the average Indian is indifferent beyond the satisfaction of his barest physical needs, but we are not convinced that pessimism or submissiveness, is the correct word for describing this attitude. But we must be content to leave it there.

It would appear ungracious to point out, in a book so fascinating as this, some inaccuracies and misprints; but we do so exactly because the book is otherwise so excellent. 1724, and not 1723 is the correct date when the Nizam acquired independence (p. 103). "Gugrat" should be either Gujrat or Guzerat on p. 156. The name of the well-known Calcutta Magazine is the "*Modern Review*", not "*The Indian Modern Review*" (p. 178). On page 242, for "Moslems of Bihar", "Moslems of the District" should be substituted "Supis" on p. 244 is an obvious misprint for 'Sufis'. On page 275, the well-known lines "The East bowed low before the blast" were written by Matthew Arnold in describing the contact of Rome with the East, and not by Sir Edwin Arnold. 'Pushka' on page 292 should be 'Pushkar'; 'Gaimini' and 'Pantangali' on page 303 should be 'Jaimini' and 'Pantanjali' respectively.

We shall look forward eagerly to Lord Ronaldshay's promised volume on Hinduism. He always speaks with moderation and commands respect even when he provokes criticism. The following words of Lord Ronaldshay may be commended to his countrymen in India, as words of wisdom:—"As a people we have been all too prone to pass by with insular indifference India's contributions to the progress

of the human race, not perhaps because of any deliberately formed conclusion that these were not worthy of our interest or our admiration, but because in India the performance of our task immediately to our hand has absorbed the whole of our energies and attention. Let us lift our gaze from the ground immediately beneath our feet. Let us pay our tribute to the upward--aspiring spirit which inspires the great masterpieces in her literature and her art. Let us, above all, render homage to the lofty spiritual ideals which have marked her progress as she has struggled forward up the steep ascent by which humanity, with halting steps, has groped its way from that long and brooding night of barbarism which lies behind the first faint light of civilisation's dawn." Noble thoughts, nobly expressed

A. J.

From Akbar to Aurangzeb. By W. H. Moreland, C.S.I., C.I.E. (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London, 1923) 15s.

Mr. Moreland is perhaps the last of the race of the scholarly Indian Civil Servants who adorned their profession by a deep and enthusiastic study of the people whom fates entrusted unto their charge for good or ill. It has undoubtedly become notorious that the majority of the members of the present cadre of Civil Service possess neither the ability nor the ambition to understand by patient study and research the multifarious aspects of human relations which confront them for immediate attention and decision. The unfortunate emphasis put upon political and racial conflicts is probably responsible for the haste and muddle which characterises the administrative contact of the present-day Civilian with the common populace. Mr. Moreland was constrained to mention the rumour in his earlier volume: that "the Service was said to have lost its interest in study and research." All the more credit to Mr. Moreland for the exhaustive analysis he has presented, a result of great patience and research and erudition. Yet we feel that in this, his complementary volume, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, he unwittingly indicates the reason for the deplorable hiatus in the traditions of the premier Service.

The volume under notice is a continuation in chronological sequence of *India at the Death of Akbar*. It is well to remember the dates. Akbar ascended the precarious Moghul throne in

1556, the year of the Battle of Paniput. With the genius for constructive statesmanship he consolidated and largely extended his empire and gave it a cohesion and integrity that was to keep it going for another 150 years despite the disintegrating influences of his successors on the throne. Between his death in 1605 and the end of the reign of Aurangzeb (1707) intervene full one hundred years of momentous significance for the future of the Moghul rule. Of the economics of this period Mr. Moreland has written an interesting study. The author professes to chronicle the mediæval age in terms that would not be difficult of understanding for the readers of the 20th century. His attitude in relating the 17th century economic organisations to the axiomatic data of the 20th century is perfectly intelligible, though we must say that it robs the narrative of true perspective. Economic institutions and administrative technique are the product of environments and the attempt to express the economy of one age in the connotations of another is futile to a very large degree as it is destined to fail in true interpretation. We are not merely critical when we say that Mr. Moreland's study fails in convincing the reader of the reality of the background which he has drawn with such consummate skill. His book purposes to be an exhaustive study of mediæval Indian economy; his sympathies are well-defined; his patience and industry unbounded and his scholarship and erudition commendable. But the reading fails of complete success because the story is visioned through glasses that deceive the eye and the criticism is directed in a *petitio principii* fashion for the edification of the understanding posterity. There is also a secondary cause of this failure. The author unduly stresses the importance of external commerce in the 17th century India. The emphasis is, in a way, inevitable, for the only important documents available to a British historian are the records of foreign trading and commerce. The Portuguese, the Dutch and the British in succession struggled for the mastery of the seas in the East, and the history of mediæval India, so far as it is known, is a grouping of heterogeneous material derived from travellers' journals, trade accounts and shipping particulars recorded by the alien adventurers. Consequently the word Adventure is writ large in contemporary diaries and records. But we can hardly blame Mr. Moreland for the prejudice in his documentary sources—his researches are a

monument to his industry; his keen desire for arriving at the substratum of fact and fiction in the records available to him evokes admiration. He starts with a handicap and the consequence is that his volume remains a sketch, a critical introduction. The true history of mediæval India still remains to be written by Indian hands.

In the volume under notice the author treats of the gradual deterioration of Akbar's administrative institutions during the reigns of Jehangir, Shahjehan and Aurangzeb. He starts off with a detailed study of foreign commerce and shipping on the coasts of India. The description he gives of the conditions of maritime trade is detailed and instructive, although his conclusions at several points remain to be substantiated and can only be reckoned as personal deductions. A conspectus picture is then given of the Indian markets, largely hypothetical in reasoning but with a large bias in favour of its probable truth. By easy and gradual stages the narrative leads us to comprehend the economic environments which surrounded the Indian producer in those dim, far off ages. The chapters on "The Economic Influence of the Administration" and "The System of Taxation" are particularly illuminating. The author has skilfully collated his material and has attempted to steer clear of the dangers confronting a scholar whose sources of information are tainted in the sense that "the Indian literature of the period is written almost wholly from the official standpoint" and the Dutch and English records, on whom Mr. Moreland relies, perhaps too indulgently, are un-informed in respect of the true condition of the people in the interior. Perchance our author's dilemma is insoluble; it is likely that his efforts to show that "India of the 17th century was an inferno for the ordinary man" was coloured by his predilections in favour of the theory of economic progressiveness of the Indian people under the beneficent rule of the succeeding power, *viz.*, the British. However it may be, we do not feel disposed to quarrel with the attitude—it is at any rate natural—and recognise the essential merits of Mr. Moreland's research. We can, without hesitation, commend his *From Akbar to Aurangzeb* as a real and solid contribution to the literature of Indian economics and hope that it will give impetus to further research in the fascinating field of the history of mediæval India.

Mysticism of East and West. By W. L. Hare. (Jonathan Cape, London, 1923) 10s. 6d.

These "Studies in mystical and moral philosophy" as the author states, are set forth in certain general branches as studies in comparative religion, from the early Chinese to the various forms of Indian philosophy, to Buddhism and the transition through Greek thought to Christianity.

For reasons of his own, sections which could have been devoted to Egyptian, Persian and Islamic thought have been left, let us hope for another volume, comparable with this.

The construction and the general argument could not, we think, be well improved upon, and we suspect that the material has been carefully selected to support the optimistic philosophy held by the author, rather than to present a complete study, for, as he readily admits, the work of a full survey of comparative religion is work not merely for one man but for many.

However this may be, the present volume will form an excellent introduction to this fascinating study of the spiritual science of past mankind, more especially for those who seek to understand the spirit rather than to become burdened with the letter that killeth. Not that these essays are not scholarly: they are fully documented, but the writer uses his material, and does not allow it to weight down his argument into the obscurity of redundant phraseology.

We are introduced into the chief of the many forms which the art of mystical philosophy has formed for the delight of the mind of educated man. From the Chinese and his communal Confucianism, his aspiration to attain the Tao, we come to the majestic literature of the Vedas and the Upanishads, and all the vast variety of the different schools of thought that had their day in ancient Hindustan. The elucidation of the true bearing of the adjuration to fight given by Krishna to Arjuna on the field of Kurukshetra is place in its true relation, that of a mental battle ground, and in this he relates it to the testamentary advice as to the putting on of spiritual armour, to "fight the good fight." The reasoning here, like that of Nietzsche in later times, "is subtle and dangerous."

The diagrammatic settings given to several series of related factors are put in a form that is very acceptable to the students, and conducive to easier understanding. But we should not

include "Right emotion" as being pendant on Intellect, as given in the diagram on p. 175, but rather as from "Feeling." Even intellect does not give that orientation to emotion which makes it "right", but if it be "enlightened" then it guides everything, imparting unity and direction, in reason and morality.

The discussion on Pythagoras is of peculiar value, as tending to elucidate the exact orientation of the mathematical knowledge of that great teacher. We cannot forget that his contemporary Greeks worked for "harmonia" in their art, and achieved by mathematical knowledge, which must have been well known to Pythagoras. Greek mathematical operations were not carried out by number but by the development of form from form, in true analogy to the process of nature. Number is thus merely an identification of steps in the rhythm of things, and cannot possibly be, in the modern arithmetical sense, the originator. Number is relative, rhythm is almost absolute, the first step from it.

The ending is perhaps unexpected, for unlike most essays on mysticism it stresses the social as against the individual emphasis. From a disquisition on "The unpardonable sin" which is to go against that which we know as truth in us, we come to the ethics and psychology of forgiveness. This, suggests the author, is to-day a practical necessity. Looking at the state of Modern Europe, and indeed, of nearly all the world who can gainsay this argument?

We have read this volume with delight, with deep interest, and with not a little profit. It represents the labours, not of a few hasty weeks of scrappy work, as so many publications of this type are unfortunately wont to be, but is evidently the outcome of long and serious consideration of some of the moral problems which confront humanity.

In India, more perhaps than anywhere else in the world, is there suffering and disunity caused by the protagonists of different religions. If the careful reading of work by such devoted scholars as W. L. Hare will help them to remove their misunderstandings, and show them how to look on the faith of another kind without intolerance and fanaticism, then, the labour will have been indeed well spent.

For we are shown the Truth behind the various truths, and that all the great religious teachings contain, when properly comprehended, different aspects from different views of the un-

teachable essentials that lay in all religions. It is true that what is best in understanding cannot be put into words, any more than the sunset colours can be captured and set down on canvas with dull pigment—at the best, and only in the absence of the real, can the work of the artist, whether in words or with paint, be made to faintly suggest the splendour of reality.

In this study of the mysticism of the East and the West we see the underlying unity, that shows them to be one, despite the flashy talk

that “never the twain shall meet” because if that were so, it would be for the same reason that two ends of an iron bar could not meet, because they are joined in the midst.

We heartily recommend this excellent volume to all students, of whatever caste or creed, who with open mind and steady intellect desire to learn something of the beauty of the worlds’ religions. It is a book to read, and re-read, and few will read without great benefit.

W. G. R.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

LAW.

The Indian Arms Act Manual; Law Relating to Press and Sedition; Copyright Act and Registration of Books Act By Rai Bahadur G. K. Roy (Hare Press, 40 Bechu Chatterjee Street, Calcutta) 1923-4.

Rai Bahadur G. K. Roy—who retired some years back as Superintendent in the Home Department of the Government of India—is well-known as editor and compiler of the three very useful law-books enumerated above. The fact that each of them has passed through many editions is conclusive alike as to their value and popularity. The *Indian Arms Act Manual*, which has just appeared in a new edition, is about the best text-book on the subject—systematic, well-arranged, and fully upto-date. This and the other two books are also lucidly annotated, the commentaries giving a clearly-written digest of the case-law under the various sections. The volumes are, besides, enriched with highly informative introductions which give in a short compass the history and scope of the enactments dealt with. The books are well-got-up, and the three volumes compiled and edited by Rai Bahadur G. K. Roy should continue to hold their own against all rivals and command the large circulation and wide appreciation they have justly enjoyed so far.

The Workmen's Compensation Act. By C. M. Agarwala, Bar-at-Law (Butterworth & Co., India, Ltd, 6 Hastings, Street, Calcutta) 1924.

The Workmen's Compensation Act—which came into force on the 1st of July 1924—reproduces in

the main the principal portions of the English law on the subject—with, of course, some important differences due to the local conditions of the two countries. An excellent annotated edition of it by Mr. Clow, I.C.S.—issued from the Pioneer Press, Allahabad—was noticed by us appreciatively in a previous number of the *Hindustan Review*. But Mr. Agarwala's edition is more ambitious than Mr. Clow's. In it Mr. Agarwala offers a work more on the lines of a systematic commentary than an annotated digest of case-law on the subject. He has fully utilized the materials available in English text-books interpreting the Workmen's Compensation Act—so far, of course, as they are applicable to the Indian Act. His Introduction provides an excellent conspectus of the new Act and there are several appendices containing much useful matter. Altogether Mr. Agarwala's edition of the *Workmen's Compensation Act* should be found highly useful by employers, workmen, and officials concerned.

Annual Part of the Yearly Digest 1923. By R. Narayanswamy Iyer, B.L. (Madras Law Journal Office, Mylapore, Madras) 1924.

Mr. Narayanswamy Iyer's *Yearly Digest*—with which is now incorporated Chitale's *Annual Indian Digest*—is admittedly the most comprehensive and the most systematic digest of Indian and select English cases, which is at present issued in this country. The editor has reduced digesting case-law almost to a science or a fine art. A list of Reports utilized, a table of cases digested, and copious cross-references,

add materially to the value and usefulness of the *Yearly Digest*, and no judicial officer or lawyer can do without this absolutely indispensable work.

Seventy-two Years at the Bar. By Ernest Bowen-Rowlands. (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London, E. C.) 1924.

Mr. Ernest Bowen-Rowland's memoir, called *Seventy-two Years at the Bar*, deals with the career of Sir Harry Poland, who has long been pre-eminent in the domain of law. Called to the bar in 1851, he acted as Counsel to the Treasury and the Home Office at the Central Criminal Court from 1865 to 1889, and he has since added to the great reputation that he acquired in that and other criminal courts. Many of the great criminal cases of the past century are discussed in the book, and their lessons unfolded. The Governor Eyre prosecution, the Franconia Case, the Dynamitard Trials, the great Turf Frauds, the Bank of England Forgeries, and other such cases, are fully dealt with; while the Rugeley poisoner, the Mannings, Constance Kent, Tawell the Quaker, the Lennie Mutineers, the Pirates of the Flowery Land, the Stauntons, Christiana Edmunds, Wainwright, Lefroy, and Lawson, are some of the more notorious murderers who make an appearance in its pages. But this interesting book is not a mere record of crime and criminals. On the legal side the memoir covers ground of great interest, and the general reader will find abundant entertainment in the descriptions of customs and habits of bygone days, and the stories of law and lawyers, most of which appear in this work for the first time. The book should appeal not only to lawyers but to a much larger circle of readers.

The Drama of the Law. By His Honour Judge Edward Abbott Parry. (T. Fisher Unwin, Ltd., Adelphi Terrace, London, E. C.) 1921.

Those who have read with pleasure and profit Judge Parry's earlier works on legal lore and advocacy—called respectively *What the Judge Thought* and *Seven Lamps of Advocacy*—will turn with interest to his latest contribution to what may be called legal antiquities, entitled *The Drama of the Law*. The new treatise is an intensely interesting collection of sketches founded on the accounts of sensational trials of the past. The Judge traces an undeniable connection between Stagecraft and Forensic Art, dividing the Trials into various parts—Tragedy—Comedy—Melodrama and Farce. In illustration of his theory, he furnishes some interesting accounts, among others, of

the Tichborne Trial, the life and death of Charles Peace, a tale of Judge Jeffreys and the Bloody Assizes, some murder mysteries which have never been cleared up, and the tale of the "Ducking Stool." These dramas of the law, always intensely interesting to the student of human nature become real stories of life as told by the able and learned author of *What the Judge Thought* and *Seven Lamps of Advocacy* compiled from the dry and dusty records of the State Trials. The book should command a large circulation not only amongst lawyers but the reading public at large.

Thirty Years at Bow Street Police Court. By W. T. Ewens. (T. Werner Laurie, Ltd., 30 New Bridge Street, London, E. C. 4) 1924.

Mr. Ewens' *Thirty Years at Bow Street Police Court* is not so interesting as either Mr. Ernest Bowen-Rowlands' *Seventy-two Years at the Bar* or Judge Parry's *Drama of the Law*. It may be because a police court does not offer the same scope and opportunities as the higher tribunals. But there are nevertheless in Mr. Ewens' book some fine plums, which would be of interest to the legal world.

Dramatic Days at the Old Bailey. By Charles Kingston (Stanley Paul & Co., Ltd., London, 1924) 12s. 6d.

Mr. Kingston has followed his success in *Famous Judges and Famous Trials* by the present volume on the romance to be met with in the law courts. *Dramatic Days at the Old Bailey* is a wonderfully interesting though gruesome record of some of the most famous murder trials that took place in the halls of the oldest Criminal Court in the world. Old Bailey has witnessed some of the tensest human dramas. The famous judges who sit on the bench furnish an interesting link in the tragi-comedies that are unfolded before them, and one of the most striking of the figures has been Justice Darling whose ingenious wit and delightful perking humour never failed to relieve the most testy atmosphere. Crooks and Criminals of almost every nationality appear in Mr. Kingston's pages and it is a most interesting account of the psychology of the bench, the bar and the dock in moments the most tense and grave in human activities. The book will assuredly make a large appeal both to the advocates and the laymen:—the adventures related herein form a romantic setting to the stories of the underworld which the fanciful

sensationalism of fiction can hardly hope to surpass. An exceedingly readable and interesting book.

EUROPEAN HISTORY: ANCIENT AND MEDIÆVAL.

History of the Later Roman Empire. By J. B. Bury, 2 vols (Macmillan & Co., Ltd, St Martin's Street, London) 1925.

In 1889, Professor Bury published his *Later Roman Empire*, which has long been out of print. He has now rewritten and considerably added to his earlier book which may now justly claim to be regarded as a new work. Among living British historians there is admittedly no one more competent to be the historian of this period—from the death of Theodosius I to the death of Justinian—and there can be no higher praise than the statement that these two volumes covering more than nine hundred and sixty pages are fully worthy of Prof. Bury's deservedly high reputation. Of clarity of thought, accuracy of statement, masterly handling of intricate details, freedom from pedantry, and fairness, this book is a model. Professor Bury's splendid edition of Gibbon is a monument of industry and learning, and the present book seeks to relate, with more information than was available to Gibbon, the subject-matter of his chapters 29—44. It is impossible to speak too highly of the brilliance with which Prof. Bury narrates the reign of Justinian. It is not possible to adequately characterize the book in a short notice. Suffice it to say that it is a great work which considerably adds to the debt which all scholars owe to the patient learning and scholarship of Prof. Bury, who has justly come to be regarded as a master of the subject. The first volume, concerned with "The German Conquest of Western Europe," has a very special value owing to the paucity of information which is available about this period. Professor Bury has had to piece together his story from fragment, chronicles, and incidental references in poets, rhetoricians, and theologians. The second volume, devoted to "The Age of Justinian," has not the same advantage, for there is already a considerable body of history, both ancient and modern, which can be consulted. But the author believes, nevertheless, that here also he has been able to be of service, by providing a fuller account of the events of the reign of Justinian than is to be found in any other single work. The second volume which is a complete record of the life and times of Justinian is naturally the more interesting of the two volumes in which Professor Bury has presented his monumental treatise, for it is

the reign of this monarch—which next to that of the founder of Constantinople—stands out in prominent relief amongst the Byzantine Emperors. Taken as a whole Professor Bury's *History of the Later Roman Empire* will long hold its own as the one great work on the period it covers and no student of the subject can afford to neglect it. It should find a worthy place on the shelf alongside Professor Bury's edition of Gibbon.

The Cambridge Ancient History. Vol. I, Egypt and Babylonia to 1580 B. C. (Cambridge University Press, Fetter Lane, London, E. C.) 1923.

Among the Cambridge University Press's many titles to the gratitude of scholars are the several historical series which they have published—the Cambridge History of English and American Literature, the Cambridge Modern History, the Cambridge Mediæval History, the Cambridge History of India, the Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy—to mention a few of the most familiar ones. The names of the leading men in charge of the various series—Sir Adolphus Ward, Lord Acton, Prof. Rapson, Dr. Gough, are an ample guarantee of the accuracy and trustworthiness of the volumes. The first volume of latest addition to these—the *Cambridge Ancient History*—is before us, and we accord a very warm welcome to it. This series, which will be complete in eight volumes, is being published under the competent guidance of Prof. Bury, Dr. S. A. Cook, and Mr. F. H. Adcock. Their intention is to carry the history up to the victory of Constantine the Great in 324 A. D., subsequent story being taken up by the already published *Mediæval History*. The volume before us is divided into seventeen chapters, each entrusted to a specialist. The subjects dealt with are of such varied interests as Primitive man in Geological Time (written by Professor Myres, whose fascinating "Dawn of History" is one of the best volumes in the *Home University Library*); Exploration and Excavation, by Professor Macalister of Dublin; The Semites by Dr. Cook; the Pre-Dynastic Period of Egypt by Prof. Peet; the Union of Egypt by Dr. Hall of the British Museum; Early Babylonia by Professor Langdon of Oxford; Hamurabi by Mr. R. C. Thompson, Early Aegean Civilisation by Mr. A. J. B. Wace. It will be seen thus that in this also the plan already familiar to us in the earlier series has been adopted. While this scheme has its advantage, in that each section is treated of by a recognised specialist, there is obviously a lack of continuity and co-ordination. This defect is most of all noticeable in the Cambridge History of Literature. In dealing with Ancient History, however,

there can be no doubt that this is the only satisfactory plan that could have been adopted. The subjects are so numerous, the details are so intricate, so much specialised knowledge is necessary that it was obviously impossible for any one individual to undertake the compilation of a history of anything like the bulk and fullness of the present volume. Into the details of historical research and the many controversies of surpassing interest to the specialist, we do not for obvious reasons enter, in this brief notice. When completed, the whole series will be an abiding monument of patient, painstaking, honest, historical research, and it will be the one indispensable work for study and reference on Ancient European History. We shall watch its progress with interest and, in the meantime, we commend the first volume of this scholarly and monumental work to students of the subject.

The Ancient Egyptians. By G. Elliot Smith (Harper and Brothers, 45 Albemarle Street, London) New and Revised edition 1923.

The Professor of Anatomy in the University of London published in 1911 a volume dealing with the remains of the earliest inhabitants of Egypt and suggesting how the new observation might be correlated with the history of mankind elsewhere. The volume before us is a revised edition of that book, brought thoroughly up-to-date, in several instances modifying and elaborating his earlier arguments and may be regarded as to all intents and purposes a new work. It is an account of the Egyptians of the misty past which is revealed by the investigations of the anthropologist. Prof. Elliot Smith traces to their source the various streams of alien immigrants which made their way into the Nile valley, and attempts to correlate his facts with the great racial movements in the neighbouring countries. He also reveals how the Egyptians inaugurated a higher civilisation—particularly in hastening the end of the Stone Age by introducing the use of metals, and he introduces us to the remarkable discoveries at Luxor. There are two points which the author repeatedly emphasises, first, that the essential elements of civilisation really originated in Egypt,—namely agriculture and irrigation, the working of metals and the weaving of linen, the arts of the carpenter and the stonemason, architecture and ship-building, the first measurement of the year and later the substitution of the solar calendar for the cruder lunar calendar and the rough estimate of the year based upon the Nile flood, the art of writing, social customs and principles of organisation, methods of

administration and principles of government, the kingship, religious beliefs and ritual, magic, clothing and jewellery, and scores of other arts, practices, and beliefs covering the whole range of human activities which it is customary to call civilisation. Prof. Smith's second point is that the Neolithic culture (comprehending its agriculture, domestication of animals, its pottery and linen, its burial customs, the forms of its implements) was derived, directly or indirectly, from Egypt and that its stone monuments were copied from those built in Egypt not earlier than the sixth dynasty. It is a book written in language which can be easily understood even by the layman and is of absorbing interest to all students of ancient civilisations. Though all the theories propounded in it may not be unreservedly accepted by scholars, nevertheless it deserves attention as a scholarly and thought-provoking work.

The Origin of Tyranny. By P. N. Ure (The Cambridge University Press, Fetter Lane, London, E. C.) 1923.

In the history of Greece the seventh and sixth centuries before Christ are generally known as the Age of Tyrants. The common opinion hitherto has been that the prevalence of tyranny was in some way connected with the invention of coinage. In the present book Professor Ure maintains, however, that the evidence points to wider conclusions, namely that the seventh and sixth century Greek Tyrants were the first men in their various cities to realise the political possibilities of the new conditions created by the introduction of the new coinage, and that to a large extent they owed their position as tyrants to a financial or commercial supremacy which they had already established before they attained to supreme political power in their several states. Professor Ure divides his book into ten chapters, dealing with Athens, Samos, Egypt, Lydia, Argos, Corinth, Rome, Ephesus, Leonini, Megara and Cumae, the Capitalist Despots of the Age of Aristotle. There are forty-six illustrations of vases, ships, wheels, coins, tablets which greatly add to the value of the book, as also do several appendices dealing with Attic Pottery, Early Athenian Sea-Power, Athenian Dress, and Burials in Rome. It is of course possible that later research may upset some of Prof. Ure's conclusions, but his arguments are convincing on the basis of the data available so far and his book deserves careful consideration at the hands of those engaged in research work on the subject dealt with. Professor Ure's book is not intended for laymen, and it is primarily meant for students of research in Ancient Greek history. But its wealth of

illustrations will enable it to make an effective appeal to the general reader as well.

The Hellenistic Age. By J. B. Bury, E.A. Barber, Edwin Bevan, and W. W. Tarn, (Cambridge University Press, Fetter Lane, London, E. C.) 1923.

It is significant that the growing unpopularity of Classical Studies in English centres of education should synchronise with the publication of a large number of well-written, popular, but thoroughly reliable books dealing with various aspects of Greek and Latin culture. This is of course as it should be. All modern European cultures are the direct or indirect children of the classical ones and it is right that the attention of the public should, in one busy generation, be frequently drawn to the sources of all that is great in western literature, and politics and systems of thought. As formal dry subjects of study, Greek and Latin are no longer as important as in the age of Browning's *Grammarians*; Latin is no more 'the universal tongue.' It is, therefore, all the more desirable that a general knowledge of all that is good and noble in the classics should be diffused; we know of no stronger stimulus to generous action and no surer antidote to intellectual arrogance or torpor than the classics. Among the books that have recently appeared, a high place should be assigned to the *Hellenistic Age*, under which comprehensive title are grouped together four essays dealing respectively with the Hellenistic Age and the History of Civilisation by Prof. Bury, Alexandrian Literature by Mr. Barber, Hellenistic Popular Philosophy by Dr. Bevan and the Social Question in the Third Century by Mr. Tarn. These papers are all popularly written and will amply repay perusal. They are from the pen of masters of the subjects dealt with and though meant for popular reading are nonetheless sound and scholarly and should make a wide appeal. But while the studied avoidance of technicalities and lucidity of treatment should secure for these excellent essays a wide reading public, they should also encourage young scholars in research work in one of the most interesting periods of ancient European history.

Our Hellenic Heritage By H. R. James, 2 vols. (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London) 1922-4.

Mr. James' *Hellenic Heritage* is a most excellent compendium for popular reading. These two volumes are different in design and execution from the *Hellenistic Age*, noticed above. Principal James, who is so gratefully remembered in India by two genera-

tions of students, is an accomplished classical scholar with a rare gift of expressing himself in lucid language. He has divided his book into four parts, dealing respectively with the great epics; the struggle with Persia; the splendour and fall of Athens and the Abiding Splendour. The aim of this book, in the words of the author, is to bring together just so much of the elements of Greek legend and history as should be the possession of everyone born into the civilisation which is called European. The two volumes together (dealing as they do with the exploits of Achilles and Odysseus, with the Greek story of the great deliverance from the dread of Persian despotism, with the meridian glory of the Athenian constitution, and with Greek achievements in drama, history, philosophy, architecture and sculpture) form an admirable course of Hellenic studies and to a large extent compensate for the decline of the first-hand study of Greek. The numerous illustrations, maps and plans help to make the volumes all the more useful for purposes of study. Principal James well puts it, that the story of the rise and fall of the Athenian power will always be one of the most vivid chapters in human history and one of the most instructive; and the inheritors of Greek culture and civilization have in it a personal concern. But apart from them even races and peoples who are not culturally the direct descendants of the Ancient Greeks should study Mr. James' *Hellenic Heritage*, for it is a sound and scholarly—withal highly interesting—exposition of the history and achievements of the old Greeks in various spheres of activities, with which the modern Asiatics are no less concerned than the western nations. A notable feature of Mr. James' book is the excellent illustrations and well-drawn maps, which materially enhance the value of the letterpress. We know of no better book for popular reading of all that yet stands for "the glory that was Greece" than Mr. James' *Our Hellenic Heritage*.

Mediaeval Contributions to Modern Civilisation. Lectures Edited by Prof. F. J. C. Hearnshaw. (George G. Harrap & Co., Ltd., Parker Street, Kingsway, London, W. C. 2) 1923.

The lectures collected in this volume were originally delivered in 1920, as part of the general scheme of public lectures at King's College, London; they were planned by Professor Hearnshaw, and the collaborators were teachers of the King's, University and Bedford Colleges. As we progress onwards, again and again we turn back and gaze wistfully into the ages that are fast receding from view. The brave music of a distant drum induces us to imagine that there was in the bygone generations nothing but

plenty and sunshine. A closer and exacter study reveals, however, plenty of dark patches, years of hardship and of privation, many wrong turns taken and the right path avoided. But the past is always a helpful guide to the future, just as in many ways it possesses the secret of the present. It is to Middle Ages that Europe owes her present civilisation. The present volume, dealing as it does with various departments of knowledge, should be welcomed by all who care to know and judge aright the foundations on which existing European institutions are built. The subjects dealt with are of great importance and varied interest as the characteristic features of the Middle Ages; the Religious Contribution of the Middle Ages; Philosophy; Science; Art; the Middle Ages in the Lineage of English Poetry; Education; Society; Economics and Politics. Dr. Hearnshaw begins his brilliant introduction by discussing and adopting Lord Morley's famous test of worth in history: "I do not in the least want to know what happened in the past, except as it enables me to see my way more clearly through that which is happening to-day." This is the test which each lecturer applies to his lecture in this book; this imparts to each lecture a living human interest which makes it a very useful contribution to contemporary thought. As a careful and systematic exposition by specialists and experts of the elements in modern European culture which owe their rise to the Middle Ages, the book is one deserving of serious consideration.

Social and Political Ideas of Middle Ages. Edited by F. J. C. Hearnshaw (George Harrap & Co., Ltd., Parker Street, Kingsway, London, W. C. 2) 1923.

The lectures comprised in this volume were delivered on practically the same principles as those in the volume noticed above, only the personal touch is more in evidence in these later pages. The eight lectures deal with Mediaeval Political Thought, St. Augustine, John of Salisbury, Thomas Aquinas, Dante, Pierre Du Bois, Marsilio of Padua and John Wycliffe. This volume is further enriched by bibliographies on the subjects of all the lectures. We can never have too many of books like this, as they present to the lay reader lucidly and succinctly the main ideas of some leading mediaeval thinkers in the sphere of political and social theory. The contributions brought together in this volume not only contain material indispensable for a clear understanding of the Middle Ages but also provide a historical background for the study of modern problems. This and the previous volume, taken together, offer the best popular sketch of mediaeval European culture.

Aspects of the Italian Renaissance. By Rachel Annand Taylor. (Grant Richards Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London) 1923.

"It is a good book," says Prof. Gilbert Murray who contributes a Preface, "as well as a startling one; it has worth, because it is based on real knowledge, conceived with real feeling, and expressed with rich and often exquisite power of knowledge." This, coming as it does from Professor Murray, is undoubtedly very high praise, but it is praise which is thoroughly well-merited, for Mrs. Taylor has succeeded in bringing afresh before us the period of the Renaissance with all its beauty and zest of life, its fiery pursuit of knowledge, its fine arts, its chivalry, its religious awakenings. A movement which was so many-sided in itself, so wide-spread in its influences and so momentous in its results can be adequately described only by one whose intellectual temperament is sympathetic towards it and indeed akin to that of the people of those spacious days. The author writes with fine insight and great charity of judgment; she has a rich vocabulary which she wields with singular charm, and we hope her book will receive the appreciation it so richly merits as a most vivid and graphic sketch of the renaissance in Italy.

Landmarks in Armenian History. By Hylton B. Dale (Lawrence House, Enfield, Middlesex, England) 1923.

Mr. Dale's *Landmarks in Armenian History* is a little compilation mentioning in chronological order the chief events beginning from 1000 B. C. to 1920 A. D. It is a record of great hardships endured with great courage and patience; indeed there was hardly any considerable period during which Armenia enjoyed unbroken peace. It is a useful publication which students of Armenian history will like to keep for ready reference, for which purpose it is intended. In the absence of any up-to-date history of Armenia, the pamphlet will be found highly useful. It is interesting to note that the first periodical in Armenian was issued, of all places, from Madras, in 1794.

ECONOMICS.

The Problem of the Rupee by B. R. Ambedkar (P. S. King & Son, Ltd., London, 1923). 15s.

Mr. Ambedkar is a diligent student of monetary history. He has delved deep into the records of Indian currency for the last century and presented in

The Problem of the Rupee a conspectively survey of the events and circumstances which led up to the monetary debacle of 1891-3. The author's elucidation of historical events in the currency world of India is impartial, judicious and forceful. He has attempted to get behind the policies and practices of the day in order to reach the fundamentals that prompted each specific step. Mr. Ambedkar criticises severely the predatory commercial instinct of the East India Company and holds it responsible for preventing India from adopting sound methods in currency. The Company as a trading concern loved gold and silver; the mercantilist ideas were still holding the field. The Directors looked askance at the development of indigenous banking institutions lest these become rivals. The result has been an era of slipshod policy, awkward measures, vacillation between silver and gold and the final impasse after the demonetization of silver. Various opportunities for placing the currency on a sounder basis were lost—which meant, in the opinion of our author, an adoption of the pure gold standard. Mr. Ambedkar accuses the Government of the day for criminally forcing silver on India; Prof. Cannon, in a foreword, indicates the reasons which led to the domination of silver:—"It seems much more likely that silver owes its position in India to the decision which the Company made before the system of standard gold and token silver was accidentally evolved in 1816 in England, and long before it was understood: and that the position has been maintained not because Indians disliked gold, but because Europeans like it so well that they cannot bear to part with any of it."

Interesting as the historical survey is, the author's analysis of current crisis in currency affairs appears to us to be incomplete. We do not say it is faulty, for it is not. What Mr. Ambedkar has stated in forcible language regarding the currency policy of the Government of India in the last decade is fully substantiated by facts. The author's emphasis on the recognition of the stability of the price level as the central problem of currency is not untimely. But he has not carried the arguments to their legitimate conclusions; instead he has rigged up the shibboleths of "Limited issue", "Mint control", "Inconvertible token money", etc. The problem of foreign exchanges is expected to be solved automatically by the adoption of the usual device of buying and selling gold for international purposes. The implications of such procedure are not at all worked out; nor full consideration given to the circumstances necessary for the adoption of a policy which has an international bearing. When Mr.

Ambedkar proceeds to chastise Mr. Keynes for his advocacy of a gold exchange standard, the author forgets that Mr. Keynes was writing in 1913 for a world that did not yet know the Armageddon. Certain assumptions underlay Mr. Keynes' analysis. These no longer hold good; Mr. Keynes himself recognises the fact and in his evidence before the Currency Committee of 1919-20 indicated his adherence to the policy of a stable price level as the ideal goal for currency methods. In his *Tract on Monetary Reform* (noticed elsewhere in this issue) the Cambridge economist writes from a new angle and has so far advanced his radical thesis against a return-to-the-gold policy as to advocate a regime of State control of credit. Mr. Ambedkar's own conclusions are no less striking: "An inconvertible rupee with a fixed limit of issue" as the panacea for the Indian currency *malaise* is even a more startling proposal than Mr. Keynes' advocacy of divorce between gold and the media of current exchange. We may not agree with Mr. Ambedkar but his thesis is stimulating, well argued and thought-provoking—just the things required of a successful treatise. We commend his work for the admirable background of historical perspective and for his shrewd analysis of the relation between prices and currency.

Economic Imperialism and International Relations during the last Fifty Years. By Prof. Achille Vialatte (Macmillan Co., New York, 1923) *Williams College Publications*.

The author, a French teacher of Political Science, has shown in this admirably written essay the inevitable advent of economic imperialism as a result of the intensive industrialisation of the venturesome nations of the West. The policies and motives that determined the colonial policies of England, France and Germany are well brought out and compared to agree in their fundamental conceptions, despite vital differences of method, in so far as colonial expansion was concerned. The doctrines of "economic hinterland," of extra-territorial rights and privileges, of spheres of influence—the policy of political alliances and of balance of power—the methods and ways and means for exploitation of the weaker races—all leading up to a mighty hegemony of economic interests are briefly indicated in Prof. Vialatte's interesting sketch. The author refers to the economic havoc wrought by the war and pleads for an application of reason to international economic relations. Imperialistic economics has had its day and was found wanting; if mankind is to be saved the horrors of perpetual warfare, then, pleads our author, eschew ambitious pro-

grammes of exploitation and aggrandisement, turn the light of reason toward economic relations between the states and work for that larger, broader vision which is summed up in that much-abused word "Internationalism".

The Measurement of Social Phenomena. By A. L. Bowley (P. S. King & Son, Ltd., London, 1923) 5s.

No British economist has done more for popularising the methods of statistical measurement than has Mr. Bowley. In 1914 he delivered a series of lectures in the University of London on the nature and purpose of the measurement of social phenomena, wherein he outlined the scientific methods of approach toward a concrete economic problem. The book, collecting these lectures, was originally published in 1915 and now appears in a second edition. The text has been thoroughly revised, but the author has not altered any of his illustrative examples. We are told in broad outlines of what we should look for in a group of sociological statistics; how to classify them to make them yield fruitful conclusions; what pitfalls to guard against hasty judgment. Mr. Bowley's plea for regarding statistics as a means to an end is timely for the post-war economics has let loose a flood of inchoate reasoning based upon plausible grouping of otherwise quite genuine statistics.

Concerning Money (Jarrolds Publishers, Ltd., London, 1923) 1s.

A little catechism on the evils of unwise spending. The anonymous author is struck by the insatiate greed for accumulating riches: the plutocrats are pursuing a shadow for happiness can not be found there. Do not *trust* in riches, but money "can be made into a blessing" if used "in recognition of the spiritual values of life."

Conditions of National Success. By Hugh Taylor (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1923). 10s. 6d.

Mr. Hugh Taylor may be a reactionary Tory in political convictions, but he is a stimulating thinker. In *Conditions of National Success* he has put forward a reasoned analysis for the abrogation of party cries, particularly in the sphere of economic policy. But although he pleads for a genuine coalition of the best thoughts of all the political parties he is averse from seeing anything of substantial benefit in the so-called advanced type of doctrines. He belauds aristocracy

and believes in the race of super-men. Just as certain nations are divinely destined to be successful, other races because of immature development should be content to follow under the leash of the former, because they connote progress and civilisation. The nostrum of self-determination is a thing to be avoided like poison for the sake of future progress. Mr. Taylor is an advocate of strong government; he genuinely believes that the settlement of South African and Irish problems was made possible because of the might of British arms:—"Unless the Boers had first been made amenable to reason by the vigorous policy of the Conservatives they would never have listened to the gentler suggestions of the Liberals. Unless the Irish had been continually made aware of the existence of a party in England ready to maintain the unity of the Empire by force of arms, they would never have relinquished their extravagant claims." It is no wonder that Mr. Taylor prescribes for India and Egypt "strong government" as the "precondition of all successful dealing with immature races." Mr. Taylor's book may not quite agree with us, but the reactionary attitude has to be faced and we should be thankful to the author of *Conditions of National Success* for having stated it in uncompromising and lucid terms.

The Co-operative Movement in Japan. By Kiyoshi Ogata, Ph.D. (P. S. King & Son, Ltd., London 1923). 12s. 6d.

In this volume Mr. Ogata has given us the first exhaustive account in the English language of the co-operative movement in Japan. Of considerable interest to the co-operative world, Mr. Ogata's book contains suggestions and hints of practical development of co-operative organisations. The chief feature of the book is the interesting description of ancient forms of mutual self-help and benefit societies which prevail in Japan. The *Mujin* or the *Ko* and *Hoto-kusha* are genuine Japanese forms of communal effort and their detailed description will be interesting to the student of comparative co-operation. Mr. Ogata is certainly right in condemning his government for ignoring these indigenous forms of co-operation and attempting to implant the European types of organisation, which being forced from above have but scanty chances of success. The Japanese law is critically analysed by our author and its defects pointed. The conditions in India are not dissimilar and Mr. Ogata's book will provide a very instructive reading to Indian co-operatives, who would do well to learn the lesson which Mr. Ogata has been at some

pains to draw from the Japanese example, viz., the development of true co-operation, i.e., mutual aid and self-help, is impossible when co-operators begin to rely on State aid.

The International Trade Balance in Theory and Practice. By Theodore H. Boggs (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1923).

As the title indicates this book is a study of the trade balances of five different economic groups. A preliminary chapter is devoted to elucidating the general theory of the balance of trade; the line of argument adopted is the orthodox one and the generally accepted principles are re-stated in simple and easy language. Succeeding chapters dealing with the trade figures of England, United States, Canada, India, and Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, concretely illustrate the theoretic background of the first chapter. The study is of practical interest as it tells us what tendencies are revealed by post-war adjustments proceeding at different rates in different countries. The influences of the factor of exchange are prominently brought out. The volume will prove useful for advanced students of economics.

RECENT DRAMATIC LITERATURE

A New View and Life of Shakespeare. By H. P. Baker. (Drane's, Danegeld House, Faringdon Street, London) 1923.

Of making many books on Shakespeare there is no end, and there seems nonetheless no prospect of our being able to revise Matthew Arnold's line: "Others abide our question: thou art free." It was with some curiosity that we opened this book for it requires some large measure of assurance to speak of "a new view" of Shakespeare. We must frankly confess to a sense of not unexpected disappointment. It abounds in statements for which the author adduces no authorities, and the initial mistake is made of imagining that the stage-conditions in the early seventeenth century were very much the same as in the twentieth. The kind of self-complacent arguments so familiar to readers of Frank Harris' *The Man Shakespeare* is here copied and travestied. Thus Mr. Baker thinks it is Shakespeare himself whom some voracious reader addresses, in the question of the painter to the poet in *Timon*: "When comes your book forth"? If every sentence like this was to be regarded as having an

autobiographical significance, Shakespeare's works would soon be considered to be the production of several scores of collaborators. Again, the author quite confidently—and without any arguments to support his contention—puts down the *Merchant of Venice* to 1598, though the generally accepted date is about 1596. The book compares very unfavourably with such a straight-forward and reliable manual as Lamborne's *Shakespeare, the man and his Stage*. After having read the book through in an impartial frame of mind, we feel that we must declare it to be a superfluous addition to Shakespearian literature.

Moliere. By Arthur Tilley. (Cambridge University Press, Fetter Lane, London, E. C.) 1923.

Of the great French dramatists there is none whose works have won such general and generous recognition and have been translated into the languages of so many countries as those of Jean-Baptiste Poquelin, better known as Moliere. We read his plays in youth and return to them with unflagging zest in old age; they are capable of lifting a man from the profoundest depths of melancholy, and they breathe all through a fine, genial, sympathetic spirit. The *Misanthrope*, *George Dandin*, the *Doctor in spite of Himself*, *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* are familiar even to those whose ignorance of French Literature generally is colossal. Mr. Tilley's book is well-written and is packed with highly useful information. His criticism and interpretation of the several plays are always sympathetic, but never without discrimination. It is a book which all lovers of Moliere—and their number is very large—will do well to read, as it is a valuable introduction to the study of the works of that great French dramatist.

Seneca and the Elizabethan Tragedy. By F. L. Lucas. (Cambridge University Press, Fetter Lane, London, E. C.) 1923.

Writing in 1598 in his *Palladis Tamia*, Francis Meres paid to Shakespeare the highest compliment when he said: "As Plautus and Seneca are accounted the best for comedy and tragedy among the Latines, so Shakespeare among the English is the most excellent in both kinds for the stage." That the Elizabethans owed a deep debt to the Greeks and Latins (particularly in the writing of tragedies) has long been recognised; the exact nature and extent of the indebtedness have however been left in vagueness. By his book entitled *Tragic Drama in Æschylus, Sophocles, and Shakespeare*, Prof. Lewis Campbell sought in some measure to fill the want, but there was

often felt the need of a well-considered impartial estimate of the influence of Seneca on the work of the Elizabethans. The want has now been supplied by Mr. Lucas, who is a Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and who has produced a work which bears evidence of careful thought, accurate expression and deep erudition. The man Seneca is summed up by the author thus: "Provincial, pedant and prig, part Socrates, part worldly wise man, part grand vizier, and yet always human, sometimes a poet, at the end a hero, none can indeed claim for Seneca that he was in any real sense first-rate; but though he could not himself enter the Holy Land, though he died within the marches of Philistia, his spirit was one day to be the guide and fiery beacon of the tragedy of all Western Europe." In the next chapter Mr. Lucas discusses how this influence came to be exerted, and this is briefly described thus: "It is not as a source of petty plagiarisms, as an ancient ruin turned into a Renaissance Quarry, that Seneca has mattered. From him men once learned, as well as stole; in him they found again, the classic sense of form and structure, of Unity, the true as well as the false; in him the tragic splendour of Human Will in the face of eyeless destiny, the tragic terror of wild passion, the terror of madness, the terror of the world beyond the grave, —something of the grace, the greatness, and the sadness of the Greek, something of that divine fire still quickening the Roman clay." The author is to be warmly congratulated on having written a work of great interest and usefulness. It will fill a void in the critical literature of the rise and development of drama in Europe and of Seneca's influence on Elizabethan drama.

An Introduction to Dramatic Theory. By Allardyce Nicoll. (George Harrap & Co., Ltd., Parker Street, Kingsway, London, W. C. 2) 1923.

Mr. Nicoll sets out to treat the dramatic productivity of Greece, Rome, France, Italy, Germany and England as one, in an attempt to capture those essential characteristics by which all are linked together. He confines his observations to the theatre, and has endeavoured rather to analyse existing works of dramatic art than to prove back from them to the more primitive sources of laughter and tears. There is a fairly comprehensive bibliography at the end of the book. The subject is one which has attracted the attention of critics from ancient times. Several centuries before Christ, the Indian Sage Bharata had written a highly thoughtful and remarkably complete treatise on dramaturgy; Aristotle in his *Poetics* has many shrewd remarks on Tragedy and Comedy, and

since then almost in every age scholars have been fascinated by the task of analysing the main features of the various types of the drama and in laying down rules to be observed by the dramatist. Mr. Nicoll would be the first to disclaim originality; but he has performed a very useful service by writing this introduction to the study of dramatic art. This treatment of the subject leaves nothing to be desired; he is accurate and well-balanced in his statements and his thesis is very systematically planned. His book should find a large circle of readers, as it is an excellent compendium of the subject, offering in a short compass a fairly comprehensive exposition of dramatic theory as exemplified in acknowledged masterpieces.

The Old Drama and the New. By William Archer (William Heinemann, Ltd., Henrietta Street, London, W. C.) 1923.

Among living dramatic critics, there is none who can speak with so much authority as the author of *Play-making*. The present book is a collection of two courses of lectures which Mr. Archer delivered in 1920 and 1921 at King's College, London. Having been printed as delivered, they naturally retain the lecture form which has certain advantages, if one desires to read the book piecemeal, bit by bit. The fourteen lectures here printed deal with almost the entire period of dramatic activity in England. Though these do not admittedly possess the thoroughness and comprehensiveness of Sir Adolphus Ward's *English Dramatic Literature*, they nonetheless come down to quite our own generation, unlike Dr. Ward's work which stops with the reign of Queen Anne. Then again even the man whose interest in the subject is that of a dilettante will find much in Mr. Archer's book to absorb and arrest his attention. The first and the fifth lectures appear to us to be particularly brilliant. In the former Mr. Archer discusses the essence of drama, and after a masterly analysis reaches the very satisfactory conclusion that we are not living in a period of decadence but of almost miraculous renaissance. In the latter he compares the Elizabethans and the moderns, Sir Arthur Pinero, Stanley Houghton, Bernard Shaw, Sir J. Barrie, John Galsworthy, H. Granville-Barker. It is not our purpose to touch upon the numerous controversial points with which the book bristles; there is hardly a page on which we do not come across an opinion or statement which only long and careful thought enables us either to accept or reject. But the book is throughout profoundly thought-stimulating and Mr. Archer has done well to arouse an interest in contemporary drama, of which, as of contemporary fiction and contemporary poetry, we are

too often apt to think unfavourably. As a survey of English dramatic literature from a modern standpoint, the book has a value of its own. It is clearly the work of a master of the subject and deserves recognition.

The Quintessence of Bernard Shaw. By Henry Charles Duffin. (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 40 Museum Street, London, W. C. 1) 1923.

There are obvious disadvantages in writing of a living writer, even though he may already have attained the rank of a classic. Of Mr. Bernard Shaw it is particularly difficult to write; it is so difficult to decide the line which divides his real opinions from those which he too often expresses either from a perverse love of paradox or from a morbid fondness for pose. That he is a dramatist of great power and influence nobody can deny; it is equally true that he is a great iconoclast—witness his views on Shakespeare, for instance. Mr. Duffin, who in his previous work on Thomas Hardy, had already shown high literary skill and critical acumen, has performed his present task with great delicacy. After suggesting that Shaw resembles Butler, the author of *Erewhon* and *The way of all Flesh*, the author tries to disentangle and collate Shaw's opinions on such subjects as Immortality, Sex, Religion, Politics, Economics and Education. Mr. Duffin has written a thoughtful book which throws a flood of light on the art and mind of one of the most interesting literary personalities of our age. To those who desire to understand and appreciate the mentality and inner spirit of Shaw, Mr. Duffin's book would be highly useful.

The No Plays of Japan. By Arthur Waley, (George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 40 Museum Street, London, W. C. 1) 1923.

"No," we are told, is written with a Chinese character meaning "to be able." It signifies 'talent'; hence an exhibition of talent or performance. Mr. Waley has in this book translated, with copious notes and exhaustive introductions, about twenty of these plays, which have flourished in Japan since the thirteenth century, and continue to flourish even to-day. It is obviously not possible to convey in this short notice any idea of the quality of the plays; they must be read in full. Mr. Waley's translation is excellent; it is idiomatic, never forced, and fully brings out the charm of the original. Besides the translation of about twenty plays, with summaries of as many more, the book contains extracts from the recently discovered works of Seami, a fourteenth century No writer. Altogether, Mr. Waley's book

opens a new vista in dramatic literature and deserves appreciation.

The Story of the Savoy Opera. By S. J. Adair Fitz-Gerald (Stanley Paul & Co., Ltd., London, 1924) 5s.

This volume is a record, told in plain chronological order, of the production of the famous Savoy Operas. Gilbert and Sullivan are cherished names in the English operatic literature and their recent revival is a testimony to their perennial charm;—as Mr. T. P. O'Connor says in introducing this book: "though dead they are still very living figures." Mr. Fitz-Gerald has written a history of the unpretentious, little beginning of the famous series of operas, of the ups and downs necessarily accompanying a new idea and a new venture, their final triumph and glory. The actors and actresses who strove hard, during the early struggling days, to make the operas a success deservedly receive a generous measure of tribute from the author. Mr. Fitz-Gerald's *Story of the Savoy Opera* is a complementary volume to Mr. Lytton's *Savoyard* (noticed by us in an earlier issue) and has the merit of placing on record the original cast of each production on the opening nights. Lovers of operatic literature will cordially welcome this work.

LITERARY HISTORY AND CRITICISM.

A History of English Literature. By E. Albert (George Harrap & Co., Ltd., Kingsway, London), 1923.

Manuals of English Literature are plentiful; Taine, Shaw, Morley, Stopford Brooke, Minto, Saintsbury, Gosse, Hudson, Long, Lang, Cruse, Strong, Myers,—not to mention more ambitious productions—are some that have attempted, with varying degrees of success, to tell the story of English Literature. It is a worthy theme and has roused the efforts of many men of letters. Every man has his own point of view, and so long as he is careful enough to be accurate in his dates and biographical details, it is always an advantage to have histories written from different standpoints. Mr. Albert's *History* is comprehensive, starting with Beowulf and coming down to authors still living. He has succeeded in making it of practical use; he has wisely avoided academic discussions which only puzzle young students; he has frequently provided tabulated summaries to assist the mind and eye. But the feature of the book which appeals most to us and which places this *History* in a class by itself is the exercises printed at the end of each chapter. These considerably add to the practical utility of the book, serving as they do to

enable the student to think for himself and to find out, as far as he is able, the main characteristics of a period or a movement and of the authors connected therewith. An illustration may here be given. The tenth chapter deals with the Romantic Revival, or, as the Author prefers to describe it by its leading feature, The Return to Nature; it occupies about seventy pages of the book; and the exercises on it cover nearly ten pages. And what are the exercises on? In one of these, four poetical pieces are quoted from Coleridge, Keats, Scott and Byron; and the student is asked how the romantic element is revealed in each and how far each is different from the others. Questions like this and of many other kinds are appended at the end of each chapter. Then, again, the author has throughout made plenty of quotations to illustrate the chief features of a writer's work. Mr. Albert's history, in view of the many good points mentioned above, will readily meet with a hearty response from students of literature, to whom we commend it unreservedly as an almost ideal text-book.

English Literature during the last Half-Century.

By J. W. Cunliffe (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London W. C. 2) 1923.

Dr. Cunliffe's work under consideration is technically a revised and enlarged edition of the useful work which first appeared in 1919, but it is in reality a new book. The fact that a new edition has been called for proves the popularity which the book has achieved. The authors treated of are either still living or at any rate are those whom people still living well remember. Indeed, of the authors discussed, the first to die was Stevenson; the others (who find a historian in Dr. Cunliffe) are Meredith, Thomas Hardy, Samuel Butler, George Gissing, Bernard Shaw, James Barrie, Kipling, Joseph Conrad, H. G. Wells, Galsworthy, Arnold Bennett. There are chapters also on The Irish Movement, The New Poets, The New Novelists. The author labours thus under the disadvantage of having to write of contemporaries or of immediate predecessors; but while, naturally his conclusions, do not partake of finality, they are bound to be of the very greatest use to the future historian of this period. The author has tried throughout to hold the scales even and to avoid all trace of partisanship, though sometimes he expresses opinions which may not be generally accepted. Thus, speaking of Stevenson, he says: "His poetry and the plays he wrote with W. E. Henley hardly call for serious discussion." This surely is incorrect; that the numerous charming little pieces in the *Child's Garden of Verses*

should be so summarily and contemptuously dismissed is hardly fair. In the bibliography on Stevenson mention should have been made of Rosaline Masson's *I can Remember R. L. S.* Her fuller biography has been published since the book was written. But these are minor lapses and omissions on which opinions are bound to differ. The chapter on Kipling is written with keen insight and critical sympathy; but the little piece on Rupert Brooke is particularly interesting and appreciative. Of the sonnets entitled "England", it is the general and well-considered opinion of competent critics which Dr. Cunliffe expresses when he says: "The sacrifice was consecrated by his death; but even without this added glory, the emotion expressed in these five sonnets would have remained an abiding witness of the power of England to stir the hearts of men to devotion and to beauty." Rupert Brooke died young but his is not an instance of the promise of unfulfilled renown; his sonnets will remain imperishable. It is a reliable and thoughtful volume that Dr. Cunliffe has written. Both for the specialist who desires to have knowledge of details and for the 'generalist' whose aim is to get a broad, rough idea of modern literary tendencies, the book is of great value. The bibliographies appended at the end of each chapter materially add to the usefulness of the book; and we are thankful for the full index at the end. Briefly, it is a model of what such a book ought to be.

Satire in the Victorian Novel. By Frances Theresa Russel, Ph.D. (The Macmillan Company, New York) 1923.

Professor Russel has given to us a book which is packed with illuminating thought; her study of the subject is thorough and deep, and the ingenuous explanation which she gives of her choice of subject deserves to be quoted in full: "The indifferent or repellant nature of a subject, even though triple distilled, has nothing to do however with its value as a topic for investigation. I present this study neither as apologist nor enthusiast. If we expand Browning's 'development of a soul' to include the mental as well as the spiritual stages, as the poet himself did in actual practice, we must agree with him that 'little else is worth study'. So persistent and insistent in the mind of man has been, and still is, the satiric mood, so devoted has he been from immemorial ages to the habit of story telling (and seldom for the mere sake of the story), so voluminous and emphatic did he become in the nineteenth century, that no complete account of him can be rendered up until, amid the

infinite variety of his aspects, he has been viewed as a Victorian Satirist, using as his medium the English novel." She divides her book into ten chapters devoted to the Satiric Spirit, the Confluence of Satire and Fiction, the Romantic, the Realistic, the Ironic, Individuals, Institutions, Types, Relationships, The Victorian contribution. As the reader will observe the plan adopted is an excellent one for purposes of analysis; but it perhaps takes an inadequate view of the works of individual authors. It is refreshing in these days when the prevailing fashion is to run down the Victorian era and everything Victorian, to find Prof. Russel concluding that "we have as yet invented nothing to surpass the general Victorian Satiric philosophy." Though the style of the book is rather heavy and at places laboured, both the treatment and the analysis of the subject are sound. It is altogether a notable contribution to literary criticism and will be of great use to all students; for it is to our knowledge a pioneer work in its own field. That it should have been written by an American lady makes it doubly welcome. We commend Professor Russel's study to all students of the subject.

The Literary Essay in English. By Sister M. Eleanor, C.S.C., Ph.D. (Ginn and Company, Boston, U.S.A.) 1923.

Sister Eleanor's *Literary Essay in English*—which hails from America—though professedly a school book, is agreeably humane, and therefore the more effective. The author has fully succeeded in dealing with various types of the essay in a convincing manner and her illustrative comments are all that could be desired. The Essay in English has received as a literary form much less attention from critics than fiction, poetry and drama. The present book meets a long-felt want by introducing the student directly to such masters in the art of writing as Bacon, Addison, Steele, Lamb, De Quincey and Stevenson. The essays are grouped together as the Aphoristic Essay, Character Sketches, the Classic Essay, The Letter Essay, the Short-Story Essay, the Biographical and Critical Essay, the Essay of the Naturalists and the Familiar Essay. We agree with Father Carrico's view, expressed in the Preface, that the *Literary Essay in English* will justify itself to the satisfaction of any teacher in English who will use it in a rational way. It is useful alike to the specialist and the general lover of essays, and deserves attention at the hands of all students of the subject.

The Literary Renaissance in America. By C. F. Bechhofer (William Heinemann, Ltd., Henrietta Street, London W. C.) 1923.

America to-day, says the author, has, almost suddenly, begun to achieve self-consciousness. That must be so, for till now there has been a uniform indifference in the general attitude towards American literature. Modern American literature is, in the opinion of Mr. Bechhofer, worth a serious study, for it appears to be the growing end of English literature to-day. While we must regret the omission of American poetry from the purview of this book, we warmly welcome it nonetheless as revealing the beauties in the work of the younger American writers, such as H. L. Mencken, Cabell, O'Neill, Dreiser, Cather, Sinclair Lewis, Sherwood Anderson. In a final chapter the author refers to several young and rising writers. By his earlier works, *A Wanderer's Log* and *Through Starving Russia*, Mr. Bechhofer showed his ability as a writer of books of travels; here he proves himself to be a discriminating literary critic, whose *Literary Renaissance* will amply repay perusal. Mr. Bechhofer's book is a notable contribution to the study of contemporary American literature.

An Introduction to Poetry. By Jay B. Hubbell, Ph.D., and John O. Beaty, Ph.D. (The Macmillan Company, New York) 1923.

The aim of this book is twofold: first to offer in a natural and interesting manner the technical apparatus, the criticism and the example needed for a good elementary knowledge of English poetry: second, to offer a convenient opportunity for a comparison of the new and older English and American poets. The twelve chapters into which the book is divided deals with the subject from various points of view—of type, of metre, of subject and of period. The discussion and comments and criticisms are full and frank and straightforward and the book is a useful addition to the existing literature on the subject. Although the author traverses in his work a very wide field, his statements are accurate, his data sound and his comments and criticisms are helpful and marked with a sympathetic insight. Dr. Hubbell has evidently specialised in the study of poetry and the result of his scholarship is a masterly exposition.

Methods and Materials of Literary Criticism. By Charles M. Gayley, Litt.D., D.D., and Benjamin P. Kurtz, Ph.D. (Ginn and Company, Boston, U.S.A.), 1922.

Methods and Materials of Literary Criticism is typical of the excellence of American text-books. This volume is a continuation of the plan of critical study

begun by Gayley and Scott's *Introduction to the Method and Materials of Literary Criticism* which appeared so far back as 1899. The work under review is a survey of the theoretical and historical criticism of the lyric and epic in general and of allied forms—the song, hymn, ode, sonnet, ballad, elegy, pastoral and epigram. The theory and technique of each form is summarised in three parts: analysis of the chief problems in theory, annotated bibliography of the more important references, outlines of the development of critical theory in the various nations, ancient and modern. The student who desires to learn what literary criticism is, and what kinds of enquiry fall within its scope will find ample guidance in this excellent manual. The authors refer to the poetry of the Turks and Afghans, Armenians and Syrians, Arabians and Persians, Egyptians and Hebrews, and also of course the various European countries. There is also appended an exhaustive bibliography of about 60 pages which would be found extremely useful and valuable by students of the subject. A book so ambitious in its design, must necessarily be scrappy in parts, even though it runs beyond 900 pages, but it is to our knowledge the only book of its kind and as showing how various countries in different ages have expressed themselves, what literary canons can be evolved out of their practice of poetry, whether any general rules are applicable to the several divisions of poetry, the present volume deserves to be widely read. Its scope is wide, and it is replete with highly useful material presented in an attractive form which is not readily accessible to the student without much research.

BUILDERS OF MODERN INDIA.

A. Two Anglo-Indian Biographies:

1. **The Life of Lord Morley.** By Syed Sirdar Ali Khan (Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, Ltd., Park Street, Kingsway, London, W. C. 2) 1923.

2. **Sir William Wedderburn.** By S. K. Ratcliffe (George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 40 Museum Street, London W. C. 1.) 1923.

Our readers will remember the curious injunction of Lord Morley prohibiting the writing of his biography. Very soon after his death, however, we find one written by the Post-Master-General of the Nizam's Government, who explains that his self-imposed task was taken up not merely through respect for the character of Lord Morley, but from a feeling of gratitude for what he had done for our political pro-

gress. Considered, then, as the payment of a debt of gratitude, the book can have nothing but appreciation: but as an estimate of the character and work of Lord Morley, it is hopelessly inadequate. The devotional agnosticism, the long and distinguished literary career, the notable political achievements, of Lord Morley can only be satisfactorily described either by one who knew him intimately or who has access to his private papers and state archives. Though Syed Sirdar Ali Khan had not either of these advantages, his book is nonetheless of great use in the absence of any authoritative biography. It is but just to say that the book is written in plain, straightforward language and that the author is usually content to let facts speak for themselves. A few minor points may be stated here. Writing in 1923, surely the Sirdar Sahib might have written less formally than "the late Mr. George Meredith" (p. 10). It would also have been more helpful if he had mentioned the sources of his quotations. But it is not our purpose here to follow the writer through the many phases of Morley's career. In two articles in our earlier numbers, a well-informed scholar has dwelt on Morley's literary greatness at some length. What interests us most in the Sirdar Sahib's work is his account of Morley as Indian Secretary. With the exception of some inaccuracies in statements of facts and splenetic remarks on the Partition Agitation, his narrative is helpful and fairly reliable. But so much progress has been made since the Morley-Minto reforms that it may be doubted whether history will endorse the author's opinion that "long after his writings have ceased to attract the reader, when his name as a man of letters shall convey little meaning except to the gleaner in old libraries, Lord Morley will be identified and remembered by his work on behalf of Indian progress." Nevertheless, we welcome this helpful biography which must serve as our main source of information on Morley until we have an authorised *Life*.

Mr. Ratcliffe's *Life of Sir William Wedderburn* is, on the whole, a disappointing production. It is evident that the author's heart was not in his work; it is slipshod and careless. Sir William Wedderburn was one of the trio—the other two being Mr. Hume and Dadabhai Naoroji—who may be called the founders of the Indian National Congress (old style). His love for India and solicitude for the welfare of her people found eloquent expression in his Presidential address to the Allahabad Congress of 1910: "I cherish an enduring faith in the future destiny of India. India deserves to be happy. And I feel confident that brighter days are not far off." Of such a devoted servant of this country, a biography was necessary and

Mr. Ratcliffe deserves our warm thanks for having undertaken this task. The biographer, realising perhaps that this book was a little below the usual high level of his work, explains in the preface that a memoir of Wedderburn must be essentially an impersonal record. He has however given in his book the main facts relating to Wedderburn's share in the Indian Reform Movement, and there are not any material errors in the statement of fact. His summing-up of Sir William's character is at once generous and true: "He had no selfish ambition, no personal ends to serve. His was the dedicated character, the dedicated life."

B Two Biographies of Mr. Tilak.

1. **The Lite of Tilak.** By D. V. Athalye (Chiploolkar, 550 Sadashiv Peth, Poona) 1923.

2. **All About Tilak.** (V. Ramaswamy Sastrulu & Sons, 292 Esplanade Row, Madras) 1923.

In modern India there has perhaps been no subtler intellect and no profounder thinker than Bal Gangadhar Tilak. Journalist, man of letters, agitator, constructive politician—Tilak was a power in the land. Ambitious he was—inordinately ambitious, but for the country. Whether he always used his undoubted talents properly is a question to which there can be more than one answer; but there can be no doubt that in more favourable circumstances and in another country he would have risen to the highest rank of statesmen. But the opportunity for service is so often denied in this country, originality is so frequently smothered, that even a man of the great abilities of Tilak found it difficult to leave behind him any constructive work with which his name might be permanently associated. It must be admitted that he was a difficult man to get on with; he left the Deccan Education Society and almost wrecked the Congress in 1907. But despite all that his greatness cannot be denied and no history of the National Awakening of India can be complete which does not contain a full account of the life and work of this remarkable man. It is very gratifying therefore that we should have before us two accounts of Mr. Tilak from different points of view. Mr. Athalye's *Life* is more literary, more detailed and more intimate; whereas *All About Tilak* is admittedly a compilation, so that the two together supplement and complement one another; the former is introduced by Mr. C. R. Das, and the latter has a foreword by Mr. Joseph Baptista. We warmly welcome both these volumes which are certain to take their rank along with Mr. Mody's *Life of Sir*

Pheroze Shah Mehta. We still await biographies of Dadabhai Naoroji and Gokhale. These two books will be indispensable for all students of the Indian national movement.

C. Three Books on Mr. Gandhi.

1. **The Life of Mahatma Gandhi.** By D. V. Athalye (Swadeshi Publishing Company, Poona City) 1923.

2. **Mahatma Gandhi.** By R. M. Gray and Maniklal C. Parekh. (Association Press, 5 Russell Street, Calcutta) 1924.

3. **Mahatma Gandhi.** By Romain Rolland (Swarthmore Press Ltd., 40 Museum Street, London W. C. 1) 1924.

By a curious irony the man who has systematically and even vehemently recommended the boycott of titles has himself been made the unresisting victim of a title, the omission of which in a public speech or writing is passionately and violently resented by his followers. It is a truism that no one individual has swayed so powerfully a larger mass of Indians than him whom M. Romain Rolland thus graphically describes: "Soft dark eyes, a small frail man, with a thin face and rather large protruding eyes, his head covered with a little white cap, his body clothed in coarse white cloth, barefooted." To appreciate Mr. Gandhi's point of view, to admire his steadfast courage and resolute purpose, to respect his transparent sincerity and honesty and selflessness is not necessarily to agree with his opinions. Indeed, we venture to doubt whether there is any leading Indian public man who thoroughly believes in all the items of Mr. Gandhi's politico-social programme. But surely it should be possible to admire his ideals and at the same time to respectfully differ from them. There can be no doubt that Mr. Gandhi's name is often invoked with the effect of magic on countless millions of our countrymen who have never seen him and who do not even vaguely know what his opinions are. In some undefined way he is hailed as a saviour. Of this magnetic personality who possesses so much power for good or for evil, we have three recent biographies, each written from a different standpoint. Mr. Athalye, whose *Life of Tilak* had already established for him reputation of a sound biographer, gives us now a full and detailed and well-informed account of the career of Mr. Gandhi up to the moment of his incarceration in 1922. It is not written in the spirit of blind adoration; there are several passages of discriminating criticism. Messrs. Gray and Parekh call their book *Mahatma Gandhi: An Essay in*

Appreciation. It is the second volume of a new series of biographies entitled *Builders of Modern India*, which the Association Press of Calcutta are publishing. This together with the remarkable *Heritage of India Series* (which we noticed at some length in a previous number) entitles the publishers to our warm gratitude. The present volume is written with great ability and few will quarrel with the conclusion of the authors that "non-co-operation has done something for the people of India. It has quickened their self-respect, and strengthened their manhood, and taught them to depend upon themselves and do things for themselves. As a campaign for the overthrowal (*sic*) of the British Government it has failed, and was bound to fail, as it was not the best or wisest way of carrying into the future the good of the past." M. Rolland's *Mahatma Gandhi* is undoubtedly a fine literary piece, but as history it is not altogether reliable. The two books noticed above both agree in assigning Mr. Gandhi's birth to 1869; Monsieur Rolland puts the date down as 1858. On the next page he mentions the University of Ahmedabad which Mr. Gandhi is said to have joined at the age of seventeen. There was no such university at the time and the reference is clearly wrong. We doubt again whether the author is right in saying that the three vows of Jainism "prescribe abstention from wine, meat, and sexual intercourse." On page 20 we hear of "J. H. Gokhale"—of course he is referring to G. K. Gokhale. There is a good distinction drawn between Mr. Gandhi and Tolstoy on page 97. "With Gandhi everything is nature—modest, simple, pure—while all his struggles are hallowed by religious serenity, whereas with Tolstoy everything is proud revolt against pride, hatred against hatred, passion against passion. Everything in Tolstoy is violence, even his doctrine of non-violence." There is, on page 117, a shrewd distinction drawn between Tagore and Gandhi: "Gandhi is a universalist through his religious feeling; Tagore is intellectually universal." The book abounds with instructive passages like these. It is amusing to read Lord Meston's hysterical review of it in the *Spectator*; in course of which he complains that this is a contribution to the wave of emotion which is sweeping over India to-day. It is not a book which is likely to herald red revolution: Lord Meston need not be alarmed. But it is a fine tribute to the spirit of one of the greatest modern Indians by one of the greatest French men of letters. The fact that M. Rolland should have deemed it worth his while to offer to the French people a survey of Mr. Gandhi's life and activities is in itself a cogent and conclusive proof of the tremendous influence exercised by the one real saint of modern India. Long after his political nostrums and agitative

activities have been forgotten, his fight for righteousness and truth in all spheres of human action and thought will continue to command reverence not only in India but in all other civilized countries.

C. MISCELLANEOUS.

Rabindranath Tagore. By E. J. Thompson (Association Press, 5 Russell Street, Calcutta) 1922.

Mr. Thompson's *Life of Rabindranath Tagore* is a volume in the well-known *Heritage of India* series and fully maintains the usual qualities of fairness and accuracy which we have come to associate with the volumes of this deservedly popular and valuable series. It does not speak well of the numerous Indian organisations that it should have been left to the public spirit and enterprise of the Young Men's Christian Association to bring out such a useful set of books dealing with various aspects of Indian religion, literature, philosophy and art. Mr. Thompson has made a close study of Tagore's works and writes with great sympathy and admiration. But may one gently demur to the author's remark on p. 45 on Tagore's ungrammatical English? Hardly any well-known author has written grammatically perfect English, the authors of *King's English* have been at some pains to collect these numerous lapses. What is more material for our purposes—and Mr. Thompson frankly acknowledges it—is the rare charm of Tagore's language, a subtle fragrance one knows not of what, a haunting melody which defies analysis. Mr. Thompson's book is altogether much more satisfactory and complete than the two or three other volumes on Tagore that we have seen. It deserves wide appreciation.

Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose. (G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras) 1923.

This is a very welcome addition to the many useful publications of the well-known Madras publisher and publicist—the Hon'ble Mr. G. A. Natesan—whom we are glad to find in the Council of State and who has rendered valuable service to the country by means of his numerous highly useful compilations, collections and original publications. Sir Jagadish has deservedly won world-wide fame on account of his epoch-making scientific researches. But he is not a mere scientist; he is in the truest sense of the term, a seer. The addresses printed in the book—occupying 200 pages—show also what fine literary sense Prof. Bose has. This book ought to be in the hands of every one who desires to acquaint himself with the life and work of one whose whole career has been dedicated to the

acquisition and diffusion of knowledge and learning, and of whose work and worth every Indian can feel justly proud.

Sir Guru Das Banerjee. By Dr. Chunilal Bose. (S. K. Lahiri & Co., 56 College Street, Calcutta) 1923.

Dr. Chunilal Bose's sketch of the life of Sir Guru Das Banerjee is a labour of love, and it is of supreme interest to many who will welcome this attractively got up monograph on the career of a great scholar, a great judge and a great educationist, who inspite of his eminence in so many departments of life remained till the end a living example of "plain living and high thinking." As a judge of the Calcutta High Court, as the first Indian Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, as member of Lord Curzon's University Commission, Sir Gooroo Das rendered valuable services to the country—services which a grateful generation should not easily forget. Dr. Chunilal Bose writes of his subject with intimate knowledge and his book is a most readable production. It should be studied by our old and young alike for the many useful lessons it inculcates.

Narayana Vaman Tilak. By J. C. Winslow. (Association Press, 5 Russell Street, Calcutta) 1923.

This is a volume in the newly-started *Builders of Modern India Series*. It is an interesting account of a popular Christian poet of Maharashtra. The poems even in their English garb are charming and the spirit of deep religious devotion which permeates them will be widely appreciated even by those who are not Christians by faith. This book is both useful and interesting and we accord a warm welcome to it. We shall watch with interest the progress of this excellent series.

Sundar Singh. By E. Sanders and the Rev. Ethelred Judah (Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, London) 1923.

This is an attractively-written biography of "the lion-hearted warrior", who is a well-known and popular Christian preacher and who has travelled into many inaccessible tracts of land to communicate the message of Christ. Sadhu Sunder Singh is a gentle, loveable character who attracts even those who do not share his religious views. This little book ought to be popular as revealing the "Christ-like character" of

a comparatively young Indian, who has already made his mark as a mystic, preacher and exemplar of Christianity at its best.

A Mid-Victorian Hindu. By Sukumar Haldar. (S. Haldar, Samlong Farm, Ranchi) 1922.

This is a biography of Rakhal Das Haldar, about whom Mr. Pramathanath Bose (a valued contributor to the *Hindustan Review*) says in the foreword, that he possessed the essential qualities of a great man—love of truth, sincerity, and courage. The author has shown great filial devotion in writing the life of his father. In his simple, unobtrusive way, Rakhal Das did much good work in the backward districts. The account of his life which his son, Mr. Sukumar Haldar, has given in this book portrays a character of great simplicity and charm.

K. M. Chatterjee and His Times. By N. Chatterjee (28 Camac Street, Calcutta) 1922.

This is a publication by the Indian Rationalistic Society of Calcutta, and it discusses the social and political evolution of India at the end of the nineteenth century. It deals principally with the life-history of Kishori Mohan Chatterji, who was a profound scholar and public-spirited man. It is written in an exceedingly attractive style and contains numerous points of interest and deserves attention as portraying the life of one who was a scholar, thinker and lawyer.

RECENT VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

Kulliat-i-Akbar. By Khan Bahadur Syed Akbar Husain (3 Vols. Ishrat Manzil, Allahabad) 1923.

Syed Akbar Husain, a retired Subordinate Judge of the United Provinces, was a very well-known Urdu poet, and his death, in 1921, was widely mourned by a large circle of friends and admirers. His chief distinction in Urdu poetry lay in his unconventionalism, in his successful efforts to break off from the beaten track, in his freedom from religious or sectional bias, and in his free use of English words. While, therefore, he was adversely criticised by the older scholars to whom poetry not treating of *gul* and *bulbul*, and *mina* and *saqi* was not poetry at all, he at the same time evoked the enthusiastic admiration of the younger generation who did not feel the cramping influence of the once

beautiful but now time-worn images and figures. This admiration was all the more remarkable as Akbar missed no opportunity of having a fling at the heretical and western tendencies of the new generation. It is the considered opinion of many competent critics that Akbar will be remembered hereafter chiefly as a satirist. At a cursory glance we find in his verses English words such as Civil Surgeon, Police, Committee, Science, Darwin, Relation, College, Convocation, Thank You, Force, Course, Philosophy, Council, Graduate, Photo. Perhaps these words do not contribute to make the poetry very great, but it certainly becomes very effective. The poet's son, Syed Ishrat Husain, a Deputy Collector, deserves the warmest gratitude of all lovers of Urdu poetry, for publishing in three well-printed volumes, the poems of his father. We shall look forward with pleasure to the fourth volume which we are promised before long.

1. **Marasi-Anis** 2 Vols. (Nizami Press, Budaon) 1924.

2. **Diwan-Dard-Urdu**. (Nizami Press, Budaon) 1923.

3. **Lithography**. By M. Ahiduddin (Nizami Press, Budaon) 1924.

Maulvi Niramuddin Husain of Budaon has been rendering valuable service to the cause of Urdu Literature by publishing at the Nizami Press his exceedingly well-got up and correctly printed series of Urdu poems. We noticed in an earlier number of the *Hindustan Review* the *Intakhabi-Zarin*, edited by Mr Syed Ross Masood, and his edition of Ghalib's *Diwan* is admittedly the best in the market. Thanks to the well placed generosity of the Nizam's Government, we are now promised a series of uniformly got-up volumes of Urdu classics. This will meet a great want, and we are confident that the Urdu-reading public will heartily greet these publications. Of all the poets who have attempted the *Marsiya* form of poetry, Anees stands unique and unrivalled, for in wealth of imagery, in the power of vivid portraiture, in mastery over the subtle music of the verse, he is unsurpassed. But of his *Marsiya*s so far the only edition worth mention was the one printed in four volumes by the Newal Kishore Press of Lucknow. We now welcome this edition neatly printed on beautiful, thick glazed paper.

Among the earlier Urdu poets, *Dard* occupies a high place. Khwaja Mir, to give him his full name, belonged to a family that had produced a large number of poets, and was born in A. H. 1133, and died in A. H. 1199. He was a voluminous writer and considering that he wrote while Urdu as a distinct

language was yet in its infancy, much praise must be bestowed on the quality of his verse. But it is a pity that his *Diwan* had never before been correctly printed; the various editions available in the market are full of misprints and corrupt readings. The present edition is based however on a collation and comparison of several manuscripts and may therefore be accepted as definitive. Lovers of *Dard* will no doubt be very glad to possess a copy of this excellent edition.

M. Ahiduddin of Budaon has written a valuable book on *Lithography*,—the first book on the subject in Urdu. It deals with subjects like Litho material, Handpress, Use of Chemicals, Black and Colour Printing, Transposing Instructions to machinememen and so on. It is enriched by numerous diagrams and will be of great use to printers and press-managers for whom it is specially intended. The author has succeeded in making his subject intelligible to the ordinary printers as well as to the general reader. As a pioneer work in Hindustani it deserves acknowledgment and encouragement at the hands of those interested in litho-printing in this country.

A Dictionary of the Hindi Language. By J. D. Bate (Indian Press, Allahabad) 1924.

Of Hindi-English dictionaries, Bate's is the best. But this well-known *Dictionary* had long been out of print, and the publishers have rendered a useful public service by reprinting it. It is different from the earlier dictionaries inasmuch as the words are arranged in the order of the Devanagari Alphabet. It has now been issued at the very moderate price of Rs. 6, and should therefore be within the reach of all. We hope the *Dictionary* will become as popular as it is useful to that large section of our students who have to study Hindi.

Gita yogapradiparyabhashya. By Pandit Aryamani (Devadatta Sharma, Karnavas, Distt. Bulandshahr) 1924.

Pandit Aryamani's commentary and translation of the Bhagwadgita—of which the sixth edition has now been published—strikes a new line of thought and for comprehensiveness and clarity of argument, it is one of the best of those written in Hindi. There is a scholarly introduction, a clear analysis of the contents and a full index to the first line of each verse. The translation is reliable. We hope the book will meet with the same encouragement which it has hitherto had.

BOOKS OF REFERENCE.

The World Almanac and Book of Facts 1924. Edited by R. H. Lyman. (Pultizer Building, 53—63 Park Row, New York, U.S.A.) 1924.

The World Almanac and Book of Facts—which is edited with skill and knowledge by Mr. Lyman—is now in the thirty-ninth year of publication. It is a most important annual appanage to one of the leading American papers, the *New York World*, from the office of which it is issued. It is such a book as would have delighted Mr. Thomas Gradgrind—"a man of realities, a man of facts and calculations"—depicted by Dickens in his *Hard Times*. That imaginary character—who represents the type called "eminently practical"—was of opinion that "facts alone are wanted in life," and it would have done his heart good could he but have access in his days to Mr. Lyman's comprehensive and exhaustive work of reference, which is a most marvellously well-digested compendium of facts and figures relating almost to the whole world. Of the many books of reference, annually issued, it is perhaps the most notable covering within its nearly one thousand pages facts and statistical data about the various political entities of the earth. Though mainly intended for use in America, it would be found highly useful throughout the English-knowing world.

The Constitutional Year-Book 1924. (National Unionist Association, Palace Chambers, Bridge Street, London, S. W. 1) 1924.

The Constitutional Year-Book is to the British Conservative what the *Liberal Year-Book* is to the British Progressive. For the object it desires to serve, the *Constitutional*—which is now in the thirty-eighth year of publication—is an almost ideal work of reference. Its scope is chiefly political and it offers a cheap and handy reference-book of facts and statistics bearing on topics of current interest to the conservatives in particular and publicists in general. It is carefully revised and brought up-to-date and its pages may be trusted to supply useful and accurate information on questions of public interest. A publicist who desires to be in touch with the movements and developments of the three leading political parties in Great Britain should keep on his bookshelf the annual editions of the *Labour Year-Book*, the *Liberal Year-Book* and the *Constitutional Year-Book*, each of which is highly useful.

The Norway Year-Book 1924. Edited by S. C. Hammer, M A (Sverre Mortensen Bokhandel, Christiania, Norway) 1924.

The Swedish Year-Book 1924. (Almqvist and Wiksells & Co., Boktryckeri—A. B. Stockholm, Sweden) 1924.

The two new year-books to the principal Scandinavian countries—Norway and Sweden—are highly creditable performances. They are both published in English. That dealing with Norway is compiled by the Christiania correspondent of the *Times*, while that with Sweden is the result of collaboration on the part of public authorities of that country. They are, to our knowledge, the only works of their class in English relating to these two countries. Each of them is well-planned, well-compiled and well-edited. Mr. Hammer's book dealing with Norway is the more ambitious of the two, as it aspires to fulfil the purposes of an annual cyclopædia. But the Swedish book, though not so comprehensive, is quite adequate in its scope. Both deal with geography, history, administration, finance, education, literature, trade, industries, shipping and various other important subjects of interest relating to Norway and Sweden respectively. Both are thoroughly up-to-date and accurate in their statements. While intended primarily for publicists and businessmen, the works are so planned as to subserve the objects of readers interested in the history, culture, and the economic, social and political development and progress of Scandinavia. By reason of their intrinsic merits, both these highly meritorious works of reference deserve a large circulation throughout the English-knowing world.

The Spas of Britain. (The British Spa Federation, London) 1924.

A Guide to London and the British Isles, 1924 (Foster, Groom & Co., Ltd., 15 Charing Cross, London, S. W. 1) 1924.

Dr R. F. Fox introduces to the public the very useful compilation called the *Spas of Britain*—which has been put together as the official handbook of the British Spa Federation. Compiled from the reports sent in by the local medical committees, it deals with the principal places in England, Wales and Scotland, which are famous for their springs possessing medicinal properties for the cure of various diseases. Of these Bath, Buxton, Cheltenham and Harrogate are the best known. Full information is given about all of them—not only medical information, but also practical information for the benefit of those who may resort to them. The British watering-places have been, of late, neglected in favour of Continental ones, and this book will have served a useful purpose if it

succeeds in drawing attention to the former. It is an excellent little reference-book.

Mr. Alwyn Pride's *Overseas Visitor's Guide to London and the British Isles* is now in the third year of publication. Its previous annual editions have been appreciatively noticed in the *Hindustan Review*. The 1924 edition has been thoroughly overhauled and is fully abreast of the latest changes, and the author has covered ground concerning nearly everything of interest to the visitor. There is, of course, a detailed description of the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley. Altogether Mr. Pride's Guide is deserving of acknowledgment as a reference-work which is equally interesting, accurate and up-to-date.

A Reference Book. (McDongall's Educational Co., Ltd., 8 Farringdon Avenue, London, E. C. 4) 1924.

Banks and Public Holidays Throughout the World 1924. (Guaranty Trust Company, 32, Lombard Street, London) 1924.

A Reference Book of Tables and General Information—to give the booklet its full designation—is a wonderful little compendium of much valuable knowledge not readily accessible to the average publicist or businessman. Within the covers of a booklet of 64 pages of small size, the printing of which is exceptionally neat and eminently readable, is brought together, carefully and systematically arranged, a mass of highly useful information dealing with astronomical, economic, and political data and statistics. We commend this capital little pocket-companion as a handy and compact reference digest.

Banks and Bank Holidays is an American work of reference which will be found useful by businessmen engaged throughout the banking world. It is a comprehensive list of leading banks and furnishes reliable information about bank holidays. If kept up-to-date and annually re-issued, it will meet with a long-felt want.

so correctly reprinted, with a full biographical memoir of Forbes and enriched with a large amount of fresh information upon Gujrat. Of the merits of Forbes' translation it is unnecessary to say anything; Prof. Rawlinson has performed his task with great ability. A work like this is sure to meet with a warm welcome from all interested in the history of Western India. The Oxford University Press deserve very great credit for their laudable effort in popularizing old Anglo-Indian literature by publishing well-edited and carefully-annotated texts of many of the famous classics of Anglo-India. These Oxford reprints deserve a very wide appreciation and large circulation.

The Oxford History of India. By Vincent A. Smith, revised by S. M. Edwards (Oxford, Clarendon Press) 1923.

Mr. Vincent Smith's *Oxford History of India* is by common consent the best complete text-book on Indian History. Written in a clear, lucid style, enriched with numerous attractive illustrations, thoroughly reliable in its facts, the book has met with a warm reception from the public, and the publishers have now brought out a second edition, 'revised and continued to 1921.' But we must confess that we are keenly disappointed with the work of revision. The bibliographies have not been brought up-to-date; the original misprints have been allowed to continue; and though Mr. Williams Crookes' excellent edition of Tod's *Rajasthan* appeared about two years ago, the original note about its being "held up by war conditions" still appears on p. xxiv. The only addition of any length than we can see is a page of scrappy and ill-conceived addition about the Reforms—with which Mr. Edwards is evidently by no means in sympathy. Making allowance for the faults of omission and commission in the work of revision by the editor, the new edition of the late Dr. Vincent Smith's *Oxford History of India* may justly be regarded as a standard work.

NEW EDITIONS AND REPRINTS

Ras Mala. By Alexander K. Forbes (2 Vols. Oxford University Press, London) 1924.

This is a reprint of the well-known translation by Forbes of the Hindu annals of Gujrat. The editor is Professor Rawlinson whose previous works—both literary and historical—have won well-merited appreciation from scholars. We notice that the editor's note is dated 1916; there has thus been an interval of eight years between the revision and the publication. Perhaps the war was the chief cause of this delay; but we are in any case glad to see this classic so well and

Kautilya's Arthasastra. Translated by Dr R. Shamasastri (Wesleyan Mission Press, Mysore) 1923.

This is the second edition of Dr. Shamasastri's monumental work on Kautilya's *Arthashastra*. It contains a prefatory note by the late Dr. J. F. Fleet who well remarks that "we shall always remain under a great obligation to Mr. Shamasastri for a most important addition to our means of studying the general history of ancient India." The generally accepted view with regard to the date of the *Arthashastra* is that it was written before 321—296 B. C. by

Kautilya, also called Chanakya, who was chiefly instrumental in placing Chandragupta on the throne. But doubts have recently been expressed by Dr. Jolly with regard to the correctness of this date and he is inclined to place the book so late as the third century A. D. Dr. Winternitz—a translation of whose *History of Indian Literature*, we note with pleasure, is shortly to be published in the Punjab Sanskrit Series—is also not inclined to acknowledge its remote antiquity. We had expected that in this new edition Dr. Sastry would discuss the question of the date at some length, but we are disappointed to find that the subject is not dealt with at all. We hope this omission will be rectified in the next edition; meanwhile we accord a hearty welcome to the present work, which—whether written in the third century before or after Christ—will retain its great value as a picture of ancient Indian polity.

A Forgotten Empire. By Robert Sewell (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 40 Museum Street, London, W. C. 1) 1924.

Mr. Sewell's *A Forgotten Empire* is a well-known history of the kingdom of Vijaynagar which has been recognised as an authority since its first publication in 1900. The book is based on some valuable and interesting chronicles of the sixteenth century, which present a graphic and detailed account of the condition of the great city, at the time of its highest grandeur, written on the spot by Portuguese merchants. But since the book was first printed, much new and important material bearing on the subject has become available, and the publishers would have done well to entrust the task of revision to a scholar like Prof. Krishnaswamy Iyengar who has made this subject his own. All the same, the republication of this important work which has long been out of print will be a source of great pleasure to all who are interested in the story of the sudden rise, the amazing grandeur, and the complete disappearance of the Hindu kingdom of Vijaynagar, the history of which will always possess fascination for the student of the mediaeval history of India.

Modern English Literature. By Edmund Gosse. Tenth Edition, Revised and Enlarged. (William Heinemann, Ltd., Henrietta Street, London) 1924.

Mr. Edmund Gosse is among living critics one of the most eminent, and his *Modern English Literature* has long been recognised as one of the best books of its kind. In this new edition, the book has been brought up-to-date. We have no doubt that all

students of English literature will be glad to possess copies of this book which, since its original publication in 1897, has continued to enjoy unbroken popularity.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE. MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE.

The Stage Favourite's Cook Book, compiled and edited by Elizabeth Craig (Mrs. Mann) and issued by Messrs. Hutchinson & Co. (Paternoster Row, London) is a wonderfully good collection of recipes contributed by four hundred British, Continental, and American actresses. Each recipe, which bears the name of some well-known actress, has been tested and approved by the editor, who is believed to be probably the best-known woman expert on the subject of cookery in Great Britain at the present day. The result is a work containing appetising and attractive *menus*, which are also practical and suited to the requirements of small households. But surely Mrs. Mann could have easily put together a cookery book of her own, without bothering four hundred actresses from Europe and America!

The literature of journalism is now fairly large—both in Britain and America and yet we can not say that Mr. Michael Joseph's **Journalism for Profit** (Hutchinson & Co. Paternoster Row, London) is a superfluous work. It is a practical treatise and covers the entire ground of modern free lance journalism, as well as a profession. Sir Philip Gibbs (in a foreword) commends the book to journalistic aspirants as a guide which will be enormously useful to them. We readily endorse this view. Mr. Joseph has evidently specialised in the various phases of contemporary journalism and is quite familiar with the ups and downs of a journalist's life. His book is full of shrewd hints and is replete with useful information and should be found invaluable by journalistic aspirants. In the next edition the section dealing with the journalist's library of reference works may be enlarged and a bibliography appended.

The Daily Life of the Greeks and (the?) Romans—issued by the Metropolitan Museum of Art at New York, U.S.A.—has been compiled by Dr. Helen McClees and is intended to utilize for illustration the various classical collections in that well-equipped museum. It is profusely illustrated with excellent photographic reproductions of the various objects in the museum.

In fact the letter-press plays but the subordinate part of explanatory comments on the pictures. Taken as a whole, the handbook, while not treating the subject exhaustively, provides within the covers of a small volume, such explanation and commentary as will be helpful towards a clearer understanding of the classical antiquities. Dr. McClees' book would be found useful both for the purposes of study and reference. It should also be prized for its numerous exceedingly well-reproduced illustrations.

We have noticed in terms of appreciation the first four volumes of the "India of To-day" series, edited by Dr. Rushbrook Williams and issued by the Indian branches of the Oxford University Press (Garstin Place, Calcutta &c.). The fifth and latest volume called **Indian Emigration** is the work of one who conceals his identity under the appropriate pseudonym of "Emigrant." It worthily sustains the high reputation of the series for accurate and impartial works on the various aspects of the Indian problem. Within the compass of 134 pages, the book offers an excellent sketch of the subject from the abolition of slavery till the present day. The last two chapters deal with the question of the status of Indian emigrants in the Dominions of the Crown. These are particularly instructive. We commend this little book to all students of the subject as a highly useful compendium of sound information and criticism on one of the most crucial phases of the many-sided problem of modern India.

There are many works in English—good, bad and indifferent—on the subject of etiquette, generally written by women, Mrs. This or Miss That. But very few of them are either sufficiently comprehensive or are marked by sanity. Most of them repeat the conventional platitudes without any attempt at breadth of view. It is, therefore, with singular pleasure that we welcome an excellent American work called **Book of Etiquette** in two handy and exceedingly well got-up volumes, written by Lillian Eichler and issued by Messrs. Doubleday, Inc. (Garden City, New York, U.S.A.). It is excellent in the fullest sense of the term—excellently written and excellently got-up. For one thing it is, to our knowledge, about the most comprehensive work on etiquette as it prevails at present in America and may be said to fairly exhaust the subject. It deals, from the point of view of the etiquettarian, with every phase of human life, from the cradle to the grave, and nothing escapes the vigilance of the author which would enable one to behave with propriety on all occasions, at all places, and in all spheres of human activity. At the same

time, the author has brought to bear on her work a breadth of view and sanity which raise it much above the level of books of its class and kind. We feel sure that the *Book of Etiquette* will justly come to be regarded as the standard work on the subject.

We have lying before us three instructive books dealing with various phases of the same important subject. These are **How to Make the Best of Life** by Mr. Arnold Bennett (Hodder & Stoughton Ltd., London), **Success in Life** by Mr. K. J. Dastur (Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay) and **What it Means to Live** by Mr. N. N. Whisken (C. W. Daniel Co., Tudor Street, London). Of these Mr. Bennett's book is the most thoughtful and comprehensive, Mr. Dastur's the most inspiring and Mr. Whisken's the most suggestive. Taken together they complement and supplement one another. Broadly speaking, they deal with education, habits, manners, conduct and other traits in human life, and they all offer useful and valuable contributions to the development of self-culture and the formation of character. A striking feature of Mr. Dastur's *Success in Life*, which is rightly described as "an inspirational book for all men and women,"—alas! that "all men and women can not read English!—is the selection of opposite mottoes from a wide range of literature. It should be found particularly suitable for study by Indian Youth. Mr. Bennett's book and Mr. Whisken's booklet would be invaluable adjuncts to Mr. Dastur's work on complete living.

Two books on science—perhaps so nominally and technically—but poles asunder in their scope and object are Mr. E. C. M. Shepherd's **Motor Car Mechanism and Management Simplified** (Crosby Lockwood & Son, Stationer's Hall Court, Ludgate Hill, London E. C. 4) and Mr. Knight Hallows' **Poems of Science: Pages of Indian Earth History** (Erskine Macdonald, London). The former which is intended for owners and drivers of and dealers in motor cars explains lucidly their construction and operation and tells how to drive and keep a car in running order and how to carry out wayside repairs and periodic overhauls. It is perhaps the most popular work on the mechanism and management of motor cars. Mr. Hallows' *Poems of Science* are intended to illustrate the intimate relations between Science and Poetry. His short Introduction is a luminous sketch of the subject. In it he also tells us that the poems brought together have resulted from direct observation of Nature during the author's seventeen years of scientific travel as an officer of the Geological Survey among the mountains and forests of the Indian Empire. Viewed in this light, the poems are interesting.

Mr. W. C. Loosmore is well-known to the reading public as the author of *Nerves and the Man*, which is a popular psychological and constructive study of nervous breakdown, and the *Gain of Personality*—which also is an equally popular psychological statement of the practical values of human personality. In his latest work called the *Art of Talking* (John Murray, Albemarle Street, London, W.)—which is the third volume in Mr. Loosmore's series of studies in practical psychology, he reveals with lucidity the means of self-expression in conversation and in public speech. A glance at the chapter headings gives a clue to the wide range of his subject—What to say—How to say it—Anecdote and gossip—The question of slang—On being silent and timid—Talk and general knowledge—Table talk and dinner talk—Selling and business talk—Listening and interruptions. Each of these topics is handled with knowledge and skill in the light of considerable experience of the realities of life, with the result that the *Art of Talking* is both an informing and an instructive work, deserving of appreciation.

An Eastern Library By Mr. V. C. Scott-O'Connor (Robert Maclellan & Co., Ltd., Glasgow) is an excellent short sketch of a great subject. In its own way, the Khuda Baksh Oriental Library at Patna is a national treasure of which India may well be proud. The story of its foundation, how priceless manuscripts were obtained, the numerous arts of cajolery and threat and bribery and—be it slowly whispered, even—theft that were employed for the purpose, forms an account as romantic as some old tale from far-distant ages and 'fairy-lands forlorn.' No one better fitted than Mr. Scott-O'Connor could have been found to write this account. He has a fine appreciation of the music of words; he possesses a warm imagination, and he is able to speak with an enthusiasm and zest which must be very similar to the joy with which the Renaissance scholars gazed at the numerous tomes newly brought to light. *The Silken East* and the *Charm of Kashmir* have already established for Mr. Scott-O'Connor a reputation as an excellent word-painter of landscape: we have him here in this book as a connoisseur of old Persian and Arabic manuscripts. Mr. Khuda Baksh, the founder of the Library, spent a large fortune over their acquisition. Jehangir, Shah Jahan, Aurangzebe, are present in the Library in the form of their autographs, rare illuminated paintings, miniatures and drawings adorn many of the manuscripts; Firdausi, Jami, Hafiz, Sadi and many others are adequately represented. Mr. Scott-O'Connor's is a fine book about a fine library.

In *The Historical Novel* by Mr. H. Butterfield (Cambridge University Press) we are presented with a work practically breaking new ground. This essay was awarded the Le Bas Prize for 1923 and is an attempt to find some relation between historical novels on the one hand and history treated as a study on the other; and also to work out a method of critical approach. After an interesting discussion dealing with historical novels of several European languages, Mr. Butterfield sums up his conclusion thus: "Given an event the historian will seek to estimate its ultimate significance and to trace out its influence, the novelist will seek merely to recapture the fleeting moment, to see the thing happening, to turn it into a picture or a 'situation.' With a set of facts about the social conditions of England in the Middle Ages, the historian will seek to make a generalisation, to find a formula; the novelist will seek a different sort of synthesis and will try to reconstruct a world, to particularise, to catch a glimpse of human nature. To the historian the past is the whole process of development that leads up to the present: to the novelist it is a strange world to tell tales about." It is a notable book which will be much appreciated by the scholars who seek to study the technique of the historical novel. The author has specialized in the subject he writes about and his work is marked by scholarship and critical acumen.

Bhai Parmanand was one of the first victims of the repression which cowed the soul of the Punjab under the blood-and-iron rule of Sir Michael O'Dwyer. His was a saintly life devoted to truth and conscience, a life deliberately given to the cause of education. He had vowed to work on a bare pittance his entire life in the Lahore D. A. V. College. But his crime consisted in his teachings—he was reputed to have prepared for the use of his students a history of India wherein he had attempted, with success, to nail the lie of the Black Hole incident and proved it to be a mere myth, a figment of overwrought imagination. Horrible crime to have travestied the British historians! The man must be traitorous, and DORA clapped him into prison and later sent him into exile. The story of his banishment, his sordid surroundings in the Andamans, his sufferings and anguish is now told by himself in the Hindi diction, which is presented by Messrs. Ganesh & Co., of Madras, in an English rendering in *The Story of My Life* (1924—Rs. 1/8). Read the book for yourself and you will begin to understand the stuff of which martyrs are made and incidentally gather some ideas about the panic-psychology of an Imperial race.

Bhai Paramanand's indomitable courage gleams through the pages of his story; his ideals and principles

are outlined in a succinct manner in the Hindi work **Hindu Sangathan** (Akashvani Pustkalaya, Mohanlal Road, Lahore, 1924, Re. 1/-). He enters here a forcible and eloquent plea for developing the man-force of Young Hinduism, and significantly points out the weaknesses which have flown from the enervated quiescence of the Hindu mind. A book well worth perusal.

L. Kannoo Mal, M.A., an occasional contributor to our pages, has brought together within the brief covers of bare 50 pages each the most notable **Sayings of Kabir** and of **Tulsidas**, and the **Aphorisms of Narada**. The three volumes are published by S. Ganesan, Madras (1924, annas eight each), and each is prefaced by a short introduction descriptive of the savants' place in Indian literature. The books succeed in giving us a comprehensive glimpse of the writers' thoughts and should prove useful for casual reference and for juvenile readings.

Mr. Aurobindo Ghose's name is a revered one in Indian cultural circles. Anything coming from his pen demands and deserves to be read with serious attention. In **The need in Nationalism** (S. Ganesan, Madras, 1923, Annas eight) are grouped together five of his most thoughtful essays which furnish the reader with the psychological bases of the ideal principle in politics. Mr. Ghose's plea is as usual keyed in a high and noble tune. His message is an eloquent brief for spiritualised politics and here he takes us carefully through the fundamentals of human values to show us the genesis of ancient Indian tradition. A fine and instructive reading, written by a scholar and a saint and provocative of fruitful discussion and argument on the practical aspect of modern Indian politics.

In **Food, Mind, and Health** (S. Ganesan, Madras, 1924, Annas 8) Mr. Bernard Houghton, the well-known British Civilian sympathiser of Indian political aspirations, tells us of the formula of simple and healthy living. He gives us a synopsis of the ideas promulgated by Mr. Aird in England and Mr. Ehret in America in favour of a greater use of fresh fruits and vegetables in the daily dietery of man. The author emphasises the value of faith and confidence in the nourishing power of uncooked food after the fashion of Coué, and exhorts the reader to simplify his routine of eating. The argument in favour of the natural diet is forcibly put and Mr. Houghton's little book should give fresh food for thought to those who are fond of *goumanderie* and the spices of delicate cuisine.

No branch of ancient Indian history possesses a greater fascination for research than the chronicles of

Indian colonies abroad. The introduction and spread of Buddhism in China and Japan furnish an interesting period in the history of India, and the epoch remains to a considerable degree unexplored. We know very little of the Indian missionaries and crusaders who carried the gentle doctrine of Buddha across to lands which even to-day baffle the well-equipped modern tourist. Mr. Phanindranath Bose deserves to be complimented on his instructive little book **The Indian Teachers in China** (S. Ganesan, Madras, 1923). The treatise supplies a rigidly catalogued description of Indian monks and preachers who went to China, Java and other lands. The interesting commentary which the author furnishes links the narrative and makes the book a connected reading. Mr. Bose's industry and research is to be commended. He has given here a valuable introduction to the cultural history of the Greater India which has so deeply influenced the thought and religion of China and other far-off lands.

Ganesh & Co. of Madras have done well in collecting in book form the philosophical contributions of M. Paul Richard to the pages of the *Arya* (1914-15) and which subsequently appeared in a French edition. The English translation has been done by Sri Aurobindo Ghose which in itself is a warranty of true and correct interpretation. M. Paul Richard is well-known for his spiritualised writings and his love of Indian Philosophy. His disquisitions on the Origin of Being and its attributes form a subtle blend between the scientific mysticism of the West and the psychological substratum of Vedanta philosophy. The speculations in **The Wherefore of The Worlds** (1923) are discursive to a certain degree but a central core of thought runs through the entire volume. It is a real contribution to philosophic literature, exceedingly instructive and thought-provoking. We can not do better than commend to the reader the opening lines of M. Richard's book: "Night, there is none, no night except the veil which we create for ourselves, no other obscurity than the darkness in which our eyes indulge."

Auction Bridge for Beginners by A. C. B. (Stanley Paul & Co., London, 1924, 2s. 6d.) is a good example of what a little book of knowledge ought to be. Easy reading, excellent examples and instructive advice which does not pall—and the beginner is at once attracted to the game which forms the theme of the book. And isn't this the real test of the success of a book of this kind? The 1924 rules as revised and adopted by the Portland Club are given in full as an appendix. The glossary of Bridge terms should also prove useful!

Mrs. Suehalatha Sen was among the first of the cultured ladies of Bengal to attract the notice of a wider, English knowing public. Her stories in the Bengalee language had earned for her meritorious recognition but she was unknown outside Bengal until an English version of a tale of hers appeared in the English journal *The Idler* in 1911. The enterprising publisher of Madras, S. Ganesan, has now collected her short stories and in **Nehal The Musician** (1923, Rs. 2/4) they present to us in English the work of a gifted artist endowed with the art of picturesque word-making. The tales are full of a wild, fascinating charm and told in a quaint and weird style they impress upon the reader the fanciful reality of the sketches. The tales demand attention by the witchcraft of imagery and reveal, although clothed in an alien garb, the power and skill of the writer. A delightful reading and a pleasant diversion.

The Future of Indian Fiscal Policy (S. Ganesan, Madras, 1923, Annas 12) is an elaboration of a lecture delivered by Mr. D. V. Divekar, and is therefore circumscribed in its content. Mr. Divekar records a forcible plea in favour of a full protective policy for India. He accuses the Tariff Commissioners of halting and doubtful recommendations. The case for Protection in India is enforced by illustrations derived from the experiences of other protective countries.

In **Elements of Indian Astrology** (The Author, Cuttuck, 1922, Rs. 2/-) Babu Sinheshwar Prasad has briefly sketched in a convenient form the mundane influences of stars and planets as they affect the life of a person born under their aegis. Appropriately enough he tells us how to cast a horoscope and after defining in detail what signs rule at the birth of an infant we are led on to detect the predominating factors which will control its earthly movements. Hindu Astrology is not a mere myth, but has been proved to be based upon scientific calculations. If Babu Sinheshwar Prasad succeeds in introducing a difficult subject for purposes of further research his efforts would be well rewarded.

Mr. Puran Singh's more ambitious efforts in poetic diction were noticed by us in an earlier issue. His *Sisters of the Spinning Wheel* revealed him to be a writer of delicate imagination and of a deeply meditative turn of mind. The form he chose for self-expression was essentially suited for his purpose. In his two little books **An Afternoon with Self** and **At His Feet** he turns to the devotional theme. The intensity of his religious emotions sustains the high tone of the prose poems. It is of apt significance to be reminded of the appeal which the teachings of the Gurus carry to the heart of a cultured Sikh at a time

when the entire community is stirred by the unprecedented deeds of self-abnegation and martyrdom of the Akali Jathas.

Mr. T. C. K. Kurup's **Gandhi and Indian Regeneration** (New Herald Office, G. T., Madras, 1923, Rs. 2/-) will well repay a second reading in the present state of flux and transition in Indian politics. The book was originally written in 1922 and focussed a reasoned criticism of the "Back to Vedas" ideal sketched out by Mr. Gandhi and which formed the apparent objective of the Non-co-operation movement. Mr. Kurup writes with grace and in an easy, lucid style. He has attempted to present his thesis in a clear, well-defined form of a conflict of ideals. He does not forget the social aspect of Mr. Gandhi's crusade. We confess however that his arguments will not be convincing to the majority of his readers in so far as he defends the materialities of the 'progressive' Western civilisation and denies that the process of subjection and the particular brand of Western education in India has tended to infiltrate the Indian mind with slavish and cowardly attitude. Nevertheless the book is of commanding interest and should receive close attention.

In **Thomas Hobbes** (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1923, 3s.) Mr. George E. G. Catlin presents a learned study of the author of *Leviathan* which had such a tremendous influence in shaping the political destiny of England and of linking up the mediæval theories of political sovereignty with the spirit and thoughts of the times. Mr. Catlin claims for Hobbes a greater recognition than has been accorded to him—the recognition as a man of letters, as a philosopher, and as a publicist of no mean calibre. Our author's disquisition is very interestingly framed and will prove convincing to the scholar familiar with Hobbes' entire literary output. To the reader who knows Hobbes only as the author of the "wild, brute theory of Man", Mr. Catlin's book will appear difficult and uncomprehending. But the author has contrived to include an extraordinarily large amount of material bearing upon his claim and his industry deserves commendation.

Within a small compass of 100 pages Babu Mahendra Nath Dutt has succeeded in presenting in a conspectively form the ideal of Hindu womanhood. His **Reflections on Woman** (Seva Series Publishing House, Calcutta, 1923) is avowedly written from an "entirely psychological point of view", but as is but natural his discourse touches upon many practical aspects of the sex problem. He has many wise words to say in regard to the hasty impatience which prescribes a regimen of Western dispensing for the uplift of woman in India. True to his instincts Mr

Dutt repudiates the alien touch and points out that the only practicable ideal for womanhood in India is the ideal of the Devi, the guardian deity of the Home. We recommend this little book as full of instructive reflections, containing much that is sound and useful for students of social reform. The sale proceeds of the book will be devoted to the Girl School attached to the Sri Sri Saradeswari Ashram.

Arpana by M. Sriramamurty (The Author, Vizianagaram, 1923, Re. 1/-) is a small book of hymns and prayers replete with sincere meditations and reflective comments on the mundane affairs of human life. Students of a religious turn of mind will find it useful and inspiring.

The French physician, M. Coeur, provided a sensation when he claimed to have cured a malignant malady by self-suggestion. 'A student of Psychology' tells us in **Auto-suggestion** (Jarrolds Publishers, London, 1923, 1s.) what it is and how to practise it. A clear and well-written pamphlet designed to introduce the idea to the layman; it contains sufficient information to enable anyone to begin the practice for himself.

In **Leprosy in India** (Tagore & Co., Madras, 1923, Annas 8) Mr. T. S. Krishnamurthi Iyer has collected together the various contributions which the author made to the pages of the *Social Service Quarterly* and the *Hindu*. The articles deserved a permanent form as the author has many useful things to say regarding the serious socio-economic questions raised by leprosy. He also treats of the legal and remedial aspects of the problem. Social reformers and charitable organisations should direct their attention to this ill spot in the society. Mr. Iyer has helped us to view the problem sanely and informatively.

The National Being: some Thoughts on an Irish Polity. By A. E. (S. Ganesan, Madras, 1923, Re. 1/-) is an Indian reprint of the famous book by the great Irish man of letters which at its first appearance drew the serious attention of statesmen and economists. A. E. is one of the foremost literateurs of Ireland and his brilliant association with Sir Horace Plunkett in the reform of the Irish Agriculture will ever remain a bright page in the troublous history of Ireland. In the *National Being* he gives us a fascinating picture of the Co-operative Commonwealth that is his ideal, yet he is a serious and practical visionery, and acknowledges and faces boldly the great impediments that stand in the way of the attainment of the economic ideal. A book well worth study and inward digestion for the rising young Indian politicians and economic ideologists.

Khan Sahib Khaja Khan earned a well-deserved name for penetrative insight by his publication of the *Philosophy of Islam*. His second book **Studies in Tasawwuf** (Hogarth Press, Madras; Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras, 1923) is in a sense complementary to his first work, for the philosophy of religions can not be completely comprehended without a detailed exposition of the esotericisms, symbolic mysticisms and implied connotations of the fundamental thoughts behind them. In *Tasawwuf* the author has given us a series of metaphysical speculations on the esoteric side of Islam, which according to the distinguished writer of the Foreword, Nawab A. Hydari, "is its core and centre, which really gives life and vitality to its outward forms and activities, and which most can appeal to followers of other faiths owing to the universal character of its content." The author has interpreted the doctrine of *Tasawwuf* (popularly known as Sufi-ism) in a clear and lucid manner, and his discourse is as full of instructive knowledge as of brilliant interpretation of some of the most difficult passages in the writings of Sufi Saints.

Mr. N. V. Sarma's **A Call for National Reunion** (National Book Depot, Bombay, 1923, Annas 8) is an eloquent plea for the deletion of the Council-Boycott item from the programme of the National Congress. In his zeal and enthusiasm Mr. Sarma has called hard names to his opponents which can hardly bear justification. His plea is, however, forcibly put. Mr. Kelkar's Foreword is characteristic.

Mr. Wilfred Wellock is a sincere believer in the gospel of international peace and goodwill. He suffered imprisonment for his convictions during war time. In **Ahimsa and World Peace** (S. Ganesan, Madras, 1923, Rs. 1/8) he submits his case for non-violence. To Indian readers his arguments do not sound strange, but the doctrine coming from a Western pen is refreshing. Mr. Wellock believes in the innate good in man. He says indeed that the "whole case for *Ahimsa* rests on the recognition that human nature is worthy of trust. Human nature is neither inherently selfish nor opposed to reason; it is against its highest interests to be such." The author cites numerous illustrations in support of his main thesis. His eloquent plea is timely. Only in the present temper of the world it sounds like another cry in the wilderness. Yet it is all the better that the cry has been raised.

The story of **Khama** by J. C. Harris (Livingstone Press, London, 1922, 1s.) reads like a romance lifted out of the chronicles of a mediæval courtier. The zealous missioneries of the Christian Church who carry the gospel of their Lord unto 'heathens and backward' people never had a stiffer struggle than what

they encountered in Black Africa. The majority of the shepherds have carried their pros-lytising crusade according to the conventional methods of persuasion backed by force and the gin-bottle. But there have been few shining exceptions, the selfless and the sacrificing apostles of God; and Khama's country was fortunate in attracting crusaders of the type of Mackenzie and Hepburn. The Bechuanaland Protectorate is no different from the other innumerable colonies in Africa absorbed by the Western nations. But Khama, the son of the chief, embraced the Gospel in his early youth and his life story is one persistent fight for righteousness and moral living. Christian missions can not boast of a finer convert, and *Khama* reveals the sterling worth of a chief among men, a leader of fearless, albeit superstitious tribe, gradually weaning away his flock from evils that have despoiled his people and his land.

The Principles of Hindu Ethics by M. A. Buch: (The Author, Baroda, 1922, Rs. 6/4) is a comprehensive compilation systematically arranged and covering almost the entire field of Hindu morality. The author has not attempted to write a critical treatise; he presents a descriptive sketch of the rules and regulations laid down in the old Hindu Shastras regarding human conduct and intercourse. The survey is interesting, even though of necessity it merely groups together innumerable excerpts from the Hindu Scriptures. The author has handled his intricate subject with industrious skill and patience. He has been almost too strenuous in his zeal to link up the law with the letter and his enthusiasm outran his discretion when, e.g., he holds up a Shastric injunction open to varied interpretations as a rigid rule, or for instance Mr. Buch's discussion of sex relations and the criteria of what is good for the individual and for the state. The book is, however, a mine of information and we commend it as the first exhaustive attempt in the English language to define Hindu ethical standards.

The jig-saw puzzle of Western Europe remains an insoluble problem. Conflicting reports of the conditions of mid-Europe form the stock sensation of the European press every other week. There is no motive more impelling than self, and where self-aggrandisement and economic fear rule, the discernment becomes blurred. There is a British view of the Ruhr occupation and there are the French and the German views. But such opinions are much too vague for concrete expression into well-defined proposals for getting out of the mess. Mr. J. H. Morgan who had an exceptional opportunity to study the real German conditions during his four years' stay in the country as a member of the Inter-Allied Military Commission of Control has rightly

sounded a note of alarm on the efforts that are being sedulously made to crush the soul of Germany, which he shows to be an impossibility. His **Present State of Germany** (University of London Press, 1924, 2s. 6d.) contains the substance of a lecture he delivered in the University of London, and together with the valuable introduction prefacing the lecture his survey is perhaps the most impartial and dis-interested analysis, hitherto published, so far as a foreigner can see it, of the political, economic and social condition of Germany. Mr. Morgan warns the European statesmen of the folly of the attempt to kill the soul that is Germany, and forecasts the resurgence of a new national consciousness which, under severe repression, will develop all the potentialities of another Armageddon. Altogether a very lucid and temperate statement on a subject that bristles with numerous difficulties. Mr. Morgan's survey should carry the weight it deserves, coming as it does from the pen of a distinguished military officer and a lawyer of reputation.

Mr. A. R. Lord is a professor of political philosophy in a South African University. In his lectures to the students he experienced the common difficulty of recommending suitable texts for the students. And like all professors he set about compiling an easy book formed out of lecture notes. **The Principles of Politics** (Oxford University Press, London & Calcutta) is the eminently satisfactory results. The author's claim that this book will help the student in understanding and grasping the full import of more difficult works like Bosanquet's *Philosophical Theory of the State*, is fully borne out by the reading. Mr. Lord has done his work extremely well. The language is clear and lucid, the argument never forced and the facts clearly marshalled. The book should serve a larger purpose than in a lecture room. It is of considerable interest to the rising young politician who desires to enforce his views on the political problems of the hour by an appeal to theoretic justice.

Mr. G. Lowes Dickinson is well-known for the purity of his style and the excellence of his diction. In **The Magic Flute** (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London, 1922, 5s.) he has chosen a theme that would baffle the skill of a literary craftsman who is not endowed with a refined and delicate imagination. He terms it a "Fantasia" and throughout its pages we find Mr. Dickinson revelling in the interplay of fanciful imaginings and the burden of the practicable problems of the hour. The result is wholly one of delight. He has successfully contrived to weave together in a playful humour his serious views on Truth and Christ and Man. We commend Mr. Dickinson's *Fantasia* to lovers of literature.

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THE CENSUS OF INDIA, 1921 : A SURVEY.

By MR. THAKORELAL M. DESAI.

It is the general belief that to a reader, who is not sufficiently interested in the statistical side of sociology and who is not an avowed politician, the Census Reports are apt to be dull reading. This is to my mind an erroneous belief and I have little doubt that to any reader with just sufficient general interest in the fate of his country and the collective march of his countrymen, the report is bound to reveal some feature that will appeal to him, even though he may not be able to appreciate that mysterious romance of numbers. The reason for this is, to my mind, the greater effort at completeness in the interpretation and the significance of figures in the Census Reports, provincial or Indian, than in those of the other countries. This feature is very necessary here, as expert statisticians are few, who can solve for the public, the mystery of figures. And yet, one must confess one's surprise at the comparative brevity with which Mr. Marten, the Census Commissioner, has achieved this completeness. He has eschewed the rather long-winded statement about the general conditions of India, that used to figure in the previous reports and has thus utilised considerable amount of space for more valuable work.

The total population of India, as enumerated in this Census, was a little short of three hundred and nineteen millions, or to be more exact 318,942,480. This compared to the figure of 1911, shows an increase of about four millions or 1.2 per cent. If we take the figures for all

the six censuses, the rise during this last decade from 1911 to 1921 is the smallest ever recorded. During the nine years preceding 1881, the rise of the population was by 23.2 per cent., while the following census in 1891 recorded a rise of 13.20. The census at the beginning of this century showed a rise of only 2.5, while in 1911, the figure again went up to 7.1. Even after making allowances for the fact that during the previous censuses, the area and the population handled were not the same and that in each successive decade the machinery of enumeration was more accurately adjusted, and if we take the real increase per cent., as apart from the actual figures of increase, we must admit that the real rate of increase which during the years 1901 to 1911 had gone up to 6.4 per cent., has suddenly been arrested.

This sudden drop in the rate of increase of the population is not difficult to explain. The direct and indirect effects of the War of 1914-18 on the growth of population in India were considerable, but compared to the havoc caused by the influenza epidemic in 1918-19, they were negligible. There is no direct source from which one can get the approximate figures for the number of deaths caused by the epidemic. Mr. Marten has been at great pains to arrive at a reasonably accurate estimate after taking into consideration figures from several sources, and from bold deductions from the facts available. He places the figure for total mortality during the influenza period somewhere between twelve

to thirteen millions, and working to his reasoning, one must admit that the figure, if at all it errs, errs on the side of under-estimate. And the worst of it is that these twelve to thirteen million deaths do not comprise the only toll that we have paid to the fell disease. As Mr. Marten observes, "The number of deaths, however, is not, of course, the measure of the loss of life from the epidemic. The case mortality has been put roughly at about 10 per cent. and on this basis the total number of persons affected by the disease was about 125 millions or two fifths of the total population of India. The effect on the general wealth of the people is shown by the reaction on the birth-rate, which dropped below the death rate in 1918 and 1919 and only gave a slight excess in India in 1920." Thus, though the influenza has vitiated the figures for 1921 to a great extent and deducted much from their value as a guide to the general progress of the community, the worst, in my opinion, is yet to come, because of the sacrifice of a large number of married women of child-bearing age. One may expect a great disproportion in the various age groups for the next census.

No student of sociology can help asking himself, whether we are doing anything to check such whole-sale mortality due to epidemics, when we are all united in shouting at the top of our voice for the abolition of war and the establishment of peace. After all wars have some saving graces, some physical and moral values, but one would fain like to hear anything in connection with this epidemic which might be taken as some sort of a compensation; except perhaps the cynical observation that it checks over-population. And yet while six years after the termination of the War the world is striving hard to avoid another such catastrophe, we have for all practical purposes, placidly accepted the influenza epidemic and beyond some temporary organisations for relief at the moment, we are behaving as if the epidemic has never been there.

The mention of a Census Report is bound to raise the bogey of over-population. Many writers on economics and the population problems as well as several provincial Census Superintendents envisage the dangers of over-population. Mr. Wattal, by far the best known writer on the growth of population in India is perhaps the most pessimistic of the whole group. And yet one cannot imagine that either of these writers can with confidence give us a

figure where over-population begins, for reasons which are obvious. There is little reason to believe that in the so-called golden age, when the population of India was, say, one third of what it is now or even less, the squalor, the misery, the wretchedness and sacrifice demanded of those living in those days so that the population be maintained was in any way less than what it is now. The fact is that the question of social misery and degradation, though it does turn upon the productive capacity of the country, rests more on the forms of social organisation and the conceptions of social justice. The quantitative methods of the present day economists are mainly responsible for thus clouding the issue and for the general prevalence of the belief that there is no other remedy except increase in the productive capacity of the country or the reduction of population. When so many of us alarmed by the theories of the economists hasten to agree with this belief, we forget that in the first place, no end of increase in the productive capacity of the country will add an appreciable amount of happiness and comfort to the people, unless the methods of participation in that increase are changed, and in the second, that even with our present capacity of production; we could do much to rule out a great amount of misery from the life of the people, if we all agree to principles of distribution of wealth, more in accordance with the demands of social justice. Of course, I do not mean to suggest that senseless multiplication of the species is in any way desirable or to be encouraged. All I want to point out is that the remedy for the abolition of misery and sacrifice lies not so much in the direction of the reduction in birth-rate as in a more fair and equitable distribution of wealth.

The question whether India as a whole is over-populated or not depends not merely on the productive capacity of the country, both agricultural and industrial, but also on the possibility of military and economic invasion from the neighbouring countries on both sides, the standard of living that we agree upon as the necessary minimum for the climatic and physical conditions of India and on the present and prospective outlets for emigration. This question, moreover, has to be distinguished from the relative density and over-population in certain areas as compared with others. To the minds of many in India, the present distribution of population in various provinces and even within the

territories of one province is not very satisfactory.

The question of the standard of living is very intimately connected with the problems of population in any country and all the more so in India where neither the population nor their concepts of comforts are wholly homogeneous. The census authorities have, however, decided that the task of ascertaining the statistical measure of the standard of living of the people of India is almost an impossible task for the machinery of the census and we are left without any definite measure. In the first place, Mr. Marten doubts if the economic position of a family has much to do with the manner of its living and he believes that tradition limited by ignorance plays a much more effective part in the standard of life of any given family. This was no doubt true even twenty years ago and may still be true to some extent amongst some aristocratic families, but the conditions have changed considerably since the war and the conformity in the standard of life of a particular family and its economic position is much greater to-day than ever before and a serious and well-guided effort at some statistical measure of the standard of living will give useful results. These results, however, will not be useful in gauging the chances of rise or fall of population, because the average Indian peasant with his temperamental resignation will sooner think of giving up comforts and even necessities rather than even dream of checking the increase in his family, when his standard of living is threatened. But any results obtained with regard to the statistical measure of the standard of life in India will be useful in other ways. There is no doubt that the work, if it ever could be done, could best be done by the census organisations, because the operations of the Labour Offices do not cover the whole of India.

An interesting but erroneous belief almost universally held in India is that the population is being drained from the villages into towns and cities. We often hear even educated men and also the popular leaders of a certain type getting eloquent about the dangers of this drain and lamenting the loss to the villages. Apart from the question of merits of the emigration from villages into towns and cities, which in itself is controversial, the reality of this drain is hardly ever questioned. But the census figures prove beyond the shadow of a doubt that "the progress of urbanization in India, if

there is any progress at all, has been very slow during the last thirty years." Out of a total population of 319 millions only 32½ million persons were found in 2313 cities and towns of all classes. The Bombay Presidency has the highest percentage of urban population amounting to 23, while Assam comes lowest with only three per cent. of its population residing in towns. In England, while 79 per cent. of the people are classified as urban, India has only 10½ per cent. of its inhabitants living in towns. But perhaps, it may be contended that though the percentage of the urban population is about one tenth to-day, it must have been much smaller before. The fact is that the whole increase in the last thirty years in the proportion of the urban population is less than one per cent. Even this one per cent. is not the real rate of increase in the sense of emigration into towns from the villages. Because it must not be forgotten that the population of the towns also increases naturally apart from immigration and that some larger villages, with the gradual growth of their natural population came in course of time to be classified as towns. When we have accounted for these two causes of natural increase, the real increase reduces itself to a very small figure and even that, as Mr. Marten shows, is not a loss to the villages but to the small-sized towns. The tendency during the last three decades has been for the population to congregate in ever increasing proportions in cities and towns with more than twenty thousand souls at the expense of the smaller-sized towns. The census figures reveal that the towns above fifty thousand have increased by 16 per cent.; the population of the towns between ten and twenty thousand do not show even the average general increase in the population of the whole country. Thus even though the talk about the growing scarcity of agricultural labour be true, we have to look for the causes of it somewhere else. Again, it will be an excellent subject for sociological and economic research to try and gauge the exact significance to the country both at present and in the future of this gradual decay of the smaller-sized country towns.

Religion is an important principle of classification of the population and yet we owe our thanks to Mr. Marten for rigorously cutting out from his Report, those long polemics on religious tenets and ceremonial observances, that used to be a feature of the earlier reports

Whatever their value in those days, they would undoubtedly be useless to-day, in view of the many independent publications concerning such questions, and also because of the fact that questions of doctrine remain more or less the same. And yet we cannot agree with Mr. Marten, in his decision not to insist upon sect statistics. One might agree with him that "caste is too complex, too local and too controversial a factor to form a basis for a social and economic division even of the Hindu Society," but merely knowing the number of Hindus is not of much importance and a census of India which does not go into the question of sects would be if not meaningless, at least incomplete, so far as the classification by religion is concerned. To do him justice, however, I must admit that the decision was taken not by him in the first instance but by his predecessor Sir Edward Gait, which he merely endorsed. The general distribution by religion of the population, varies little from one census to another and depends very largely on historical factors. The tendencies towards change and evolution in Hinduism are visible only through the rise or fall in the numbers of various sects, and not through the total number of people registered as Hindus.

The chapter on the distribution of the population by age is one of the most interesting ones in the whole report and in the minds of many one of the most important ones. It is not so much the total population of a country, or the distribution of population by religion, sex or even occupation that helps the student to decide whether a country is progressive, stationary or regressive, as the distribution by age. And yet it is this chapter that is the great bug-bear of the census authorities not only in India but in many other more advanced countries. No other returns are liable to be more inaccurate than those concerning the age of the people. Mr. Marten analyses the causes of this inaccuracy and he has corrected and graduated them by some wellknown standards.

It is the comparative strength of each age group that affords the best comparison with the past figures and makes it possible to follow each batch of the population as it progresses over each successive decades from infancy to age and also to gauge the effects upon it of mortality and migration at each successive census. The figures of age distribution of this census compared to those of the preceding one show a decrease in

the proportions in the groups 0-5 and 15-35 and increase in the group 5-15 and those above forty. Thus "the decade has seen a reduction in the proportions of young children and the younger adults and an increase of the proportion of the adolescent and of the elder adult population." Mr. Marten attributes this to the influence of famine and plague in the past, the fall of the birth-rate at the end of the decade owing to influenza and the special partiality shown by influenza for the younger adult age group.

The statistics with regard to the proportion of children under ten at any given time to hundred adults between 15-40 and also to hundred married women in that group are of considerable importance. But the dangers of drawing any conclusions regarding comparative fertility from these proportions have to be guarded against and one has to take a much more comprehensive view of the underlying factors that affect this proportion. To support this Mr. Marten shows that the rise in the rates of children in this census is due not to any increase in fertility but because of the loss of the adult categories, especially of the numbers of married women. "What has actually happened is not that the babies have multiplied but that the number of parents has been suddenly reduced, at the end of the decade."

One of the most important subjects, bound up with the growth of populations is that of infant mortality. But apart from census operations, that subject is now being studied much more scientifically and with much greater details by various health organisations and experts. Mr. Marten rightly confines his discussion of this important subject to the statistics of infant mortality in various countries and the relation between the rate of this mortality and the size of families. The latter is controlled by the general health of the mother and of the economic conditions of the family. The average rate of infant mortality in India is 410 per 1000 children born, i.e. 410 out of every thousand children born have to die before they reach the age of one year. The rate is as high as 500 in large cities like Bombay and during the influenza epidemic, the rate for the whole of India went up to 534. Amongst the provinces the highest infant mortality rate is in C. P. and Berar, the next is Upper Burma and U. P. comes third. In C. P. the infant mortality during 1918 went as high as 800 per thousand. These appalling figures need no comment, all the more as when

more than half of these deaths are due to avoidable causes.

The statistical study of sex and civil conditions is fascinating and it is this subject, which still leaves much scope for original work to writers of census reports. Several provincial superintendents have taken advantage of this fact. As time goes on, it is quite possible that the tables dealing with records of sex and civil conditions will get more intricate and will make much more information available than what is possible to-day. Mr. Marten's own report of the Central Provinces Census in 1911 is indeed a proof of this. But promotion has its own drawbacks and the comparative liberty which the provincial superintendents enjoy, is sometimes denied to the Census Commissioner, in as much as special materials gathered at special places is not of much use to him. He can generally make use of the materials which are uniformly common to the whole of India.

The first thing one notices about the discussion on Sex in the Census Report, is the laying at rest of the furious controversy that raged round the question of the accuracy of Indian sex figures, especially those dealing with the number of women. Unlike most of the countries in Europe, each successive Indian census has returned an excess of males over females. There were some reasonable grounds for believing in the charge of inaccuracy levelled by the Western critics, because of the characteristic attitude a large number of our countrymen have towards women. The Census of 1911, however, did this signal service of disposing of this allegation by a close analysis of the materials. Mr. Marten reviews in brief the arguments from both sides of this controversy and assures us in the end "that the return of sex is on the whole accurate and that the proportions given represent the existing facts within the margin of error applicable to the enumeration in general."

Mr. Marten combines the statistics of sex with those for age, religion and civil conditions on the one hand, and caste, tribe or race on the other, and arrives at some interesting conclusions. The sex ratio in the actual and natural populations also supplies a good index for ascertaining the extent of migration or at any rate for checking the conclusions with regard to migration. The most important conclusion which Mr. Marten arrives at and which is of considerable importance to the sociologists is that "the sex ratio (the proportion of females

to 100 or 1,000 males) has fallen in the last twenty years throughout India. The statistics of birth suggest that the proportions of females born has, if anything, declined during this period, and in any case there has been a marked decline in the last five years of the last decade in most provinces." The chapter on civil conditions of the population lends itself easily as a subject matter of discussion and speculation, but one could do it justice only in an independent article on the subject and so I propose merely to transcribe the results of the discussion by Mr. Marten:

- (1) Marriage is almost universal both for men and women.
- (2) The proportion of the married has decreased owing to (a) the change in the age constitution of the population and the decrease in the proportion of the adult population; (b) the mortality of the influenza epidemic, which specially selected married women and converted their husbands into widowers and (c) the adverse economic conditions at the end of the decade.
- (3) Infant and child marriage is still prevalent, but there is evidence to show that the age of marriage is increasing especially in the case of males. Only in the most advanced classes is there any tendency for the age of marriage after puberty to increase. Economic and educational classes are largely responsible for any tendency of this kind.
- (4) The proportion of the widowed, and especially of widowers, has increased owing to high selective mortality and possibly, in the case of widows, partly owing to the increasing orthodoxy of the lower castes and tribes.

Literacy for the Census Report means the ability to write a letter to a friend and to read the answer to it: It has ruled out all complications with regard to the degree of education. The average number of people, who are literate according to this definition in India, per thousand of those above five years is 82.139 males and 21 females per thousand having been recorded as literate. If we take the figures of literacy by age-groups, the proportion is the highest between 15 and 20. Effective literacy, however, begins at twenty, because the phenomenon of lost literacy once acquired is not unknown to educationists. The figure of literacy

for the age group 20 and over, is lower in this census unlike the previous ones, but this is due not so much to lost literacy as to the higher mortality due to influenza in this group. Comparing the figures with those of the previous census, India has to-day four million more literate persons than in 1911. Mr. Marten observes that this increase in the number of literate males and females is shared by every province and state, but the statement is open to one correction. The premier state of Hyderabad is the one exception where the proportion of literate males to thousand has gone down from 67 to 65, while in Kashmir, which has the lowest literacy record, the increase is nominal and may quite possibly be due to a greater number of temporary visitors. If we exclude Burma, where the conditions are exceptional because of its religion, the first three places are occupied by three Indian states of Travancore, Cochin and Baroda, but the pride due to this will be only short-lived, when we find that the three last places are also occupied by the three important states of Gwalior, Hyderabad and Kashmir.

Mr. Marten concludes his chapter on languages with a brief discussion on the standardisation of languages and observes that: "The combined speakers of Eastern and Western Hindi considerably exceed in number the strength of any other individual language in India, and if we add to these two languages Bihari and Rajasthani, which so resemble Hindi as to be frequently returned under that name in the census schedules, we get well over 100 millions of speakers of tongues which have considerable affinities and cover a very large area of northern and central India." Mr. S. V. Mukerjee, the Census Superintendent of Baroda, who has been quoted by Mr. Marten, also believes that "Hindi does exercise (even in Western India about which he writes) a considerable influence on the educated sections of the people Its claim to be the *lingua franca* are beginning to be increasingly pressed; there is a general desire also to include Hindi as a second language in the school; much of the old bitterness of the Hindi-Urdu controversy has softened down with the growing cordiality between educated Hindus and Musalmans."

The last but by no means the least is the discussion on occupation. Mr. Marten has reserved not only a great amount of space for this subject but a still greater amount of atten-

tion. He himself writes that "in point of interest and importance the statistics of occupations are perhaps the most valuable of all those obtained at a periodical census." The classification scheme is highly complex and takes a good deal of explanation. It is practically the same as in 1911 with a few modifications. The occupational statistics collected are much more limited in scope than would be necessary for a complete industrial census, but an effort was made to supplement the general information by issuing a special schedule to be filled in by managers of industrial establishments.

As is well known Agriculture and land in India supports a very large part of the population, amounting to nearly 73 per cent. of the total population. But it is not equally well known that this percentage is increasing. It has increased by 1.8 during the last ten years, while the proportion of the people supported by industry (non-agricultural, of course) has gone down, during the same period by six per cent. The pressure on the land is thus enormous, and even if the percentage were not to increase, the increase in the total population of the country would within a very short time make this a first class problem. With both the total population and the percentage going up, the problem will assume alarming proportion. One of the direct results of this is the excessive sub-division of the agricultural holdings, but though Mr. Marten discusses the question of acres cultivated per 100 ordinary cultivators, he does not go into the question of the most predominant size of holdings in every province. It is not the average holding that really matters but the size of holding which predominates over others. The question of the gradual decrease in the size of holdings is engaging serious attention in the Bombay Presidency and the Baroda State, where after all, one can see from the figures, that the situation is the best, these being 1215 acres per 100 ordinary cultivators. One could very well imagine what it must be in Bihar and Bengal with 309 and 312 acres respectively for every 100 cultivators, inspite of the superior quality of the soil there. Mr. Marten quotes Mr. Thompson, the Census Superintendent of Bengal at great length on this subject, but one cannot very well agree with the remedy that the latter suggests. Mr. Thompson observes that "In Bengal, the holdings have been so minutely subdivided that there is not enough work for the cultivators" and he proposes that some

industrial concerns should be started to give them work in their spare time. No organised industry could flourish on such casual labour, and the only remedy for the evil is to introduce legislation both to prevent further fragmentation and gradually to consolidate the present holdings. The necessary social and economic adjustments will naturally take some time and a few would suffer in the process, but it is much better that a few should suffer for a little while than that a country's whole peasantry, which is after all its greatest pride, should continue to live in abject and degrading poverty. Some such step will also tend to remove the common charge against the government that it does not desire a bold peasantry.

Mr. Marten's discussion not only includes the various industries, the numbers they employ, their organisation, but trade and trade organisations in various provinces, the nature of industrial concerns, the ownership, their distribution by provinces, the work of women and children in industries and the kind of power used. He has introduced special sections dealing with handlooms, labour and occupation of women.

There are eight appendices to the Report, two of which are of special importance. One is an extract from the Baroda Census Report, by Mr. S. V. Mukerjee, on the present day tendencies in the religious sphere and the other is a summary of the special inquiry undertaken in some provinces and states regarding the size and sex constitution of the average family and the fertility of marriage life.

Mr. Marten's Report is a triumph of judicious and wise selection and in many respects it is a departure from the previous reports, not perhaps in the structure and form so much as in the scope and selection of the subjects included. There is little doubt that it will be a model for several more reports. Mr. Marten has vigorously turned his back on the highly technical and scholarly discourse on many subjects, such as language, castes, tribes, religion, and has established a finer proportion, which adds to the practical value of the census. The day is passed even if the materials be not exhausted, when the writers of Census Reports could afford to dabble in research work on these subjects, partly because separate linguistic and similar other surveys have been undertaken by the Govern-

ment and by the learned societies, and it is better that such discussion is confined to the special reports of such surveys and to the journals of these societies or other highbrow journals. In future the Census Reports will have to devote their pages to the elucidation of much more practical problems. Mr. Marten has brought to bear on the materials before him a keen analytic mind and the conclusions he arrives at are characterised by extreme caution.

Mr. Marten complains that the public were generally indifferent to the census. He is really thankful for it at heart because they stopped short with indifference and were not positively hostile. The fact is that the general public or even the literate portion of it for the matter of that, knows precious little about the census operations beyond the fact that it is for calculating the population of the country. It has no proper appreciation of the wealth of materials thus collected and seeing that the Census Reports both of the provinces and states and of India are published in English and find their destination in Government offices and the reference shelves of the public libraries, this want of appreciation and the attitude of indifference are not at all to be surprised at. I do not mean to suggest that the Reports should be published in the various Vernaculars, but why could not the various Governments make arrangements to get abridged editions in the Vernaculars of the province, which might exclude all purely technical matters and many tables, and which would appeal to the man in the street at general reading. I have before me one such small but excellent volume in Gujarati, prepared at the instance of the Government of Baroda. In this volume, in two hundred odd octavo pages, the translator has summarised in Gujarati the standard English Report taking up more than four hundred foolscap pages, in a very homely style. The volume is priced Rs. 2/- and is calculated to have a much wider publicity than the standard report. The experiment was first made in 1911 and it was found so successful that it was repeated in 1921. I do not know if any other local government issue such abridged editions in the Vernaculars, but if they do not, they might take a leaf from the policy of the Baroda Government, and so might the Government of India. It will help much towards effecting the desired change in the attitude of the people.

SULTAN MAHMUD OF GHAZNIN.

By MR. M. HABIB, B.A., (OXON.) M.R.A.S.

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"Almost all ethical doctrines and religious creeds," says John Stuart Mill, "are full of meaning and vitality to those who originate them and to the direct disciples of the originators. Their meaning continues to be felt in undiminished strength, and is perhaps brought out into fuller consciousness, so long as the struggle lasts to give the doctrine or creed an ascendancy over other creeds. At last it either prevails, and becomes the general opinion, or its progress stops; it keeps possession of the ground it has gained, but ceases to spread further. From this time may be usually dated the decline in the living power of the doctrine. For when it has become a hereditary creed, and to be received passively, not actively—when the mind is no longer compelled, in the same degree as at first, to exercise its vital powers on the questions which its beliefs present to it, there is a progressive tendency to forget all of the belief except the formularies, or to give it a dull and torpid assent, as if accepting it on trust dispensed with the necessity of realising it in consciousness."

This weakening of spiritual zeal has shown itself in all religions at various stages, and is painfully obvious in the history of Islam from the decline of the Abbasid Caliphate in the ninth century to the Mongol Conquest of Muslim Asia and the growth of mysticism in the thirteenth. It was a period of great achievements in science, literature and art, and the area of human knowledge was enlarged by scholars trained in the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle. It was a period of feverish political activity; empires were established and pulled down; cities were founded and destroyed. But it was a period of refinement and culture, of an alluring, materialistic civilisation—not of faith. The missionary zeal of the earlier Muslims had evaporated in the signal success it had achieved, and the creed that had come into the world for the elevation of the lower classes was being used as a bulwark for

the protection of vested interests and the continuation of time-honoured abuses. Of a hair-splitting theology there was enough and to spare; and the sectarian fanaticism which such theology excited discolours the annals of many generations, during which 'orthodox' and 'heretics' persecuted and tortured each other with an inhumanity they never displayed in their dealings with the non-Muslims, who were regarded as the honourable opponents of an honourable war. Islam had become a matter of custom and tradition and a means for procuring the salvation of the individual soul. It was no longer a world-wide force of democratic upheaval. People prayed and fasted and read the Quran with devotion; they lived according to what they considered to be the true interpretation of the law; but the vision of a new heaven and a new earth, such as had inspired the Saracenic invaders of Persia, was totally beyond their ken. They had lost their proselytising fervour and were content to keep their creed to themselves. The boundaries of the Muslim world remained where the Omayyad Caliphs had left them, and no new countries or peoples were brought within the fold. And internally also the political, religious and racial unity of the Muslim world was being gradually undermined by the forces of disintegration.

The idea that all purely Muslim populations should be under the suzerainty of the Caliph has never been absent from Muslim consciousness.

Nevertheless the lands of the Caliphate were too extensive to be governed from a single centre, and in the course of the last two centuries the political and administrative power of the Caliph had gradually declined. Local princes raised their heads and the orders of Baghdad ceased to command the implicit obedience that had been yielded to them in the good, old days of Harunur Rashid. Spain had become independent; an

(i) Political divisions. Decline of the Caliphate.

anti-Caliphate had been founded by the Fatimids of Egypt; and nearer home the growth of a number of 'minor dynasties' paralysed the Caliph's power in Iraq, Persia and Turkestan. Yet the moral prestige of the Caliph in the eyes of his co-religionists was immense. He was the successor of the Prophet and public sentiment regarded him with deep respect. He was the fountain-head of all political authority; kings and tribal chiefs were in theory subordinate to him, and his sanction alone could provide a legal basis for their power. The maddest of political adventurers would think many times before he directly defied the Caliph's authority.

Of the 'minor dynasties' that jostled each other in Persia and Turkestan the most important and powerful was the House of Saman founded by Amir Ismail Samani in 911 A.D. The Samanids, with their capital at Bokhara, held an insecure sway over Trans-Oxania (*Mawaraun Nahr*) and Khorasan, their power being almost constantly defied by rebellious governors and insubordinate officials. Beyond the Jaxartes the unconverted Turks and Tartars were ruled by their tribal chiefs, the most powerful of whom was the Khan of Kashghar. In Eastern Persia the Shiaite dynasty of Buwaih, with its capital at Ray, was founded by Rukn-uddoulah Daylami in 933 and gradually expanded its power in Iraq till even Baghdad came within its grasp. The Caliph was left to slumber in his palace, 'a venerable phantom,' while the Buwaihidi rulers assumed the power and the title of 'Commander-in-chief' and directed the secular affairs of the capital. The other dynasties are too many and too unimportant to be mentioned here. They were constantly at war with each other.

As if this division of political power was not enough to paralyse the energies of the 'Faithful', acute differences on questions of dogma also appeared with an intensity of bitterness which Mussalmans now living can hardly realise. The division of Mussalmans into Sunnis and Shias had come very early. The Shias claimed that the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law, Ali, should have been his immediate successor, while the Sunnis upheld the legality of the actual order of succession—Abu Bakr, Omar, Usman and Ali. But this political difference slowly developed into difference of a more fundamental nature; and

Shiaism became the Persian interpretation, as against Sunnism or the Arab interpretation, of the Prophet's teachings⁽¹⁾. As yet, however, the difference between the Sunnis and the main body of Shias was not so acute as it afterwards became; one sect shaded off into another by insensible gradations; it was difficult to say where Sunnism ended and Shiaism began, and many persons then living would have found it hard to decide to which sect they really belonged. But the most bitter animosity prevailed between the 'orthodox' Sunnis and the extreme wing of the Shiaites, who believed in only 'seven' out of

(1) The point requires some elucidation. The great religions of the world may be divided into two classes—the Semitic (Judaism, Christianity and Islam) and the Aryan (Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism). Broadly speaking, Semitic religions give more importance to the ethical, and the Aryan religions to the metaphysical, aspect of faith. Now after the Arab conquest of Persia, the Persians naturally interpreted the new faith in the light of their already existing metaphysical conceptions which they largely shared with the Hindus. One of the most important of these was the idea of Incarnation, the appearance of the Supreme Being in a human form. Every religion has felt the necessity of finding some means of intercourse between the real and the sensible world. In Islam the angel Gabriel brings the message of the one world to the other. Aryan religions explain it by a series of incarnations by which the creator comes to teach the law to the created. In the extreme forms of Shiaism, a highly Aryanised interpretation of Islam, the Prophets and the Imams become Divine Incarnations, a belief which the orthodox considered to be identical with idolatry. And yet *a priori* Shiaism and Sunnism must be considered equally valid interpretations of a common faith; nor is it possible to give any valid reason why the Arab outlook on life should be in greater consonance with Reality than the Persian. Another Indo-Aryan doctrine was 'monism', the belief which regarded all existence as the emanation of a one Being and all change as the evidence of a Cosmic Purpose. To the Semitic Conception of law as an external command, the Aryans had opposed the belief that law was an inner aspiration of the soul itself. What is known as *Tasuwaf* (Muslim mysticism) is Islam interpreted in the light of Indo-Persian Monism, in which God ceases to be a being external to the individual and law is no longer a command imposed from without. Muslim mystics have always claimed that their doctrines are based on the Quran and rightly so, however impalatable such a confession may appear to those who imagine that a religion can long exist without developing a system of metaphysics. But the contention of the Muslim mystics is quite compatible with the fact that the development of mysticism in Islam was the work of Persian thinkers, who were steeped in the doctrine of Monism; and that in its mature form the teachings of *Tasuwaf* are broadly the same as the philosophy of the Neo-Platonists and the Upanishads. Thus Islam interpreted in the light of the Incarnation-idea has given us Shiaism, which in its orthodox form claims that Ali should have been the first Caliph and in its heretical phase asserts him and the Imams to be Divine Incarnations, while interpreted in the light of Aryan monism, it has led to *Tasuwaf*, the finest achievement of Indo-Persian genius in the realm of thought.

(ii) Religious divisions—Sunnis, Shias and 'heretics'.

the 'twelve' Imams of Shiaism, and were generally known as the 'heretics' (*mulahidah*). This extreme wing, though divided into many groups, of whom the Ismailis of Arabia and the Carmathians of Multan were most notorious, was unified by a common hatred of the Sunnis owing to the punishment which the latter inflicted on 'heretics' in general, without trying to distinguish between one kind of heresy and another. Their great dogmatic fault, from the orthodox view-point, was their belief in the Prophet's Family as a Divine Incarnation. But every species of vice was attributed to them; and it was their supposed moral character rather than their actual religious beliefs that excited the frantic intolerance of the orthodox. They were accused of permitting incest and of legalising marriages within prohibited degrees; they were blamed, and with more truth, for resorting to assassination as a political weapon and of trying to establish a heretical hierarchy in place of the secular state. A 'heretic' was slain wherever he was found; but simple death, as a rule, was considered too mild a punishment, and the 'heretic' who escaped being torn to pieces by infuriated mobs, was put to death by the Government with the most revolting tortures that the mind of man could invent. To this insensate persecution the 'heretics' replied with the weapons which are always in the hands of a determined minority. They formed secret societies which could not be unearched by the clumsy spy-system of the state and their propagandists (*daiy*) in various disguises penetrated into every corner of the Muslim world. Growing yet bolder they established the 'anti-Caliphate' of Egypt, captured the Holy Places and removed the Black Stone from the sacred temple of Mecca. Finally, they seized a number of forts in Persia, the chief of which was Alamut, developed murder into a fine art, and Sunni kings, statesmen and theologians were kept in a perpetual fear of death by the unseen dagger of the assassinating 'heretic'. It was a mad dance; but none the less it continued till the middle of the thirteenth century when 'orthodox' and 'heretic' alike were compelled to lick the dust under the Mongol conqueror's iron heel.(2)

(2) A detailed study of the Carmathians and Ismailis does not come within our scope. Their ideals and their organisation are equally interesting. Like all revolutionary minorities they seem to have included men of all shades of opinion from tolerant philosophers like Hakim Nasir Khusran to mere cut-throats and

"And this is my last advice unto you," the Prophet said in his last speech at Mecca, "Ye are of one brotherhood." And there is no social principle of their faith to which the Mussalmans have been more true; religious unity has always over-ridden all tribal and racial distinctions. Nevertheless there have been avowed, though futile, attempts at racial supremacy; in Muslim lands, as elsewhere, racial pride has been an uncomfortable aspect of human nature. The Omayyad Caliphs made a bold attempt to convert the Empire into a heritage of the Arab aristocracy; the Persian Revolution, which overthrew the Omayyads and placed the Abbasids on the throne of the Caliphate, naturally brought the Arab regime to an end and transferred to the Persians the superiority formerly enjoyed by the Arabs. But a rival race soon appeared to contest the prize with the victorious Persians. From the marshes of Anatolia in the west to the shores of the Pacific Ocean in the east, there extended the various tribes of the Mongolian race—Turks, Tartars, Turkomans, Tibetans, Chinese and Mongols—distinguished by some very marked common features. They had allied scripts—all writing from top to bottom. They were short of stature, with high cheek-bones and small eyes, but remarkably well-built and inured to the hardships of war. With the expansion of the Muslim frontier to the north and west of Persia, one Turkish tribe after another was brought within the Islamic pale, and the Turks surprised their conquerors by the remarkable courage of their men and the no less remarkable beauty of

assassins Nizamul Mulk in his '*Siyasat Namah*' considers them a Pre-Muslim Persian sect, founded by Mazdak a generation before the Prophet, and continued into Islam. A mysterious charm surrounds the fortress of Alamut (eagle's nest) and its 'mock paradise', from whence the 'Old Man of the Mountains' was wont to send out his young men to assassinate his opponents. The word 'assassin' comes from *hashish* (hemp) with which the victim of the fraud was drugged before being taken to the 'paradise'; its *houris*, it is said, had such an influence on his imagination that his soul found no rest in the world outside, and the promise that he would reach 'paradise' once by the performance of a heroic deed was enough to induce him to wield the assassin's knife and face the inevitable punishment at the hands of the orthodox. The fort was destroyed by Halaku, grand-son of Chengiz. For literature on the subject, besides the '*Siyasat Namah*' see the chapters on the 'heretics' in '*Rauzatus Safa*' and '*Tarikh-i-Guzidah*'. The third volume of Alaeddin Ata Malik Juwaini's '*Tarikh-i-Jahan Gusha*', was written on the basis of the Alamut library. It has not yet been published.

their women. Turkish body-guards were appointed to watch over the safety of kings, Turkish slave-girls intrigued in royal harems ; and slowly, but surely, Turkish adventurers shouldered out the Persians from all places of military command. By the middle of the tenth century the revolution was complete, and the Turks had taken up among the Mussalmans a position broadly similar to that of the Kshatriyas among the Hindus. That only a Turk should rule a Muslim land or lead its armies on the field of battle was considered by the ordinary citizen an immutable precept of political morality. Of the dynasties that have ruled Muslim Asia from the tenth to the eighteenth century an over-whelming majority has belonged to the Turkish stock (3). Administrative posts were still left to the Persians and they had an exclusive monopoly of art and literature, for which Turks never showed any aptitude. A Persian was not regarded as a *sudra* or treated as a member of the subject race ; his function in the state was different, but his social status was as honourable as that of a Turk. Nevertheless Turkish military predominance had its darker side ; the Government of even the most tolerant Turkish rulers seemed to keep the mailed fist in reserve ; and Persian genius, compelled to occupy a secondary place in politics, found an outlet for its energies in organising religious agitation against the orthodox Turks.

II: CAREER OF SULTAN MAHMUD.

In 962 A.D. Abdul Malik, the Samanid king of Bokhara, died and his Alptigin, brother and uncle both claimed the throne. Alptigin, the governor of Khorasan was consulted by the nobles of the capital and advised in favour of the uncle ; but before his messenger reached Bokhara, the common consult of the nobles had raised Mansur, the brother of the deceased monarch, to the throne. Realising that he had backed the wrong horse, Alptigin acted with loyalty and discretion.

Leaving Khorasan to its legitimate ruler, the Samanid king, he marched to Ghaznin with his personal retainers, drove out its ruler, Abu Bakr Lawik, and frustrated Mansur's attempts to dislodge him from his new principality. Alptigin died after a prosperous reign of eight years (969) during which his general Subuktigin kept tinkering at the Indian frontier. He was succeeded by his son, Abu Ishaque, who died before he had reigned for a year. After him three of Alptigin's Turkish generals were raised one after another to the throne. (4) The first Bilkatigin (969—977) was a pious and brave man, but his successor Pirey (977) turned out to be 'a great villain' and was deposed in favour of the famous Subuktigin.

Amir Nasiruddin Subuktigin had been for several years the most prominent man in the kingdom when the people, 'quite sated with the villainies of Pirey,' placed him on the throne in 977. He eradicated the foundations of tyranny and 'spread the carpet of justice and mercy on the land'. What was no less important he kept the officers in hand and started his city-state on that career of aggressive conquests which brought it to the notice of the eastern world. Soon after his accession he annexed the territories of Bust and Qasdar, and marching towards the Indian frontier, 'captured a few forts

(3) One of the greatest of historical errors is the prevalent opinion that the kings of medieval India were Pathans. It was originated by General Briggs, the most stupid of translators and the most pedantic of historians. Barring the non-descript Khiljis, all dynasties of Delhi came from the Turkish stock, except the Syeds, Lodhis and Suries. The Sultans of Ghaznin and Ghor, the slave Kings, the Tughlaks and the Great Moghuls all belonged to the Turko-Mongolian race. An Afghan king in Afghanistan even would have been an anomaly before the days of Ahmad Shah Abdali.

(4) Some historians have ignored, while others denied the existence of Bilkatigin and Pirey. Their reigns are, however, proved by their coins and the most reliable chronicles refer to them. A great confusion prevails as to dates. Colonel Raverty, after an unnecessarily arrogant criticism of Minhajas Siraj, gives the following dates of the Hijri Era: Alptigin (322-352), Abu Ishaque (352-353). Bilkatigin (353-362), Pirey (362-367). All authorities are agreed in declaring 367 as the year of Sabuktigin's accession, but a little reflection would have shown the esteemable Colonel that his other dates were preposterous. Abdul Malik died in 350, and Alptigin, who was governor of Khorasan in the reign of that monarch and conquered Ghazni after Abdul Malik's death, could not have reigned in Ghaznin from 322 to 353. The date of the conquest of Ghaznin is 351 according to the joint testimony of Minhajas Siraj, Hamdullah Mustawfi and Ferishta. The question remains—how divide the years 351 to 367 between the four reigns? Hamdullah Mustawfi and Ferishta give sixteen years to Alptigin and one to Abu Ishaque. But they ignore Bilkatigin and Pirey who have to be accommodated. In spite of the criticism of his translator, Minhajas Siraj gives the most rational account—Alptigin, 8 years; Ishaque, 1 year; Bilkatigin, 10 years; and Pirey, 1 year. From this I get the years of the Christian era given above. The corresponding dates for the Samanid Kings, on the testimony of Minhajas Siraj and Hamdullah Mustawfi, are: Abdul Malik bin Nuh (313-350), Mansur bin Nuh (350-365), Nuh bin Mansur (365-387).

and built some mosques' (978). It was a small affair but had important consequences.

Afghanistan till the eighth century had been politically and culturally a part of India, and its Turkish population had adopted the Buddhist creed.⁽⁵⁾ But the frontiers of Islam had been gradually pushed across the country and now the two forces stood opposite to each other in the province of Lamaghan on the southern side of the Kabul river. Rai Jaipal of Lahore, over-lord of the Punjab, was driven to desperation by this slow diminution of his ancestral kingdom; Subuktigin's repeated invasions had made his life uncomfortable; and resolved to drive matters to a final issue, he marched to the valley of Lamaghan with 'soldiers black as night and impetuous as a torrent'. Subuktigin and his son Mahmud, advanced from Ghaznin. The battle raged for several days, but the victor could not be distinguished from the vanquished. Then an untimely snow-storm shattered Jaipal's calculation.⁽⁶⁾ "All at once the sky was covered with clouds; thunder and

lightning appeared; the light of day was changed into the darkness of night; and the cold became so severe that most of the horses and beasts of burden died, and the blood of the Hindus froze within their veins." There was no alternative to a humiliating surrender, and Jaipal promised a million dirhams and fifty elephants to the enemy who had retained his activity in the intense cold.

But in the safety of Lahore Rai Jaipal forgot the promise he had made, and Subuktigin's envoys, instead of receiving the promised tribute, found themselves in prison. "I

will not release these men", Jaipal declared, "unless Subuktigin sets free the hostages he has taken from me". The consequence was another war. Subuktigin retaliated by plundering Lamaghan and Jaipal appealed to his brother Rais, who responded to the call. The rulers of Delhi, Ajmere, Kannauj and Kalanjar sent him men and money, and thus strengthened he once more marched to the Lamaghan valley with a hundred thousand horse and foot beyond all computation. The battle which followed demonstrated the futility of an unmanageable crowd. Subuktigin wore out the patience of the Indians by attacking them with picked bodies of five hundred horse; and after a desperate onslaught in which 'swords could not be distinguished from spears, men from elephants and valiants from cowards', drove them pell-mell back to the Indus. Lamaghan and Peshawar fell into the hands of the victor. Subuktigin established his tax-collectors over the conquered territory and garrisoned Peshawar with two thousand men.

Some twelve or thirteen years after these events, a rift in the Samanid kingdom opened the door to a more im-

portant acquisition. Abu Ali Simjuri, the governor of Khorasan, and Faiq, an unscrupulous politician experienced in such business, rebelled against the Samanid king, Amir Nuh, a respectable nonentity; and Nuh appealed to Subuktigin for help. The latter came to the assistance of his over-lord with an alacrity that should have made Amir Nuh pause. Subuktigin and Mahmud crushed the rebels in a fierce battle before Herat, and as a reward for the loyal service Mahmud was appointed governor of Khorasan (994) and established

(5) Some time before the Christian era the *Turki Shahi* (Kushan) dynasty of Scythian Turks founded by Barhatigin began a career of conquest till under its greatest monarch, Kanishka, a large part of Northern India, Afghanistan, Turkestan and Mawaraun Nahr was included in the Kushan Empire. The Turks were quickly assimilated by Indian Civilisation, but the result was not altogether fortunate. For Buddhism instead of raising the barbarians to its level found it easier to pander to their idolatrous beliefs; and that preposterous mixture of rationalism and priest-craft, known as Mahayana Buddhism, in which the philosophy of the great Teacher is reconciled with the gods of every locality, became the creed of the peoples included in the Kushan Empire. Kanishka's Capital, Peshawar, became a centre for disseminating the new faith, and centuries later the Mussalmans found the wild tribes of Afghanistan worshipping the Buddha in the form of the lion (Sakya Simha). From the downfall of the Kushan Empire till the Saracenic invasion of Afghanistan in the Eighth Century all is dark. Alberuni states that the *Turki Shahi* dynasty of Barhatigin included no less than sixty kings, the last of whom, Lagaturman, was deposed by his Brahman *vazir*, Kallur, the first ruler of the *Hindu Shahi* dynasty, which Subuktigin found ruling over the Punjab. The pedigree of the kings written on silk was preserved in the fortress of Nagarkot but Alberuni says he was unable to see it. The order of the *Hindu Shahi* dynasty is given by him as follows: Kallur, Sumand, Kamalu, Bhim, Jaipal, Anandpal, Tarajanpal (Trilocanapal) and Bhimpal. (*Alberuni*, Vol. II, p. 13.)

(6) The snow-storm is said to have been caused by some dirt thrown into a mysterious pool of clear water by Mahmud's order. Similar beliefs were widely prevalent among the Mongols and Turks. It is obvious that the Indian army would suffer more than the enemy, who was accustomed to the climate.

himself at Naishapur. The finest province of Persia thus became for all practical purposes a part of the kingdom of Ghaznin. The glory of the victory remained with Amir Nuh; its fruits with his allies. It was not Mahmud's principle to give back what had once come in his iron grasp.

Amir Subuktigin died in Balkh (997) after a reign of twenty years, and in accordance with his will his son, Ismail, was placed on the throne. But Mahmud was not prepared to be ousted by his younger brother and Ismail was unwilling to agree to a reasonable compromise. The consequence was civil war. Mahmud marched against Ghaznin from Naishapur while Ismail hurried to protect it from Balkh. The two brothers met near the capital. Mahmud's charge broke Ismail's centre and the 'iron-hearted sword wept tears of blood over the fate of warlike men'. Ismail was imprisoned in a fort of Jurjan and provided with all the requisites of a comfortable existence.

The new Amir, who ascended the throne at the age of thirty, was destined to surprise and stagger his contemporaries with the brilliancy of his achievements and to establish a short-lived empire extending from the Punjab to the Caspian and from Samarkand to Ray. Ever since the decline of the Abbasid Caliphate men of small imaginations and small means had been striving for a supremacy totally beyond their reach. In Mahmud the long expected hero seemed to have arrived. The princes of Persia and Turkestan trembled at his name and Subuktigin's mystic dream of a tree rising out of his fire-place and over-shadowing the world was realised. But contemporaries were too dazzled with the genius of the man, who never lost a battle during forty years of ceaseless war, to discover the impermanence of his work. To posterity on the other hand Mahmud became a legend and a name. Latter-day fanatics have loved to portray him as a hero after their own hearts—the 'Holy Warrior' in the 'Path of the Lord' in whose footsteps all pious Muslim kings should aspire to tread; and moralists of a different type have held him up as an example not of righteousness but of personal greed, of the avarice that clings to worldly possessions, 'so laboriously won, so precariously held, so inevitably lost'. Yet the

astute, wine-loving Sultan of Ghaznin was neither the one nor the other. Far from being a missionary, he was not even a fanatic, though like a clever man with a clear eye to his own profit, he fought with Hindus and Mussalmans alike for the extension of his empire. But if his faith never rose to the heights of a sublime passion, neither did his stinginess amount to a disease. He did not gloat over his hoards like a miser but kept them intact for the financial stability of his Government.

The gift of a commanding personality had been denied to Mahmud. He was a man of medium height with well-proportioned limbs, but the small-pox marks on his face deprived him of all external beauty and grace. It is said on seeing his face in the mirror once he felt very dejected. "Looking at the face of kings is believed to strengthen the eye-sight of men", he remarked to his *wazir*, "but a face such as mine will probably injure the onlooker's eye." "Not one in a thousand sees your face," the quick-witted *Wazir* replied, "but your moral qualities affect them all. Strive in the path of virtue and you will be loved by all." Mahmud was no *pahilwan*, feats of personal prowess were beyond his strength, though his frame bore all the hardships entailed by his continuous campaigns. But he did not subject himself to more discomfort on his campaigns than was absolutely necessary, and his travelling camp surprised his subjects by its splendour. He was too good a general to endanger his personal safety by a needless heroism; nevertheless when the occasion required he mounted an elephant and plunged bravely into the thickest of the enemy lines. His unquestioned supremacy over his fellow-men was due to the qualities of the mind—the acuteness with which he unravelled a complicated situation and read the character of those around him, the restless activity of a man determined to be great, combined with the instinctive behaviour of one born to command. A king had to be reserved, but Mahmud never cast off his veil even before his most intimate companions. He had no favourites in state-affairs. The play-things of his idle hours were not allowed to meddle in matters too high for their understanding. The devotion with which he was served by his officers did not evoke an equal confidence on his side. Even towards his all but indispensable *wazir*, the great Kwaja Ahmad Bin Hasan Maimandi, his attitude was one of distant respect. The smaller fry were

mere pawns on the chess-board whom the master-mind moved hither and thither at will.

The Sultan's personal faith, as distinct from the policy of his Government, is a matter of interesting speculation. Contemporary gossip credited him with a disbelief in the Day of Judgment and in the Tradition (*Hadis*) dear to the Muslim priests of all ages, 'that the scholars (*ulamas*) are the successors of the Prophets.' (7) The appearance of the Prophet in a dream was said to have put his mind at rest; and Mahmud, like most Muslim kings, never failed to pay a visit to saints of renown, though with the exception of Shaikh Abul Hasan Kharqani none seems to have influenced him deeply. But his outlook on life was essentially secular, and he was too conscious of his position as the head of the state to allow priesthood to become supreme. His persecution of the 'heretics,' apart from the pressing demand of the 'orthodox,' may have been due to his conviction that their immoral doctrines would shake the foundations on which Muslim Society was based, and greed for money and power, not an enlightened desire for the spread of Islam, was the motive of his Indian campaigns. A deep and inspiring faith in the one and the unseen God Mahmud certainly had and it brought him the consolation he needed. Apart from that, it would be safe to assume that he shared the rationalistic tendencies of his friend, Ahmad Husain bin Mikal (Hasnak), who refused to believe in any mystifying nonsense, and the firmness with which he protected Hasnak from the Caliph's wrath confirms this view. The private life of the Sultan certainly shows him to be anything but the paragon of virtue idolised by Muslim fanatics. He was morally neither better nor worse than most of the princes who preceded and followed him. He shared their fondness for war and wine and women as well as their appreciation of poetry and music. He was not above quarrelling with his officers for the possession of Turkish slaves, and scandal, which may or may not be true, credited him with illegitimate children. (8) But the prime concern

of the historian is not the private life of Mahmud but the character and value of his work.

Amir Nuh of Bokhara died in the same year as Subuktigin. His son, Mansur, appointed one Begtuzun governor of Khorasan and while Mahmud was fighting with Ismail, Begtuzun established himself at Naishapur. Mahmud's protests were disregarded and when he marched on Naishapur Mansur hastened to defend it. Mahmud was more than a match for the Samanid king but he refrained from pushing matters to extremes, on account of the blame that would attach to him for defying his overlord. But as fate would have it, Begtuzun, joined by the ever-mischievous Faiq, captured and blinded Mansur and placed his brother, Abdul Malik, a boy of tender years, on the Samanid throne. Mahmud's hands were now free. He cleared Khorasan of the enemy and Abdul Malik fled to Bokhara. But I-lak Khan of Kashghar, who had been watching the course of events from beyond the Jaxartes, marched on Bokhara and put the Samanid kingdom to an end (999). I-lak Khan and Mahmud congratulated each other and divided the Samanid Kingdom between themselves with the Oxus as the boundary line. The political alliance was cemented by a family alliance and the intercourse of the two kingdoms resulted in the conversion of a large number of Tartars to Islam.

Towards the end of year 999 Mahmud, the first Muslim ruler to assume the title of Sultan, received a robe of honour from the Caliph with the title of 'Aminul Millat' and 'Yaminud-doulah.' He now stood in the place of the Samanids, his former over-lords, in direct subordination to the Caliph, and recognised the duties of his new position by taking a vow to wage a 'Holy War' against the Hindus every year. Though he invaded India only seventeen times in the thirty years of life yet left to him, it must be acknowledged that the vow was fulfilled in the spirit in which it was made.

(1) In 1000 A.D. Mahmud crossed the Indian frontier but retreated after capturing a few forts.

(7) His mind was also clouded by a dark suspicion that Subuktigin was not his real father. While returning to his palace one night the Sultan ordered his golden lamp to be given to a poor student, whom he saw reading in the light of a shop. 'Son of Subuktigin,' the Prophet appeared to him in a dream that night, "May God honour thee in both the worlds as thou hast honoured my successor"! The Sultan's three doubts were thus removed.

(8) Ahmad Nialtigin, Commander-in-Chief of

Lahore in Masud's reign was considered to be an illegitimate son of Mahmud. "People used to tell stories about his birth, his mother and Amir Mahmud. There was certainly a friendly relation between the king and his mother,—but God knows the truth." (*Baihak*). *E & D*, Vol. ii, p. 122.

(2) Next year (1001—1002) he moved again and pitched his tents before Peshawar with ten thousand horse while Rai Jaipal marched against him with twelve thousand horse, thirty thousand foot and three hundred elephants. On 28th November, 1001, (9) the armies fell on each other and 'did justice to their traditions of warlike courage.' But Rai Jaipal was captured with fifteen royal princes and five thousand Hindus died on the battle field. Mahmud marched on and captured Waihind, (10) where some Hindus had collected together for a second battle. Jaipal and other prisoners were released on payment of tribute, but the defeated Rai, in conformity with the custom of his people, transferred his kingdom to Anandpal and ended his life on a pyre.

(3) During the next two years Mahmud was busy with the western affairs of his kingdom and the conquest of Sistan. In the autumn of 1006 A.D. he crossed the Indus for the first time and appeared before Bhera on the bank of the Jhelum. Biji Rai of Bhera, who possessed 'elephants headstrong as Satan' and had never cared to pay homage to Subuktigin or Jaipal, came out of the fort and offered battle. The struggle continued desperately for three days and the condition of the Muslim army became critical. But on the fourth day after the battle had raged indecisively from morning to noon, a desperate charge led by Mahmud in person broke the Hindu centre and Biji Rai fled to the fort with his broken columns. Mahmud sat down to besiege it. The Rai, 'a prey to perplexity and fear,' fled from the fort at night, but was surrounded by a number of Mahmud's soldiers and escaped an inglorious captivity by plunging the dagger into his breast. The city of Bhera (11)

and its dependent territory was annexed to the Ghaznevide empire and Mahmud returned with two hundred and eighty elephants and other spoils.

(4) The province of Sindh, conquered by Mohammad bin Qasim in the beginning of the eighth century, had been converted to the Carmathian heresy about a century before Mahmud. According to the ideas of the age 'heretics' were as worthy an object of Holy War as 'unbelievers'. Shaikh Hamid Lodi, ruler of the Upper Sindh, had kept Subuktigin pleased with occasional presents but his grand-son, Abul Fath Daud, left the cautious policy of his predecessor. Fearing that the fall of Bhera would leave Multan open to Mahmud's attack, he made an ineffectual attempt to come to Biji Rai's assistance—'an act totally beyond the bounds of propriety and reason'. Mahmud connived at it for the time but next year (1005-1006) he marched on a holy campaign against the Carmathian Daud. Daud in desperation appealed to Anandpal, son of Jaipal, and Anandpal made a bold attempt to block Mahmud's progress. But Mahmud, not unwilling to obtain 'two paradises', turned aside to fight out the Hindu before he struck at the 'heretic'. Anandpal's officers were driven back, the Rai himself was pursued over 'hill and dale' up to the Chenab, and the path to Multan was cleared. Daud, who was in no condition to fight an open battle, shut himself up in the fort, and after a siege of seven days promised to recant from his heresy to the religious law (*Shariat*) of the orthodox and to pay an annual tribute of 20,000 *dirhams*. But the treaty was hardly concluded when Mahmud heard of the danger threatening his capital and marched back in desperate haste to protect the home-lands of his empire from the Chinese Turks.

I-lak Khan and Mahmud had made an alliance in 999 A.D. on the basis of an equitable division of the Samanid Kingdom.

I-lak Khan's invasion of Khorasan—Battle of Balkh.

(9) Winter is the campaigning season in India. Mahmud generally left Ghaznin in autumn (i.e. the end of the rainy season), and after spending the winter in India, returned to Ghaznin by the beginning of the summer. His campaigns, consequently, have to be indicated by two years of the Christian era.

(10) "It is a place of considerable importance on the western bank of the Indus, about fifteen miles above Attock, on the old high-road from Lahore to Peshawar, and only three marches from the latter." E and D, Vol. ii. p. 438.

But this did not prevent the Khan from casting longing looks on the fertile lands on the other side of the Oxus. In 1004—1005 when Mahmud was away at Multan, I-lak Khan found his opportunity. He over-ran Khorasan and Balkh, and Arsalan Hajib, Mahmud's governor of Herat, was forced to withdraw to Ghaznin. But the simple-minded

(11) "Bhera lies on the west bank of the Jhelum, under the Salt Range. It bears evident marks of great antiquity, and has on the opposite side of the river the extensive ruins of Burarie, above Almabad, which strike every beholder with astonishment." (E & D, Vol. ii, p. 440).

Chinese had calculated without the host. Mahmud reappeared at Ghaznin long before he was expected; his boundless energy revived the failing courage of his officers; the army was reorganised with remarkable speed; and Mahmud faced the invader with a powerful force near Balkh. The careful way in which Mahmud attended to the disposition of his columns shows the terror his opponent inspired. At first the Turkish attack seemed to carry all before it, but in the end the Ghaznavides, led by the Sultan in person, succeeded in driving the enemy away. Mahmud pursued the flying enemy for two stages, but the severity of the winter made a campaign in the desolate region of Trans-Oxonia impossible, while an unexpected revolt drew his attention to India once more.

(5) Bhera was the only territory Mahmud possessed on the eastern side of the Indus.

(5) Sukhpal (1005). While returning from Multan he had assigned the governorship of Bhera to Sukhpal (Newasa Shah), a son of Anandpal who had been converted to Islam. Seeing Mahmud absorbed in a deadly struggle with the Turks, Sukhpal returned to the faith of his ancestors and drove away Mahmud's officers. The Sultan started for Bhera after the battle of Balkh but before he could reach the scene of action, the frontier Amirs captured Sukhpal and brought him captive to the royal camp. He was forced to give up the 400,000 *dirhams* he had accumulated and was imprisoned for life.

(6) The strategical importance of Bhera explains the rebellion of Sukhpal as well as

Mahmud's anxiety to recapture it before it could be garrisoned by a strong Indian force. From his footing on the Jhelum he could strike either at Multan in the south or at

(6) Anandpal and the Hindu Confederacy—Second battle of Wailind: Nagarkot (1008—1009).

Anandpal in the east. Multan was lying prostrate at his feet but not much was to be got out of the poor and harrassed kingdom. The gates of Hindustan were in Anandpal's possession. Mahmud's relation with that prince were already strained. Anandpal cherished the 'bitterest hatred' towards the Mussalmans ever since the capture of his son, Sukhpal, at Peshawar (1001-1002). His attempt to prevent Mahmud's march on Multan had furnished the latter with a technical cause for declaring war, but when Mahmud was fighting with his back to the wall

against the Kashghar army, Anandpal sent him a heroic offer of assistance in a spirit which won the approbation of the philosopher, Alberuni. "I have learned" ran Anandpal's letter, "that the Turks have rebelled against you and are spreading in Khorasan. If you wish, I shall come to you with 5,000 horsemen, 10,000 foot soldiers, and 100 elephants, or, if you wish, I shall send you my son with double the number. In acting thus, I do not speculate on the impression this will make on you. I have been conquered by you and therefore I do not wish that another man should conquer you." The impression created by the letter may, none the less, have had a share in maintaining peace for the next three years. But so long as Anandpal remained strong and independent, a permanent peace between him and Mahmud was impossible. This Sultan had as yet only touched the fringe of a continental country, and the spoils he had obtained were insignificant. Beyond the Sutlej lay the temples to which generations of pious Hindus had dedicated their wealth. It was necessary for Mahmud to strike down Anandpal, if he was ever to possess himself of the treasures of the Punjab and the prosperous Trans-Gangetic plain. Conversely the Rais of Hindustan could not fail to recognise the importance of Anandpal as a buffer between them and the aggressive kingdom of Ghaznin. So long as the struggle had been waged beyond the Indus, they could afford to look on unconcerned and leave the Rai of Lahore to protect his Turkish subjects. The arrogance of Biji Rai made them indifferent to his fate, nor did anyone, save Anandpal, feel it his duty to come to the help of the Multan 'heretics.' But now the deluge that 'took no account of heights and depths' had reached their sacred frontiers and was threatening to put an end to their fratricidal warfare, their local independence and their somnolent ease.

The importance of the struggle was well understood on both sides when Mahmud marched against Anandpal as the end of the rainy season, 1008 A.D. Anandpal appealed to the other Rais and their response certainly showed that the national spirit of the country though disorganised was not dead. The rulers of Ujjain, Gwalior, Kalanjar, Kannauj, Delhi and Ajmere, marched to the Punjab with their troops. Help came from every side. Even 'the infidel Gakkhars' crowded under Anandpal's banner. A patriotic breeze swept over the towns and hamlets of Hindustan calling its men to arms.

'Hindu women sold their jewels and sent the money from distant parts to be used against the Mussalmans.' Their poorer sisters, who had no jewels to sell, worked feverishly at the 'spinning-wheel or as hired labourers to be able to send something to the men of the army.' All that excites a nation to heroic deeds was there—the preservation of an ancient and ever-living civilisation, the sacred temple and the no less sacred hearth. Yet the patriotic spirit of the people was paralysed by suspicions created by years of civil war; the Rais were doubtful of each other's intentions and their followers shared their doubts. Anandpal was important enough to take precedence but not strong enough to order; and the Indian army was directed by no single commander on the field of battle. But discipline reigned supreme in the camp of the warrior-statesman of Ghaznin. His troops, more racially heterogeneous than the citizen-mob opposed to them, had been welded into one by years of continuous campaigning; and unlike their Rajput opponents, they knew their master and were not liable to panic. Even as such the scale hung evenly.

Anandpal marched bravely to Waihind with the largest Indian army Mahmud was ever destined to face. The Sultan whose extraordinary intuition never played him false, saw that the Indians would 'fight with devotion' and was more cautious than usual. He dug a trench on both sides of his camp, and reluctant to begin the engagement, sat facing the enemy for forty days. But hourly the strength of the Indian army increased with new reinforcements, and Mahmud, afraid lest further delay should enable Anandpal to overpower the Ghaznavide veterans through sheer force of numbers, sent forward a thousand archers to commence the engagement. But almost immediately his calculations were thrown into disorder by thirty thousand Gakkhars, 'who with bare heads and feet, crossed the trenches in the first attack, broke into the camp from both sides, and falling on the Muslim cavalry with desperate courage, cut down man and horse, so that in the twinkling of an eye three or four thousand Mussalmans had tasted the wine of martyrdom.' Mahmud was desperately trying to clear his camp of the Gakkhars when a whim of the god of battles decided the struggle in his favour. Anandpal's elephant, frightened by the explosions of naphtha, fled away from the field of battle and the Indian soldiers concluded this to be a base desertion of

their cause by the 'premier king of Hindustan.' A general rout ensued, and the Ghaznavides pursued the flying enemy for two days and nights. The Indian losses were not more than eight thousand, but the phenomenon of a multitudinous army breaking up from sheer lack of internal cohesion and flying away before an enemy not strong enough to meet it in the open field was thoroughly demoralising. The only national opposition ever offered to Mahmud ended in a storm of mutual recriminations. Henceforth he had no Indian confederacy to fear, and the Rais were one after another overpowered and deprived of all their valuables in a struggle which the superior generalship of the Ghaznavide never left in doubt.

Mahmud took advantage of the disorganisation of his opponents to make a dash for the temple of Nagarkot⁽¹²⁾ (Kangra), known as the Fort of Bhim, situated on the top of a hill on the upper Bias. He had already penetrated as far as the Chenab and the new expedition only took him twelve marches further. The Rajputs of the place had gone to fight at Waihind and the quickness of Mahmud's movements left them behind. The Brahmans, who alone were left, opened their gates after a siege of seven days and allowed Mahmud to visit the fort with a few companions. The temple contained more wealth than existed in the treasury of any king and the fine exacted by the Sultan from the helpless Brahmans was immense—'700,000 gold *dinars*, 700 maunds of gold and silver vessels, 200 maunds of pure gold, 2000 maunds of unpurified silver and 20 maunds of various jewels which had been collected together from the time of Bhim.' It was the Sultan's first great find and naturally whetted his appetite for more.

(7) Anandpal had lost his reputation but not his power at the second battle of Waihind and the Sultan's next move (1009-1010) was a demonstration rather than a campaign. He is said to have marched in the direction of Gujrat, but his real

(7) Demonstration against the confederacy (1009-1010).

(12) "That Nagarkot is the same as Kot Kangra can admit of no doubt, for the name Nagarkot is still used. The impassable waters which surround it are the Ban-ganga and the Biyah (Bias). The town of Bhim, which is a mile from the fort, is now on a spot called Bhawan, which means a temple raised to a Sakti, or female deity, and Bhim is probably a mistake arising from its pre-umed foundation by the heroic Bhim." (*E & D*, Vol. ii, p. 445). Most medieval temples were fortified and so were most towns and villages.

object was to terrorise Anandpal into receding from the brittle alliance in which his position was already uncomfortable. The Sultan 'urged his horses over ground, hard and soft, put to the sword the vagabonds of the country and with delay and circumspection proceeded to accomplish his design.' The friends of God 'did not fail of their object after having committed slaughter in every hill and valley; for Anandpal's messengers waited on the Sultan at Ghazni with offers of peace and *'their best wishes for his future prosperity.'* The Rai's mind was made up. He 'had witnessed the calamities which had inflicted ruin on his country and subjects in consequence of his contests with the Sultan' and decided to desert the confederacy which had left him to his fate. Peace was rapidly concluded. Anandpal promised an annual tribute of thirty elephants and offered two thousand men for service at the Sultan's court. The way to the heart of India was now open. Mahmud could march over the friendly territory of Anandpal and strike at the Rais beyond.(13)

Mahmud utilised the summer of 1010 A.D. for bringing the presumptuous inhabitants of Ghor to a sense of their insignificance. The Conquest of Ghor (1010).

Ghorians, ten thousand in number, dug a trench round their camp and fought bravely from morning till noon. But the stouthearted hill-men were no match for the greatest military genius of the age. Mahmud lured the simple folks out of their safe position by a feigned retreat and annihilated them in the plain below. Mohammad bin Suri, the ruler of Ghor, was so heart-broken that he sucked a poisoned jewel when brought a captive to Mahmud's court and died immediately after. The princes of Ghor remained subordinate to Ghaznin till the time of Alauddin Jahansoz.

(8) Next winter (1010-1011) Mahmud marched against the Kingdom of Multan which had been long waiting for the day of its extinction. (8) Second invasion of Multan (1010-1011). The city was captured 'through terror and force' and Mahmud pleased

the 'orthodox' by slaying a large number of Carmathian 'heretics' and cutting off the hands and feet of many others. Daud ended his life as a prisoner in a Ghorian fort.

(9) In 1011-1012 Mahmud, who had heard that Thaneswar, owing to its idol, Cakravasmin,

(9) Thaneswar (1011-1012). was as holy in the eyes of the Hindus as Mecca in the eyes of the Mussalmans, marched thither for the treasures a place so ancient was sure to possess.(14) Anandpal in consonance with the treaty provided all the 'requisites of hospitality' by ordering his merchants and shopkeepers to look after the needs of the commissariat and his brother accompanied the Sultan with two thousand men. Mahmud refrained from injuring the Rai's(15) territory but refused his tribute should be accepted from the people of Thaneswar, because 'my royal wish is to remove the practice of idolatry totally from all the lands of Hindustan.' Too late in the day the Rai of Thaneswar reflected on the necessity of an Indian Confederacy. "If we do not raise a dam to keep off this deluge," he wrote to his brother Rais, "it will soon spread over the whole plain and submerge all kingdoms, great and small." This was true enough. But Mahmud reached Thaneswar before the clumsy machinery of the confederation could stir and the Rai fled in despair. Mahmud collected the treasures and broke the idols of the undefended city at leisure. He wished to march further east, but as such a movement would have left him entirely at Anandpal's mercy, he accepted the advice of his officers and turned back with a fabulous number of 'servants and slaves.' Mahmud's army, like the army of most Asiatic conquerors was essentially a cosmopolitan institution, kept intact by its *esprit de corps* and loyalty to its master's person. Mahmud took good military men into his service wherever he found them. Indians, who were mostly non-Muslims, were freely enrolled, and at a later stage were formed

(14) Utbi places the Thaneswar campaign after the Nardin (Ninduna) expedition, and Elliot follows him in the error. This is clearly wrong. The Thaneswar campaign was undertaken during the life of Anandpal; consequently the Ninduna campaign which was directed against his son, Trilocanpal, could not have preceded it. Ferishta adheres to the correct order.

(15) The *Cakravasmin* was a bronze image of Vishnu, which held the weapon, *Cakra*, in one of its hands. It was taken to Ghaznin and thrown into the hippodrome of the city. (*Alberuni*).

suggestion that an indemnity and a yearly

(13) Utbi's account of the campaign is obscure in its geographical references. The real object, undoubtedly, was to frighten Anandpal into an alliance, and this interpretation of Mahmud's intention harmonises well with the treaty described by Utbi later. The 'best wishes' for the Sultan's 'future prosperity' apparently implied a willingness to allow him to march across the Punjab.

into a separate regiment commanded by Hindu general who enjoyed a very high status among his fellow officers.

In 1012-1013 Mahmud's officers conquered Gharjistan, and the Sultan compelled the Caliph,

Mahmud and the Caliph, Al Qadir Billah, to hand over to him the districts

of Khorasan which were still in his hands. But the Caliph stoutly refused Mahmud's further demand that he should be given Samarkand also. "I will do no such thing," he replied, "and if you take possession of Samarkand without my permission, I will disgrace you before the whole world." Mahmud was furious, "Do you wish me to come to the capital of the Caliphate with a thousand elephants," he threatened the Caliph's ambassador, "in order to lay it waste and bring its earth on the backs of my elephants to Ghaznin?" But the policy of plundering the centres of Muslim and Hindu civilisation simultaneously was too bold even for Mahmud, and he had to apologise humbly to the power which even in its hour of weakness could have shattered the moral foundations of the Ghaznavide kingdom. But none the less he established his power over Samarkand.

(10) Meanwhile Anandpal's death had upset Mahmud's calculations in India. The new Rai,

Trilochanpal, unlike his father, was well inclined

towards the Mussalmans, but he seems to have been a weak man and the direction of affairs came into the hands of his son, known to contemporaries as the 'Nidar' (Fearless) Bhim, who stoutly reversed the policy of his grand-father and put an end to the Ghaznavide alliance. Mahmud was once more forced to fight the kingdom of Lahore in order to keep the road to Hindustan open. He started from Ghaznin in the autumn of 1013 but snow began to fall before he reached the Indian frontier, and it was found necessary to go into winter quarters. With the spring the Ghaznavides moved forward once more, 'ascending the hills like mountain-goats and descending them like torrents of water.' Nidar Bhim fortified himself in the Margala Pass, (16)

(16) 'The action which preceded the capture of Ninduna appears to have been fought at the Margala Pass, which answers well to the description given of it by Utbi. The hill of Balanath is a conspicuous mountain over-hanging the Jhelum and now generally called Tilla, which means a hill. It is still occasionally called Balanath, and there is a famous *jogi* establish-

ment on its highest summit, of great repute and resorted to by members of that fraternity from the most distant parts of India." (E & D).

which was narrow, precipitous and steep, but on the arrival of his vassals he came down and offered battle. The Ghaznavides won after a severe contest. Bhim threw a garrison into the fort of Ninduna on the hill of Balanath and fled to the Pass of Kashmir. Mahmud, who now seems to have made up his mind to annex the Punjab, reduced Ninduna and after placing a garrison in it, pushed on in pursuit of Bhim. But the elusive hero could not be captured and the Sultan turned back from the foot of the Kashmir hills.

(11) Next year (1013-1016) the Sultan again attempted to force his way through the Kashmir Pass. But the fortress of

Lohkot defied all his efforts. Reinforcements

reached the garrison from Kashmir; snow began to fall; and for the first time Mahmud retired discomfited from before an Indian fort. While retreating he lost a large number of his men in the floods of the Jhelum, extricated himself with difficulty from the watery peril, and returned to Ghaznin 'without having achieved anything.'

This failure in the east was compensated by an acquisition in the west. Mahmud's sister had

been married to Abul Abbas Mamun, the ruler

of Khwarazm. But the bride

had hardly been in her new home for a year when Abul Abbas was slain by rebels. Mahmud marched forth to revenge his brother-in-law's death, defeated the rebel army before the famous fortress of Hazar Asp and appointed his general, Altuntash, governor of the newly conquered territory with the title of 'Khwarazm Shah.'

(12) Towards the end of the rainy season, 1018, Mahmud at last started for that expedition

to the Trans-Gangetic plain of which he had been dreaming for years.

His regular army of one hundred thousand was strengthened by twenty thousand volunteers from Khorasan and Turkestan. The omens were favourable. The Hindu Confederacy had disappeared and none of the Rais was strong enough to oppose Mahmud single-handed. He had established a reputation for generalship which none could question and everyone knew that his methods

ment on its highest summit, of great repute and resorted to by members of that fraternity from the most distant parts of India." (E & D).

were thorough. Trilocanpal and Nidar Bhim, though still eluding their pursuers, were driven beyond the Punjab, while Sabli, Rai of Kashmir, made peace with the Sultan and led the van of the invading troops. The Ghaznavides marched through forests in which 'even winds lose their way,' forded the five rivers of the Punjab, and crossing the Jamna on December 2nd, moved against Barron (Bulandshahr) 'like the waves of the sea.' But Rai Hardat solved the problem by coming out of his city with ten thousand men, who either from policy or conviction proclaimed 'their anxiety for conversion and their rejection of idols.'⁽¹⁷⁾ The conversion saved the citizens and Mahmud marched down the Jamna to Mahaban. Its ruler, Rai Kulchand, who had established a reputation for invincibility in local warfare, drew up his army in the midst of a thick forest. But Mahmud penetrated the forest 'like a comb through a head of hair' and scattered the Mahaban army. Many of the fugitives were drowned in the attempt to cross the Jamna, and the valiant Kulchand escaped the disgrace of captivity by slaying his wife and son and then plunging the dagger into his own breast.

On the other side of the Jamna lay the ancient and famous city of Mathura, the birth-place of Krishna-Basdeo. 'The wall
Mathura.

of the city was constructed of hard stone, and two gates, which opened upon the river flowing under the city, were erected on strong and lofty foundations, to protect them against the floods of the river and rains. On both sides of the city there were a thousand houses, to which idol temples were attached, all strengthened from top to bottom by rivets of iron, and all made of masonry work, and opposite to them were other buildings, supported on broad wooden pillars to give them strength. In the middle of the city there was a temple larger and firmer than the rest, which can neither be described nor painted; the inhabitants said it had been built not by men but by genii.' 'In population and splendid edifices the city of Mathura was unrivalled; human tongue cannot describe the wonderful things it contained.'

⁽¹⁷⁾ Nizamuddin and Ferishta by mistake attribute the conversion to the Rai of Kannauj, which they also describe as the first city attacked by Mahmud. They have also confused the line of Mahmud's march and make him cross and recross the Jamna many times over. I have followed Ubbi's contemporary account which is free from the geographical blunders of later writers.

But no attempt was made to defend the inimitable monument of Hindu art when Mahmud crossed the Jamna, and the inhabitants, anxious to save their skins, left him to work havoc with their sacred inheritance. 'The Sultan gave orders that all the temples should be burnt with naphtha and fire and levelled with the ground.' Envy rather than fanaticism seems to have been the predominant motive in Mahmud's artistic mind. "In this city," he wrote to the nobles of Ghazni in praise of what his vandalism had destroyed, "there are a thousand towering places, most of them constructed of huge stones. The temples are more than can be counted. Anyone wishing to construct the like will have to spend a hundred thousand thousand *dinars* and employ the best skilled workmen for two hundred years." As a financial venture the expedition succeeded beyond all expectation—98,300 *misqals* of gold were obtained from idols of that metal; the silver idols, two hundred in number, could not be weighed 'without being broken and put into scales;' two rubies valued at 5000 *dinars*, a sapphire weighing 450 *misqals*, and in addition such other spoils as a rich and prosperous city could not fail to yield. A few miles from Mathura is the historic town of Bindraban where seven proud forts raised their heads to the sky by the riverside. The owner of the forts fled at Mahmud's approach and he took from them all they contained.⁽¹⁸⁾

The Sultan then left behind him the greater part of his army, which was too large for the rapid movements he desired and proceeded against Kannauj with his best veterans. The ancient city had risen to prominence as the capital of Harsha Vardhana; it was defended by seven forts washed by the Ganges and contained about ten thousand temples, great and small. The Rais of Kannauj had not been slow in helping Jaipal and Anandpal

⁽¹⁸⁾ The situation of Mathura by the side of the Jamna is charming beyond description, and walking by the river side on a summer evening under the guidance of its leading citizen, Pandit Radha Krishna, I could just have a dream of what the place might have been in the days of its glory. The road to Brindaban, so famous in the legend of Lord Krishna, still retains its poetic associations. Even to-day a visitor, with eyes that can see, will find much to captivate him in the work of later artists—and the landscape is as beautiful as it was in the days of the Mahabharata.

against the aggression of Ghaznin, but the reigning prince, Rajyapala, (19) fled away on Mahmud's approach. Most of the citizens followed the example of their Rai and Kannauj repeated the story of Mathura. Mahmud captured the seven forts in a single day and plundered the undefended city. Further down the Ganges, near the modern Fathehpur, was Rai Chandal Bhor's fort of Asni. Chandal Bhor, who had been busy in fighting the Rai of Kannauj, also fled and Asni was plundered. Then proceeding southwards Mahmud came across the fort of Munj (19a.) (Mujhavan) the garrison of which, 'independent as head-strong camels,' fought like 'obstinate satans,' and when all hope had disappeared threw the women and children into the fire and died fighting to the last man. The next objective was Chand Rai of Sharwa (19b.) who had been harrassing the unfortunate Trilocanpal of Lahore in the east while Mahmud was pressing him so hard on the other side. To prevent the suicidal strife, Trilocanpal had even sought his enemy's daughter in marriage for his son, but 'Nidar' Bhim was imprisoned by his father-in-law when he went to bring his bride and the strife continued. As Mahmud marched eastwards, Trilocanpal fled before him and found a refuge with Chandal Bhor of Asni. Common misfortune at last created some sympathy between the dynasties of Lahore and Sharwa, and 'Nidar' Bhim, who seems to have regained his freedom, sent Chand Rai a piece of friendly advice. "Sultan Mahmud is not like the rulers of Hind. He is not a leader

of black men. Armies fly away before the very name of him and his father. I regard his bridle as much stronger than yours, for he never contents himself with one blow of the sword, nor does his army content itself with one hill out of a whole range. If you wish for your own safety, you will remain in concealment." The suggestion was adopted. Chand Rai fled to the hills with his elephants and treasures. But Mahmud captured Sharwa and then hastened after the flying Rai, whom he managed to discover and defeat on the night of January 6, 1019. The campaign beyond Kannauj had not taken more than seventeen days when Mahmud turned back with Chand Rai's much coveted elephants.

Mahmud's exploit could not fail to captivate the imagination of his co-religionists. Neither Alexander, the Great, nor the heroes of the *Shah Namah* had anything so romantic to their credit. A mysterious wonder land had been explored. Beyond the thick and impenetrable frontier forest, beyond the five great rivers of the Punjab, the Muizzin's call to prayer had resounded over many a desolate wilderness and amidst the conflagrations of many a hamlet and town. The success was duly celebrated. The Caliph summoned a special durbar to receive Mahmud's message of victory. Accounts of the expedition were read out from the pulpits and pious Mussalmans fondly imagined that 'what the Companions of the Blessed Prophet had done in Arabia, Persia, Syria and Iraq, Mahmud has achieved in Hindustan'. Nothing could be further from truth. He had rolled in immense riches but had only disgusted the Indians with his faith. The plundered people were not likely to think well of Islam when it came to them in the shape of the Ghaznavide conqueror and left behind it an everlasting story of plundered temples, desolated cities and trampled crops. As a faith Islam had been morally disgraced, not elevated, by the Ghaznavide's achievement. The booty amounted to 3,000,000 *dirhams*. "The number of prisoners may be conceived from the fact that each was sold from two to three *dirhams*. These were afterwards taken to Ghaznin and merchants came from distant cities to purchase them, so that the countries of Mawarun Nahr, Iraq and Khorasan were filled with them, and the fair and the dark, the rich and the poor, were commingled in one common slavery." It was perhaps the remembrance of Mathura which led Mahmud to build a Juma mosque and a college in Ghaznin after his return. The *amirs*

(19) Utbi calls him Rai Jaipal which is equivalent to Rajyapala but he is not to be identified with the Rai Jaipal of Lahore who had been dead for years. But further on Utbi speaks of Pur-i Jaipal's war with Chand Rai. Pur-i Jaipal is not Anandpal but Trilocanpal, whom Alberuni calls 'Tarajanpal for which Pur-i Jaipal (Jaipal's son) is a natural misreading. Much confusion has, however, been caused by later historians. Perishta gives the name of Korah to the Rai of Kannauj. V. A. Smith transfers the name of Trilocanpal to Rajyapal's son. It is useless to mention what mess of names and places other scholars have been responsible for. But the list of the Hindu Shahi dynasty given by Alberuni, and enumerated in a foregoing note, settles the question definitely. The other difficulties will be removed if the Pur-i Jaipal of Utbi is read as Trilocanpal, and not as Jaipal's son.

(19a) Utbi calls Munj 'the fort of Brahmans' and places it before the capture of Asni. This seems highly improbable as Mahmud would come across the fort while marching against Sharwa. Utbi would seem to take him to Bundelkhand twice.

(19b) Either Seunra on the Ken between Kalanjar and Banda, or Sriwagarh, on the Pahonj, not far from Kunch (*E & D*, Vol. ii. p. 659).

followed his example and Ghaznin was soon adorned with palatial buildings.

(13) Two distant storm-centres still troubled Mahmud's mind. Trilochanpal and his son, 'Nidar' Bhim, had been defeated but not crushed and were still in the Doab. In Bundelkhand Rai Nanda(20) of Kalanjar had also adopted a hostile attitude. After Mahmud's withdrawal from the country he had marched with the Rai of Gwalior against Rajyapala, and either as a punishment for the latter's cowardly attitude towards Mahmud, or on account of some other forgotten grievance, put him to death. An alliance between Trilochanpal and Nanda was natural. But it was not Mahmud's principle to let the grass grow under his feet. He determined to crush the possibility of another Hindu Confederacy, and in the winter of 1019-20 again crossed 'the five and the two rivers. Trilochanpal withdrew beyond the lower Rahib (Ramganga) but Mahmud's officers forced their passage across the river by swimming on inflated skins (*mashaks*) ; and after scattering Trilochanpal's army plundered the newly built town of Bari(21), which Rajyapala had built after the destruction of Kannauj. Whether to help Trilochanpal, or with the intention of fighting the invader single-handed, Nanda had already started from Kalanjar with 36,000 horse, 40,000 or 50,000 foot and 640 elephants. The Sultan also moved forward. It is difficult to say where the two met, but on surveying the enemy troops from an eminence, the Sultan regretted the dangerous expedition he had undertaken. The Rai was even more afraid, for that very night a great terror took possession of his mind and he left all his baggage and fled. Mahmud, after making sure that the Hindus had not attempted an ambush, plundered the deserted camp. Five hundred and eighty elephants, in addition to the two hundred and seventy obtained from Trilochanpal fell into his hands. But the Punjab was still unsubdued. Mahmud's position

in a far off territory with the armies of Nanda yet undefeated was extremely critical, and afraid lest his retreat should be cut off, he marched back rapidly to Ghaznin.

(14) The conquest of India was not Mahmud's aim. Nevertheless the Doab campaigns had brought him far from his base, and he saw that

if his armies were to penetrate to such distant territories as Bundelkhand, he must at least have the Punjab under his complete control. In 1021 he started from Ghaznin with 'a large number of carpenters, blacksmiths and stone-cutters with the definite intention of establishing a regular Government over the Punjab. The first objective were the frontier tribes of Swat, Bajaur and Kafirstan, who had 'not yet put the yoke of Islam round their neck,' and worshipped the Buddha in the form of the lion (Sakya Sinha). The inhabitants were subdued and converted and a fort was built in their territory.(22) Marching further Mahmud repeated his former attempt, and tasted again the bitterness of his former failure, at the foot of Lohkot, the impregnable fortress of the Kashmir Pass. But the Punjab was cleared. Mahmud forsook plundering and established a regular administration. A reliable *Amir* was placed at Lahore, the rest of the province was assigned to various officers and garrisons were established at important points. Trilochanpal had died soon after the battle of the Rahib 'Nidar' Bhim fled to the Rai of Ajmere and died in 1026. With him the House of Kallur came to an end. A contemporary Muslim scholar, untouched by the passions and prejudices of those around him, supplied a befitting epitaph to the dynasty that had ended in such a hero: "They were men of noble sentiment and noble bearing. In all their grandeur, they never slackened in the desire of doing what is good and right." (22a).

(20) V. A. Smith calls him 'Ganda.'

(21) 'Kanoj lies to the west of the Ganges, a very large town, but most of it is now in ruins since the capital has been transferred thence to the city of Bari, east of the Ganges. Between the two towns is a distance of three to four days' marches.' (*Alberuni*, vol. i. p. 199). The battle must have taken place not far from where the Ramganga falls into the Ganges. V. A. Smith's identification of the defeated prince with the son of Rajyapal is a mistake. Utbi's account leaves no doubt that Trilochanpal, son of Anandpal, is meant.

(22) The Persian chronicles speak of Qirat and Nardin (or Nur), which Elliot, on the authority of Alberuni, identifies with the Kuner and the Landge rivers that fall into the river Kabul. Doubtless the frontier tribes are meant. Plenty of Buddhist remains survive to explain the worship of lions. (*E and D*, vol. ii., p. 441). On breaking a great temple situated there the ornamented figure of a lion came out of it, which according to the belief of the Hindus was four thousand years old." (*Ferishta*). The carpenters, blacksmiths and stone-cutters were brought for the construction of forts at the strategic points on the frontier and in the Punjab.

(22a) Alberuni.

(15) Next year (1022-1023) Mahmud once more marched by way of Gwalior and Kalanjar (1022-1023). Lahore against Nanda.

But he had taken all that was best from the lands in the direction of his march and was not inclined to push matters to extreme. Gwalior was invested but the Rai obtained peace by a present of thirty-five elephants. Even Nanda, when besieged in Kalanjar, found the Sultan reasonable. A present of three hundred elephants, whom the Rai turned unceremoniously out of the fort for the Turks to 'capture and ride on', served to create a good will, which was further strengthened by some Hindi verses written by the Rai in the Sultan's praise. All the Scholars of Hind, Persia and Arabia present in Mahmud's camp applauded Nanda's composition and Mahmud sent him at order (*firman*) confirming him in the possession of his fifteen forts. Nanda acknowledged the favour by a present of money and costly jewels and the Sultan turned back from the most eastern point he was ever destined to reach.

On returning to Ghaznin the Sultan held a muster of his forces. Apart from the troops stationed in the provinces, the royal army at Ghaznin amounted to 54,000 horse and 1,300 elephants(23) and with this he crossed the Oxus and proceeded to overawe the chiefs of Trans-Oxonina. Ali Tigin, the recalcitrant ruler of Samarkand was brought in chains before the Sultan and sent a prisoner to India. The smaller chiefs crowded to offer their allegiance. Even Yusuf Qadr Khan, brother of the late I-lak Khan(24) came to meet him and requested him to transport the Seljuqs

The Seljuqs. across the Oxus into Khorasan. This body of pastoral and barbaric Turkomans, destined to an unexpected but not undeserved greatness, had long been a source of trouble to its neighbours. During the reign of the Samanid kings they had migrated from Turkestan, and crossing

the Jaxartes, had settled in Nur of Bukhara from which they used to migrate to Darghan of Khwarazm. Their leader, Israil, son of Seljuq, the chief after whom the tribe came to be named, was a perpetual terror to the *maliks* of Turkestan and Trans-Oxonina. 'He was wont to enter the chase or the conflict like a whirlwind and a thunder-cloud and vanquished every one who ventured into a personal contest with him. Not a bird in the air and not a deer in the forest escaped his arrow.'(25) Like others he came riding at the head of his Turkomans to offer his allegiance to Mahmud, 'with a cap placed jauntily on one side of his head and bestriding a horse like the spur of a mountain'. The astute Sultan looked suspiciously at the ambitious young chief and asked him how many men he could bring to the army. "If you send one of these arrows into our camp," Israel replied, "fifty thousand of your servants will mount on horse back." "And if that number" continued Israel, "be not sufficient, send the second arrow to the horde of Balik (Bilkhan Koh), and you will find fifty thousand more." "But," said the Ghaznavide dissembling his anxiety, "if I should stand in need of the whole force of your kindred tribes?" "Despatch my bow," was the last reply of Israel, "and as it is circulated around, the summons will be obeyed by two hundred thousand horse."(26) Mahmud made up his mind to crush the Seljuqs before it was too late. An order was served on Israel commanding him to remain within his tent while four thousand Seljuq families with their goods and chattels were transported across the Oxus under the eye of the Ghaznavide army. The Sultan's chamberlain, Arsalan Hajib, suggested that the barbarians should be drowned while crossing the river. "Destiny cannot be averted by perfidy any more than by valour," Mahmud remarked, and refused to break his promise.(27) Israel with his two sons was despatched to the distant fortress of Kalanjar

(25) *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*.

(23) The total number of elephants possessed by Mahmud is said to have been 2,500.

(24) 'I-lak Khan' was the title of the Khans of Kashghar. Mir Khond, Ferishta and Hamdullah Mustawfi greatly differ in their account of Qadir Khan; the 'Rahatus Sudur' of Mohammad ibn-i Ali ibn-i Sulaiman Ae. Rawandi (edited by Dr. M. Iqbal) calls him I-lak Khan. The question is of the remotest interest to the student of Indian history. It will be remembered that the Caliph had refused to transfer Samarkand to Mahmud.

(26) *Gibbon*, Vol. vi. I have adopted the great historian's version of the famous conversation. *Rahatus Sudur* is more particular: the first arrow would raise 1,00,000 horse from Israel's own followers, the second arrow 50,000 from the Turkomans settled in Trans-Oxonina while his bow would bring 2,00,000 from the Turkomans still in Turkestan.

(27) *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*. The *Rahatus Sudur* says the Seljuqs were allowed to cross to Oxus at their request after the imprisonment of Israel which Mahmud allowed in spite of Arsalan's advice to the contrary.

where he died after seven years.(28) The exiled families were allotted grazing grounds in the districts of north west Khorasan and placed under the guardianship of the Khorasani nobles who were ordered to disarm them. But it was easier to bring the Seljuqs into the more fertile tracts of Persia than to keep them in subjection. The migration once begun could not be stopped and the Ghaznavide empire was ultimately converted into a Seljuq pasture-land.(29) These troubles, however, lay in the womb of the future. For the present Mahmud was supreme, and the fall of Israel, whatever its future effects, served as an example to all Turkoman chiefs.

(16) Northern India had ceased to attract

(16) Somnath (1025—1026). Mahmud for the spoils of its most wealthy temples were already in his treasury. But the rich and prosperous province of Gujrat was still untouched, and on October 18, 1020, he started from Ghaznin with his regular troops and thirty thousand volunteer horsemen for the temple of Somnath, situated at the distance of a bow-shot from the mouth of the Saraswati, by the side of which the earthly body of Lord Krishna had breathed its last.(30)

"The people of Hind," says Ferishta following Ibn-i Asir, "believed that souls after separating from their bodies came to Somnath, and the god assigned to each soul, by way of transmigration, such new body as it deserved. They thought the tide rose and fell in order to worship the idol. The Brahmans said that as the god was angry with the idols Mahmud had broken, he did not come to their help; otherwise he could destroy anyone he wanted in the twinkling of an eye. Somnath was the king while other idols were merely his door-keepers and chamberlains. A hundred thousand people used to collect together in the

temple at the time of the solar and lunar eclipses. Presents came to it from distant parts. The princes of Hindustan had endowed it with about ten thousand villages.(31) A thousand Brahmans worshipped the idol continuously; and every night it was washed with fresh water from the Ganges, although the Ganges is six hundred *karohs* from there.(32) A chain of gold, weighing two hundred *mans*, with bells fastened to it, was hung in a corner of the temple; it was shaken at the appointed hours to inform the Brahmans that the time for prayer had arrived. Five hundred singing and dancing girls and two hundred musicians were in the service of the temple, and all their requisites were provided out of the endowments and offerings. Three hundred barbers were employed to shave the heads and beards of the pilgrims. Many Rajas of Hindustan dedicated their daughters to Somnath and sent them there. The temple was a spacious edifice and its roof was supported by fifty-six ornamented columns. The idol was cut out of stone; it was five yards long, of which two yards were below, and three above, the ground. The '*Tarikh-i Zainul Ma-asir*' says that the inner chamber of the temple, in which the idol was placed, was dark, the requisite light being supplied by the rays of fine jewels attached to the hanging lamps.(33)

(31) I have corrected the figures in this paragraph from Ibn-i Asir.

(32) Alberuni says they also brought a basket of flowers from Kashmir.

(33) The legend to which Somnath owed its origin is thus described by Alberuni: "The Moon being married to the daughters (lunar stations) of Prajapati (Brahman-First Cause) preferred one of them, Rohini, to all others, and Prajapati, unable to induce his son-in-law to do justice to all his wives, cursed him so that he became leprous. The Moon repented, but Prajapati's curse was beyond recall. He however, promised to cover the Moon's shame for half the month and advised him to raise a *linga* of Mahadeo to wipe off the trace of his sin. "This the Moon did. The *linga* he raised was the idol of Somnath, for *Soma* means the *moon* and *nath* means the *master*, so that the whole word means the *master of the moon*. The image was destroyed by Prince Mahmud in 416 A H. He ordered the upper part to be broken and the remainder to be transported to his residence, Ghaznin, with all its coverings and trappings of gold, jewels and embroidered garments. Part of it has been thrown into the hippodrome of the town, together with the *Cakravasmin*, an idol of bronze, that had been brought from Thaneswar. Another part of the idol of Somnath lies before the door of the mosque of Ghaznin, on which people rub their feet to clean them from dirt and wet. The reason why Somnath, in particular, has become so famous is that it was a harbour for seafaring people. The fortress which contained the idol and its treasures was not ancient but was built only a hundred years ago." The original position of the

(28) He escaped out of prison once but lost his way and was recaptured.

(29) Ferishta, *Ranatus Sofa*, *Rahatus Sudur* and *Tabaqat-i Nasiri* greatly differ in their account of the early events that brought the Seljuqs into prominence. The matter cannot be discussed here in greater detail and I must content myself with giving what appears to me to be the most rational account. See also art. '*Seljuq*,' *Ency. Brit.* by Prof. Houtoma.

(30) The Somnath expedition is not described by Utbi, whose chronicle closes after the defeat of Tribhupal on the Rahib. The earliest authority seems to be the *Kamilut Tawarikh* of the Arab historian, Ibn-i Asir. Ferishta gives a detailed account but he has included later accretions which require a critical examination.

The Somnath expedition is the one by which Mahmud is most remembered. It was the finest achievement of his military genius. His marches into Hindustan had been through a fertile country and he was never in danger of starvation. In moving southwards Mahmud for the first and last time threw his caution aside, defied the inclemencies of nature as well as the spears of his opponents and ventured into a territory where the slightest mishap would have meant complete ruin. Multan was reached by the middle of Ramazan (November) and Mahmud made careful preparations for crossing the extensive desert of Rajputana. Every man in the army was ordered to carry enough water and corn for several days and thirty thousand camels were loaded as a further precaution. The Rai of Ajmere fled at the approach of invader. Mahmud plundered the city but refused to delay his march by investing the fort. A general panic seems to have deprived the garrisons on the line of his advance of all power of resistance. Even Anhilwara, the capital of Gujrat, was left undefended, and Mahmud after taking from the city the provisions he required, moved down the Saraswati and reached the famous temple in the second week of January. 'The fort of Somnath raised its towers to the sky; the waves of the sea washed its feet'. The Hindus had climbed the ramparts to witness the arrival of the besiegers. "Our god, Somnath," they shouted to the Mussalmans, "has brought you here to destroy you at one blow for the idols you have broken in Hindustan."

Next morning, which was Friday, the struggle commenced. The Battle of Somnath. Ghaznavides succeeded in scaling the city-walls and the Hindus made a desperate attempt to dislodge them. But night came on before the battle on the ramparts could end and the besiegers withdrew to their camp. On Saturday Mahmud captured the ramparts and entered the city. The Hindus, driven out of their houses, collected round the temple for a last despairing struggle. Band after band prayed fervently to the idol and after bidding it farewell

dreadful slaughter followed at the gate of the temple and few were left alive'. But once more the darkness of night stopped Mahmud's hands while the intervention of a new factor reminded him of the fickleness of fate.

The Sultan's march had been too rapid to allow the Rais of Gujrat to collect their forces for the defence of the temple. But the desperate resistance of the besieged gave them the time required; their clumsy military machine began to work with feverish haste; and on the morning of the third day Mahmud found his camp being encircled by an Indian force sent by the neighbouring Rais for the relief of the garrison. Mahmud left a part of his army to continue the siege and advanced to meet the new comers with the rest. 'Both sides fought with indescribable courage and valour, and the field of battle was set aflame with their anger and their hate.' But the Indian army was constantly strengthened by new reinforcements and the Ghaznavides were brought to the verge of an irretrievable disaster. Mahmud's position was extremely critical. Defeat would have meant annihilation and further delay would have entailed defeat. So after a fervent prayer to the Almighty with the cloak of Shaikh Abul Hasan Kharqani in his hands, he led his army to a last attack, and with the good fortune that never permanently deserted him, succeeded in breaking the enemy ranks. The defeat of the relieving force decided the fate of Somnath, and the garrison overcome by panic and fear offered no further resistance.

Mahmud entered the temple and possessed himself of its fabulous wealth. 'Not a hundredth part of the gold and precious stones he obtained from Somnath were to be found in the treasury of any king of Hindustan'. Later historians have related how Mahmud refused the enormous ransom offered by the Brahmans, and preferring the title of 'Idol-breaker' (*But-shikan*) to that of 'Idol-seller' (*But-farosh*) struck the idol with his mace, his piety being instantly rewarded by the precious stones that came out of its belly. This is an impossible story⁽³⁴⁾. Apart from the fact that it lacks all contemporary confirmation, the Somnath idol was a solid unsculptured *linga*, not a statue, and stones could not come out of its belly. That the idol was broken is un-

idol was three miles from the mouth of the Saraswati at a spot which was uncovered when the tide receded; hence the legend of the Moon worshipping the *linga*. Later on the temple was built a bow-shot from the mouth of the river. (*Alberuni, Vol. ii, p. 103*). in 'sorrow and tears', sallied forth to fight. 'A

(34) It is not found in the *Kamilut Tawarikh*. The earliest authority seems to have been the *Tarikh-i Alfi*, written six hundred years after Mahmud. The story could have been invented (and believed) only by those who were ignorant of the true structure of the Somnath idol.

fortunately true enough, but the offer of the Brahmans, and Mahmud's rejection of the offer, is a fable of later days.

From Somnath Mahmud advanced against Mahmud at Anhil-Param Deo, Rai of wara. Anhilwara, who seems to have been mainly responsible for the relieving force that had pushed the Ghaznavides so hard. The Rai took refuge in the fort of Khandah, forty *farsakhs* from Somnath, which was surrounded by the sea. But when Mahmud forded the sea at low tide, the Rai fled away, leaving the fort and its treasures to the Sultan. On returning to Anhilwara Mahmud for the first and last time seems to have harboured the desire of establishing himself in India. He wanted to make Anhilwara his capital while assigning Ghaznin to Masud. The climate of Gujrat, 'the beauty of its inhabitants, its alluring gardens, flowing rivers and productive soil' attracted him, and his cupidity was further excited by the treasure to be obtained from Southern India and the islands beyond the sea. But his officers would have none of it. "To leave the country of Khorasan," they protested, "for which we have sacrificed the finest of gems—our own lives—and to make Gujrat our capital, is far from political wisdom." Mahmud had to yield. He assigned the governorship of Gujrat to Dabshilim (Devasarum), an ascetic of Somnath, and started for Ghaznin. Dabshilim loyally sent the tribute due to the Sultan for some time, but his power failed to take root and he was over-thrown by his enemies. (35)

The Rais of Rajputana, who had been taken unawares by Mahmud's march through their country, now prepared to contest his return. But the Sultan's army was loaded with spoils. He had no stomach for campaigns in a wilderness where nothing was to be had save hard blows and preferred to march to Multan through the Sindh desert. Even this route was full of dangers. First a Hindu devotee of Somnath undertook to guide the army, and after marching it for a day and a night confessed that he had intentionally led them on a path where no water could be found. Mahmud slew the guide and a 'mysterious light' that appeared in the horizon in response to his prayers led the Mussalmans to fresh water. After crossing the desert the army

was harrassed by the Jats, but in spite of many hardships, it succeeded in reaching Ghaznin.

(17) Mahmud's last invasion (1027) was

(17) The Jats (1027) intended to punish the Jats

who had so wantonly insulted his army while returning from Somnath. He constructed a flotilla of fourteen hundred boats at Multan, and placing twenty men armed with bows, arrows and flasks of naphtha in every boat, proceeded against the recalcitrant tribe. The Jats collected together four thousand boats and offered a stout resistance; but they were defeated in the naval battle owing to the superior construction of the Sultan's boats, which had been provided with one pointed iron spike in front and one on each side, and the havoc wrought by explosions of naphtha. Many of the Jats were drowned and their families, which they had removed to the Islands of the Indus for safety, were captured.

The Sultan's remaining years were exclusively absorbed in Annexation of western affairs. The Seljuq trouble increased day by day.

His generals were unable to subdue them and appealed to him to come in person. He did so. The Seljuqs were defeated and dispersed, but their pastoral bands parted only to unite again. Meanwhile his officers had overthrown the Buwailhid kingdom of Ray and the Sultan marched thither to establish his Government over the newly conquered territory. His hand fell heavily on the 'heretics' and Carmathians who had multiplied under the protection of the Shia dynasty, and every one, against whom heresy could be proved, was put to death. But the Sultan's days numbered, and the first symptoms of phthisis (*sil*) had already appeared when in the autumn of 1029 he assigned the Government of Isfahan and Ray to Masud and returned to Balkh. Here his condition grew worse, though 'he bore up bravely in the eyes of the people'. In the spring he moved to Ghaznin, where on the 30th April, 1030 A.D. after forty years of ceaseless activity he was called back to the land of everlasting rest at the age of sixty-three.

"The world grips hard on the hard-striving,"

Hafiz has said; and tradition will have us believe that two days before his death the great Sultan, unable to reconcile himself to the loss of a world that was slipping out of his grasp, ordered the precious stones of his treasury to be brought and

(35) Ferishta's detailed account of the two Dabshilims seems to have no better foundation than the *Intar-i Suhaili*. It is difficult to say what element of truth it contains.

displayed in the court-yard of his palace. He gazed at them yearningly and with weeping eyes ordered them to be locked up again, without finding it in his heart to give any thing in charity. Next day he got into his litter and reviewed his horses, elephants and camels, and still more overcome burst into loud and helpless sobs.(36) But it would be unbecoming to pause over the last moments of a strong and powerful mind. Perhaps the slow and wasting disease had so bereft him of his strength, that at the door of death he was no longer able to hold over his face the veil with which he was wont to conceal his human frailties! Perhaps his rationalistic mind, too critical for the commonplace orthodoxy of the day and not profound enough for the deeper convictions of the philosopher and the mystic, trembled at the mysterious land before him as he saw it approaching nearer hour by hour, and was unable to embark on his last campaign with that confident courage with which he had plunged into the forests of Hindustan! It is by the manner of his life, not the mode of his death, that a man is to be judged. The invincible hero of thirty campaigns had disappeared weeks before his officers buried his emaciated body in the Ferozah Palace of Ghaznin.

III: The Character and value of Mahmud's work.

All men are more or less the product of their environment, and a rational criticism of Mahmud's work must begin with an examination of the spirit of his age.

Most Mussalmans imagine that their faith has always been what it is to-day, or in the alternative they deplore that it has since the time of the Pious Caliphs been subject to a slow but continuous decline. This is, of course, absurd. Islam, like all other religions, has had its recurring periods of spiritual rise and fall; it has been differently conceived by different people at different times; like all things really and truly human, it is always changing and never permanently the same. We are here only concerned with the

broadest changes in the Muslim world, and these from the rise of Islam to the conquest of Muslim Asia by Chengiz Khan, may be divided into four parts. (1) The first Period of Expansion (622-748) which includes the conquest of Arabia, Iraq, Syria, Persia, and Northern Africa under the Pious Caliphs and their Omayyad successors. It is an epoch characterised by fervent religious zeal, and owing to the captivating appeal Islam made to the depressed classes, the conquered peoples were converted to the new faith. (2) The Period of the Abbaside Caliphate (748-900) is a period of prosperity and peace with no conquest to its record. It is characterised by a cosmopolitan civilisation in which Arabic became the language of the educated classes of all countries, while a centralised administration kept the Muslim world together. (3) The Period of 'Minor Dynasties' (900-1000) is essentially a period of transition in which the administration of the Caliph disappears and a number of small principalities rise on its ruins. Its most prominent feature is the Persian Renaissance, which made Persian the language of literary classes and brought a new imperialistic idea to the fore-front in place of cosmopolitan Caliphate of the Abbasides. (4) The Period of the Turco-Persian Empires (1000-1220) is to be regarded as the political expression of Persian ideals and includes the reign of the Ghaznavide, the Seljuq and the Khwarazmian dynasties.

Mahmud was the last of the 'Minor Kings' and the first of the great Turco-Persian Emperors. The inspiring motive of his life and the lives of his contemporaries was not Islam but the spirit of the Persian Renaissance.

The age of Mahmud of Ghaznin was devoid of the higher spirit of faith; Spirit of the Persian Renaissance. and theological discussions, which prosper most when religion is dead, diverted such zeals as existed towards a war of sects. When men find it difficult to believe in God, they try to prove Him; when they cease to love their neighbour, they attempt to convince themselves that hating him is a moral duty. The conversion of the non-Muslim was given up in favour of the more entertaining game of exterminating the 'heretic'. From east to west the Muslim world was torn by sectarian feuds and the strong arm of the persecutor was called in vain to heal the troubles of a people weltering in fanaticism but innocent of faith. From this war of hair-splitting

(36) This account is found in Ferishta, who says that Mahmud died with 'much reluctance and regret,' and all later historians repeat the incident. Its origin is hard to discover. It may have been taken from the lost portion of Baihaki. There is nothing improbable in the story. Consumptive diseases have such effects.

theologians the finer minds of Persia turned with a sense of relief to the resuscitation of their national culture and the minor dynasties that had grown on the decay of the Caliphate gave them the protection and patronage they needed. Every provincial court became the centre of a revivalist movement. Ancient Persian legends were rediscovered and popularised. The Persian language, which had been cast aside as the vernacular of the common people, assumed the dignity of a national tongue. Every one, who could, began to turn out verses in a language singularly capable of conforming to the hardest rules of metre and rhyme, and even poets of mediocre abilities could be sure of a good career. Moreover the glories of the Kiani and the Sassani Empires, alluring with the dream of a half-forgotten greatness, exercised on more imaginative minds a fascination which slowly but definitely drew them away from the Path of the Prophet. The change was, of course, unconscious. Like the school-men of medieval Europe, who talked as if the philosophy of Aristotle was a commentary on the 'Ten Commandments, the contemporaries of Mahmud were aware of no difference between the lessons of the 'Shah Nama' and the principles of the Quran. Faridun and Jamshed, Kai-Kaus and Kai-Khusrau, the heroic Rustam and the Macedonian Alexander won from the rising generation the homage which all true Mussalmans should have paid to the Prophet and his Companions. Now while the Prophet and his Companions stood for certain principles to be established at all costs and had resorted to war as a means for *their* promulgation, the legendary heroes of Persia only evoked in their devotees an ambition for greatness and ruthless imperialism without the sense of a moral mission, and instilled them with precepts of worldly wisdom, such as Polonius bequeathed to Laertes and such as Sadi's 'Gulistan' has taught to the children of later generations—a wisdom essentially selfish in its out-look and superbly unconscious of all higher aims.

Thus the new spirit on one hand helped the evolution of a new culture and brought an atmosphere of refinement and polish in the court and the camp, and on the other hand it heralded in an era of futile and purposeless wars through which provincial kings, rebellious governors, tribal chiefs and even daring robbers, expected to reach the insecure eminence of Alexander, the Great.

Fighting was looked upon, thanks to the militant spirit of the Turks, as a sport and an attribute of manliness, a good thing to be sought for itself—not as a painful process for the attainment of peace. For a century before Mahmud princes of the 'minor dynasties' had been acting Jamshed and Kai-Khusrau, and their court-poets, richly paid for the work had proclaimed their greatness in panegyrics of which men less lost in ambition would have felt ashamed. Then came the great Mahmud to achieve that for which others had fought and died in vain, and kings and princes licked the dust humbly before the figure of a new Alexander. But the giant for all his grandeur was made of the same moral stuff as the dwarfs that had gone before. It was his abilities, not his character, that raised him to an unquestioned pre-eminence.

The Literary Renaissance of Persia found in Mahmud its most magnificent, if not its most discriminating patron. Four hundred poets, with Unsari, the poet-laureate, at their head, were in constant attendance on the Sultan's court. Their official duty was to sing his praise, and the Sultan, in spite of the stinginess attributed to him, seems to have been extremely generous. Ghazari Razi, a poet from Ray, was awarded fourteen thousand *dirhams* for a *qasida* that pleased the Sultan, while the poet-laureate's mouth was thrice filled with pearls for an unpremeditated *qita*. Among others who came flocking from far and near, Farrukhi, the author of a *qasida* remarkable for its captivating rhythm, Minuchihri, who specialised in the cult of vine, and Asjadi, who is responsible for the following well-known quatrain, are most famous.(37)

"I do repent of wine and talk of wine,
 "Of idols fair with chins like silver fine.
 "A lip-repentance and a lustful heart—
 "O God, forgive this penitence of mine!"

But it is obvious that the Sultan's patronage, while stimulating men of decent merit to do

(37) The details of the lives of the poets cannot be given here nor an examination of their work attempted. Prof Browne's "Literary History of Persia," Vol. II, Chap. II and Maulana Shibli Numani's "Shirul-Ajam," Vol. I, have put in a modern form all that is found in old *Tazkirahs*. See also Hadi, "Studies in Persian Literature" published by the National University, Aligarh. The Firdausi legend has been subjected to a trenchant criticism by the journal 'Urdu' edited by Maulvi Abdul Haq Sahib, which has robbed the time-honoured story of all its charm.

their best, would fail to reach the highest genius, which in every country and every age has scorned to bow its knees to democracies and kings. For this Mahmud is in no way to blame. Mankind has yet to discover a method for dealing with its finest product. Whatever be the element of truth in the famous Firdausi legend, the tradition that represents the great poet, in whom Persian nationalism amounted to a religion, as flying from an Emperor of Afrasiyab's (Turkish) race, certainly gives us an idea of the gloom that sat oppressively on the most sensitive Persian minds. Two persons of a radically different stamp were destined to share Firdausi's fate. The great physician and biologist, Shaikh Bu Ali Sina (Avicenna), refused to come to the court of a king to whom the scientist's views and his sense of personal independence would have been equally unpalatable, and after flying from town to town before the agents of Mahmud's wrath, at last found a safe asylum with the Buwaihîd ruler of Ray. His friend, the mathematician-scholar Abu Rihan Al-Biruni, whose appreciative study of Hindu philosophy stands in such pleasant contrast with the prejudices of a stormy time, was less fortunate. Brought a prisoner from his native Khwarazm, he was thrown into prison and thence exiled to India on that life of wandering to which we owe the immortal 'Tarikhul Hind'.⁽³⁸⁾

The poetry of Mahmud's age reflects the spirit of the time. It is brilliant but not deep. Mystic ideas had not yet become current coin, and the *ghazal*, the grand vehicle of mystic emotion, had not yet been discovered. *Qasidas* (panegyric odes) in praise of generous patrons were the poets' principal occupation. The genius of Firdausi brought the *masnavi* (romance) into vogue, while his master, Asadi, is credited with the not very commendable invention of the *Munazirah* or 'strife-poem'—a composition which leaves little room for poetic thoughts. *Qitas* (fragments) and *rubais* (quatrains) served to express the poets' lighter moods. Yet the Ghaznavide poets, for all their short-comings, have a certain freshness which succeeding ages have lacked. There is no artificiality about them. They had tasted the joy of material prosperity and loved to praise the beauty of

women of flesh and blood and the alluring intoxication of wine. The reality of their human emotions prevented them from falling into the meaningless verbosity of later ages; and if they lack the deeper meaning of their mystic successors, whose songs begin and end with a symbolic representation of the absolute, their poetry is at least in touch with life. The poet sang of what his audience knew and felt—the clash of arms on the field of strife, the joys of companionship in the warrior's camp, the innumerable emotions of men and women whom an artificial culture had not yet deprived of their native intensity of feelings, and above all the glories and sorrows of their much loved Iran. The thoughts and emotions of the educated men of the day were not the unbecoming theme of the poet's verse. The great period of Persian poetry, that begins with Sadi and ends with Jami, was yet to come. Nevertheless the constructive genius of the poet won victories more solid than warrior's futile campaigns. The empire of Mahmud crumbled to dust nine years after the Sultan's death. The 'Shahnama' lives for ever.

Mahmud's work in India is reserved for a separate discussion but the Sultan was essentially a central Asiatic prince. The historic soil of Ajam was the garden and the grave of the Ghaznavide hopes. The cosmopolitan administration of the Caliphate had been shattered beyond the possibility of reconstruction, and the "new imperialism" with its secular and Persian outlook had been in the air for some generations past. Now 'imperialism' meant two things—first, a conquest of the smaller principalities that would bring all Muslim peoples, who had been infused with the spirit of Persian civilisation within the fold of a single state; and secondly, the erection of a just and beneficent administration that would reconcile every section of the subjects to their common Government by an era of prosperity and peace. Mahmud's performance of the first part of his work is as remarkable as his failure to perform the second. The rise of the Ghaznavide Empire struck contemporaries with wonder; but they were no less surprised with the rapidity of its fall.

A man of refinement and culture with an instinctive admiration for everything beautiful in literature and art, it was in generalship that Mahmud excelled. War was the prevailing madness, but never since the fall of the Sassanian Empire before the armies of the Second Caliph

(38) Some very interesting anecdotes about Alberuni and Bu Ali Sina will be found in the 'Chahar Maqala' of Nizami-ul Aruzi-us Samarqandi (Gibb's Memorial Series). A short biography of Bu Ali Sina is given in the *Habibus Siyar*.

had an invader so invincible appeared on Persian soil. The exploits of Alexander in the East were rivalled, and in fact surpassed. The Tartar barbarians of the north were driven pell-mell beyond the Jaxartes. The 'minor dynasties' of Persia were crushed to death. From Isfahan to Bundelkhand and from Samarkand to Gujrat, the Ghaznavide subdued every opponent and struck down every rival. The conquered people were no cowards. They fought bravely and were as willing to die as their Ghaznavide opponents. It was Mahmud's scientific imagination that made the difference. Against the clumsy organisation of the Rajputs and their childish trust in mere numbers he brought into the field an army that had been trained to obey the commands of a single will. The thick-headed Tartars found to their cost that mere courage and a confidence in fate, was no match for the fierce onslaught of disciplined ranks. But strategy rather than tactics was Mahmud's strong point. From his throne at Ghaznin his "eagle-eye" surveyed everything in east and west. He knew where to strike and he always struck hard. The rapidity of his marches surprised and bewildered his opponents. The man who, in the course of a single winter, over-awed the Carmathians of Multan, defeated the Tartars at Balkh and yet found time enough to capture a rebellious governor on the banks of the Jhelum, could not fail to create a havoc among his stout-hearted but slow-moving contemporaries. And yet Mahmud, for all his daring, was the most cautious of men. He never attacked an enemy he was not strong enough to over-power. He never failed in what he undertook because he undertook nothing impossible. The Indian invasions, in which his military genius shows itself at its best, are a marvellous mixture of boldness with caution.

Administrative questions, on the other hand, never interested Mahmud, and while taking up the command of the army in person, he left the prosaic task of carrying on the government to his ministers. His civil officers had the efficiency he required; they were strict and heavy-handed and worked their machinery with the same discipline and order as their military colleagues. But they lacked the breadth of vision which would have enabled them to supplement the conquests of their master by a far-sighted statesmanship and construct a machinery of imperial administration on permanent and durable foundations. His *wazirs* were certainly clever and

thorough in their methods, but like all administrative experts they were devoid of idealism, and an empire without ideals is an edifice on quick-sands. For the first two years of his reign his father's *wazir*, Abul Abbas Fasih Ahmed bin Isfarieni, continued at his post. Abul Abbas was ignorant of Arabic and made Persian the official language—an innovation abolished by his famous successor. But if lacking in education, he had that extensive knowledge of affairs which was to be expected of one who had risen to be the second greatest man in the kingdom from the humble position of a clerk, and 'worked marvels in the administration of the state and the army.' The Sultan, however, quarrelled with him over the possession of a Turkish slave, and the fallen *wazir* was tortured to death by the nobles who wished to deprive him of all his wealth. Abul Abbas' successor, the great Khwaja Ahmad bin Hasan Maimandi, left on his contemporaries an impression second only to that of Mahmud. A foster brother and class-mate of the Sultan, Khwaja Ahmad was distinguished throughout his life by an unimpeachable loyalty to the House of Ghaznin, which in no way interfered with the exacting obedience he demanded of his subordinates for himself. His father, Hasan Maimandi, collector of revenue at Bust, was hanged by Subuktigin on a charge of peculation, but the sad event had no effect on the son's career. It would have been difficult, if not impossible, for the Sultan to embark on his conquering career without the organising capacity of his minister to support him. An excellent scholar, an intriguer of the highest order and a stern man of business, Ahmad directed the affairs of the Government for eighteen years with an efficiency none could deny. But a strong *wazir* and a strong Sultan were really incompatible; the Khwaja's soft tongue and effusive loyalty delayed, but could not finally prevent, the inevitable rupture. His extraordinary ascendancy was painful to many, and a strong party, headed by the Sultan's son-in-law, Amir Ali, and the great general, Altuntash, was formed against him. The Sultan made up his mind to prove that the Khwaja was not indispensable and imprisoned him in an Indian fort. As if to show that the office could be abolished, if necessary, Mahmud refrained from appointing a *wazir* for some time. His choice ultimately fell on Ahmad Husain bin Mikal, generally known as Hasnak. The new *wazir*, a close personal friend of the Sultan, was

remarkable for his 'conversational powers,' and unfortunately also for 'the impetuosity of his temperament', which impelled him to take the wrong side on the succession question that arose towards the end of Mahmud's reign.

An extensive empire had been established over the ruins of many governments. What for? We are not told that Mahmud's administration was better than what had existed before, while the collection of revenue was certainly more strict. Everybody complained that the Sultan went on conquering without being able to establish peace and order in the conquered lands. The condition of the Punjab was chaotic and other provinces fared no better. Caravan routes were unsafe and the occasional efforts of the Government to provide for the safety of its merchants display its weakness rather than its strength. "He is a stupid fellow", a Muslim mystic is said to have remarked of him, "Unable to administer what he already possesses, he yet goes out to conquer new countries." A strong sense of justice Mahmud certainly had, and many stories and anecdotes are told about him, but he never went beyond deciding with acuteness and wisdom the few cases that came before him. No general effort was made to suppress the robber-chiefs whose castles prevented all inter-communication between the various parts of the empire. No imperial police system was organised to perform the work which smaller princes present on the spot had done before. The armed and organised populations of medieval cities and towns required but little help from the state to stand up against the forces of disorder, but even that little was not forthcoming. We have only to contrast the Ghaznavide Government with the Empires of the Seljuqs and the Sultan—Emperors of Delhi—to see the element Mahmud woefully lacked. No laws, good or bad, stand to his name. No administrative measure of importance emanated from his acute mind, which failed to see anything greater or nobler than an ever-expanding field of military glory. The peoples forcibly brought within the Empire—Indians, Afghans, Turks, Tartars and Persians—were joined together by no bond except their subordination to a common monarch! A wise, firm and beneficent administration would have reconciled them to the loss of their local liberties, but that is just what Mahmud failed to provide. The Sultan and his officers alone were interested in the continuation of the empire; and when nine years after Mahmud's death, the Seljuqs

knocked down the purposeless structure, no one cared to weep over its fate.

These observations will enable us to assign Mahmud his proper place in eastern history. He was essentially the pioneer of the 'new imperialism' brought into vogue by the Persian Renaissance. The era of the 'Universal Muslim Caliphate' had gone, never to return and the Successor of the Prophet was no more the administrative head of the Faithful. The 'minor dynasties' had proved themselves a pest by their unceasing intrigues and purposeless wars. The only possible alternative was a 'secular empire', or '*saltanat*' as Mahmud called it, which would unite the Muslim world together and give it the peace and strength it longed for. Islam had neither contemplated nor sanctioned the moral foundations of the new institution, which drew its inspiration from ancient Persia, and breathed its pagan spirit; and the *shariat*, in spite of its democratic outlook, was gradually twisted to suit the requirements of the time and ended by preaching submission to the monarch, who assumed, under the pretence of being the 'shadow of God' (*Zileullah*), the airs of the 'divine' Sassanian emperors. The result was both good and bad. The democratic feeling, which has persisted in the social life of the Mussalmans in spite of all opposing forces, was eliminated from politics, and political subservience, from being a postulate of necessity and prudence, was elevated to the dignity of a religious duty. "Obedience to Kings," says Abul Fazl, summing up the wisdom and the folly of six hundred years, "is a kind of divine worship." At the same time the monarchical idea and the secularisation of politics led to much that was undoubtedly beneficial. The peoples of Ajam were welded together by their loyalty to a common king in spite of their racial differences and sectarian strifes. Moreover it became possible for Muslims and non-Muslims to live together when religion was considered as a private affair of the king and the sphere of Government was restricted to the secular affairs of the subjects.

To Mahmud of Ghaznin belongs the credit of being the first Muslim Emperor, and to him more than to any one else the rise of 'monarchy' among the Mussalmans is due. It does not detract from his merit that he was followed by statesmen abler than himself and by dynasties more permanent than his own. The Seljuqs of Persia and the Emperor-Sultans of Delhi surpass-

ed him as administrators, and Chengiz and Timur in conquering might. A pioneer is bound to have his shortcomings. His Central Asiatic policy was devoid of statesmanship while his work in India was even more deplorable.

Though India took up much of Mahmud's time, she had no place in his dreams. His real aim was the establishment of a Turko-Persian Empire and the Indian expeditions were a means to that end. They gave him the prestige of a Holy Warrior, which was required to raise him head and shoulders above the basket-full of Ajami princes, every one of whom was determined to be great, while the wealth of the temples made the financial position of his kingdom secure and enabled him to organise an army which the minor princes were in no position to resist. Beyond this Mahmud, who knew the limitations of his power, did not try to go. No conquest was intended because no conquest was possible. A Muslim Government over the country was beyond the region of practical politics without a native Muslim population to support it. Mahmud was no missionary; conversion was not his object; and he had too much of good sense to waste away his army in a futile attempt to keep down a hostile population by armed garrisons. He took at a sweep-stake all that centuries of Indian industry had accumulated, and then left the Indians to rebuild, as well as they could, the ruined fortifications of their cities and fallen altars of their gods. He obtained the gold and the prestige he needed and he had aspired for nothing else. Except for a passing mood at Anhilwara he never thought of establishing his power over the country. Annexation was not his object. The addition of the Punjab to his kingdom so late as 1021-22 proves, rather than disproves, his non-territorial ambitions. He had at first expected his alliance with Anandpal to enable him to penetrate to the trans-Gangetic plain. That alliance failed owing to the latter's death and Mahmud felt the necessity of having his footing somewhere in the country. Even then he seems to have looked on Lahore and Multan simply as robbers' perches, from where he could plunge into Hindustan and Gujrat at will. His western campaigns, on the other hand, give evidence of a different policy. They always led to annexations, and very often Mahmud personally supervised the establishment of his Government over the conquered territory.

The Indian campaigns are one of the finest

achievements of military genius. Mahmud was venturing into an unknown country of large rivers, thick forests and a bitterly hostile people of whose language and customs he was ignorant. To another man it would have been a leap in the dark but Mahmud, unwilling to take any risk, proceeded warily, advancing from point to point, with a mixture of boldness and caution which is as admirable as the fearless and dashing courage of his subordinates. A false step would have meant disaster; the loss of a single battle would have left his disorganised forces at the mercy of the population. At first he never ventured more than ten or twelve marches from his base and his acquisition of Bhera enabled him to strike safely at the enemy. But caution brought success, success brought prestige, and Mahmud, finding that his mere name had grown powerful enough to overawe his enemies, plunged thrice into the trans-Gangetic plain and a fourth time into Gujrat. The campaigns look like triumphal marches but were really full of danger. Even an indecisive battle would have revived the spirit of the much harrassed Indians and brought unexpected forces into the field. Mahmud trembled when in 1019-20, after an uncontested march of three months from his capital, he at last came across the Rai of Kalinjar, who could show a good fight; yet the flight of the Rai at night shows the terror the Sultan inspired. Still if Mahmud was to possess himself of the treasures of the temple, the risk had to be undertaken; for a piecemeal annexation of the country was beyond his strength. The issue showed that he had not miscalculated any important factor of the situation.

The Sultan's great advantage over his Indian Organised anarchy of opponents was the unitary organisation of his state. The resources of Ghaznin were at the disposal of a single mind; the strength of Hindustan was divided among a multitude of factious *Rais*, sub-*Rais*, local chiefs and village-headmen, between whom anything like sensible co-operation was impossible. The feudal organisation of the Rajputs, with its divided allegiance, clannish spirit and love of local independence, left them helpless before an enemy to whom feudalism and clannish feeling was alike unknown. The Ghaznavides knew and obeyed their master; the Rajputs had no master to obey. The power of the Rai of Lahore was defied by the *Rais* subordinate to him, who refused to be relegated to the position of mere governors; and

instead of meeting the enemy as the loyal generals of the chief whom his position and pre-eminence alike seemed to mark off for a national hero, they preferred to be defeated by the Ghaznavide one by one. An internal revolution, which would place the defensive power of the country in the hands of a central power, was absolutely necessary if the newly-aisen enemy was to be resisted with success. But the hand of the reformer was numbered by the time-honoured customs of ages; and the tribal feuds of the Rajputs, their complicated system of military tenure and local rights, prevented them from mustering in full force on the field of battle. The result was defeat, disgrace, disaster. Temple after temple was plundered; the centres of Indian civilisation were ruined; and neither the wisdom of the Brahman, nor the heroism of the Rajput, nor the pious adoration of silent millions could prevent their idols of gold and silver from being melted into Ghaznavide coin. The Indians did not lack fighting spirit, and they had a country and a religion fully worthy of their devotion. The carnage round the Somnath temple, the courage with which the garrison of many an unknown fort died to the last man before the un-wavering Ghaznavide ranks, showed what better leadership might have achieved,—proved, if proof was needed, that even in the hour of deepest gloom the Indians had not forgotten how to die. But their social and political customs paralysed them; for with us, unfortunately, custom is not an accident but the essence of faith.

The great Sultan did not fail to take advantage of this 'organised anarchy' once he had discovered its real nature. His first steps were tentative, but the spectacle of an army, innumerable as ants and locusts, flying away from Waihind (1008) before even the battle had become warm, convinced him that the Indian confederacy was a soul-less ghost before which he had needlessly trembled. With ceaseless care he and his father had forged a terrible machine which could be now used to good purpose. The Ghaznavide army was composed of heterogenous material, but strict discipline, years of comradeship in arms, the memory of past victories and hope of future spoliation and plunder, had welded Indians, Afghans, Turks and Persians together. Training had created confidence and confidence led to success. Above all the subordination of everything to the penetrative intellect and commanding will of the Sultan gave

it an irresistible momentum against its faction-ridden opponents. Mahmud flashed like a lightning across the path of the bewildered *Rais*, thrust himself between them before they could unite, drove them away from one another and defeated them in detail. There was no resisting his might. '*Vini, vidi, vici.*' A dark fear began to oppress the Indian mind. It was imagined that the Mussalmans would be always victorious, that a new race of Huns would hold the sacred soil of Aryavarta in perpetual terrorism. Nothing could be farther from truth. The Ghaznavide had not come to stay.

The non-religious character of the expeditions will be obvious to the critic who has grasped the salient features of the spirit of the age. They were not crusades but secular exploits waged for the greed of glory and gold. It is impossible to read a religious motive into them. The Ghaznavide army was not a host of holy warriors resolved to live and die for the faith; it was an enlisted and paid army of trained veterans accustomed to fight Hindus and Mussalmans alike. Only in two of the later campaigns were any volunteers present; and insignificant as was their proportion to the regular troops, Mahmud found them unfit for the rapid and disciplined movements he desired. The Sultan was too little of a democratic hero to have marshalled the forces of a triumphant fanaticism and he never essayed the task. (39) The missionary spirit, that might have wept over the fate of so many souls 'lost to paradise' or seen in India a fertile soil for implanting the Prophet's Faith, was denied to him. His object was lower and more realisable. Content to deprive the 'unbelievers' of their worldly goods he never forced them to change their faith and left India the non-Muslim land he found it.

For time out of mind the exports of India had been in excess of her imports and precious metals had been slowly drawn into the country. Mines were also being worked in various provinces. The natural consequence was an ever accumulating mass of gold and silver, which won for India a reputation for fabulous riches, and by the time of Mahmud had become a serious national danger.

(39) It is a significant fact that Mahmud seldom, if ever, shared the hard life of his soldiers. Such a thing would have been below the dignity of the new monarchy.

Add to it, generations of pious Hindus had gradually transferred the wealth of the country to the temples, which, unlike the peasants' purse and the *Rai's* treasury, never lost what they had once gained. It was impossible that the Indian temples, like the Catholic Church in Europe, should not sooner or later tempt some one strong and unscrupulous enough for the impious deed. Nor was it to be expected that a man of Mahmud's character would allow the tolerance Islam inculcates to restrain him from taking possession of the gold, to which his heart turned as a magnet turns towards iron, when the Indians themselves had simplified his work by concentrating the wealth of their country at a few selected places. Plundering an enemy's place of worship was regarded by contemporaries as a legitimate act of war—the unavoidable consequence of a defeat. His Hindu opponents were infuriated, but not surprised, at what he did, they knew his motives were economic, not religious, and provided a sufficient indemnity was offered, he was not unwilling to spare their idols. He took away the gold they would have loved to retain but never compelled them to join a creed in which they did not believe. His Indian soldiers were free to blow their *Sankh* and bow before their idols in Imperial Ghaznin. He accepted the principle of toleration in the restricted form in which his age understood it; and it would be futile to blame him for not rising to the moral height of the generations that followed and the generations that had gone before.

No honest historian should seek to hide, and no Mussalman acquainted with his faith will try to justify, the wanton destruction of temples that followed in the wake of the Ghaznavide army. Contemporary as well as later historians do not attempt to veil the nefarious acts but relate them with pride. It is easy to twist one's conscience; and we know only too well how easy it is to find a religious justification for what people wish to do from worldly motives. Islam sanctioned neither the vandalism nor the plundering motives of the invader; no principle known to the *Shariat* justified the uncalled for attack on Hindu princes who had done Mahmud and his subjects no harm; the shameless destruction of places of worship is condemned by the law of every creed. And yet Islam, though it was not an *inspiring motive*, could be utilised as an *a posteriori*

justification of what had been done. It was not difficult to identify the spoliation of non-Muslim populations as a service to Islam, and persons to whom the argument was addressed found it too much in consonance with the promptings of their own passions to examine it critically. So the precepts of the Quran were misinterpreted or ignored and the tolerant policy of the Second Caliph was cast aside, in order that Mahmud and his myrmidons may be able to plunder Hindu temples with a clear and untroubled conscience.

It is a situation to make one pause. With a new faith everything depends on its method of presentation. It will be welcomed if it appears as a message of hope, and hated if it wears the mask of a brutal terrorism. Islam as a world-force is to be judged by the life of the Prophet and the policy of the Second Caliph. Its early successes were really due to its character as a revolutionary force against religions that had lost their hold on the minds of the people and against social and political systems that were grinding down the lower classes. Under such circumstances the victory of Islam was considered by the conquered population as something intrinsically desirable; it ended the regime of an aristocratic priesthood and a decrepit monarchy, while the doctrine of equality, first preached in the eastern world, opened a career to the talent of the depressed masses and resulted in a wholesale conversion of the populations of Arabia, Syria, Persia and Iraq. Now Hinduism with its intense and living faith was something quite unlike the Zoroastrianism of Persia and the Christianity of Asia Minor, which had so easily succumbed before the invader; it suffered from no deep seated internal disease and, a peculiarity of the national character of the Hindus, 'deeply seated in them and manifest to everybody,' was their intense satisfaction and pride in their customs. "They believe", says Alberuni, "that there is no country but theirs, no nation like theirs, no king like theirs, no religion like theirs, no science like theirs. They are haughty, foolishly vain, self-conceited and stolid. According to their belief, there is no country on earth but theirs, no other race of men but theirs, and no created beings besides them have any knowledge or science whatsoever. Their haughtiness is such that, if you tell them of any science or scholars in Khorasan and Persia, they will think you both an ignoramus and a liar." People with this insularity of outlook were not likely to lend their ears to a new message. But the policy of

Mahmud secured the rejection of Islam without a hearing.

A religion is naturally judged by the character of those who believe in it; their faults and their virtues are supposed to be the effect of their creed. It was inevitable that the Hindus should consider Islam a deviation from truth when its followers deviated so deplorably from the path of rectitude and justice. A people is not conciliated by being robbed of all it holds most dear, nor will it love a faith that comes to it in the guise of plundering armies and leaves devastated fields and ruined cities as monuments of its victorious method for reforming the morals of a prosperous but erratic world. "They came, burnt, killed, plundered, captured—and went away" was a Persian's description of the Mongol invasion of his country; it would not be an inappropriate summary of Mahmud's achievement in Hindustan. It was not thus that the Prophet had preached Islam in Arabia; and no one need be surprised that the career of the conquering Ghaznavide created a burning hatred for the new faith in the Hindu mind and blocked its progress more effectually than armies and forts. "Mahmud," says the observant Alberuni, "utterly ruined the prosperity of the country, and performed those wonderful exploits, by which the Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in all directions and like a tale of old in the mouth of the people. Their scattered remains cherish, of course, the most inveterate hatred of all Muslims. This is the reason, too, why Hindu sciences have retired far away from those parts of the country conquered by us, and have fled to places where our hand cannot yet reach, to Kashmir, Benares and other places. And there the antagonism between them and all foreigners receive more and more nourishment both from political and religious and other causes."

"The evil that men do lives after them; the good is often buried with their bones!" Mahmud's work, whatever it might have been, was swept off fifteen years after his death by the Hindu Revival. "Those who had taken up the sword perished by the sword". East of Lahore no trace of the Mussalmans remained; and Mahmud's victories while they failed to shake the moral confidence of Hinduism, won an everlasting infamy for his faith. Two centuries later men, who differed from Mahmud as widely as two human beings can possibly differ, once more brought Islam into the land. But times had

changed. The arrogance of the Mussalmans had disappeared with the conquest of Ajam by the Mongolian hordes. The spirit of the Persian Renaissance had blossomed and died, and the new mysticism, with its cosmopolitan tendencies and with doctrines which did not essentially differ from what the Hindu *rishis* had taught in ancient days, made possible that exchange of ideas between men of the two creeds which Alberuni had longed for in vain. Instead of the veterans who had crossed the frontier in search of their winter spoils there came a host of refugees from the burning villages of Central Asia longing for a spot where they could lay their heads in peace and casting aside all hopes of returning to the land of their birth. The serpent had reappeared but without his poisonous fangs. The intellectual history of medieval India begins with the advent of Shaikh Moinuddin of Ajmere and its political history with the accession of Sultan Alauddin Khilji; the two features which distinguish it from preceding generations are the mystic propaganda started by the Chishti Saint and the administrative and economic measures inaugurated by the revolutionary Emperor. With the proper history of our country Mahmud has nothing to do. But we have inherited from him the most bitter drop in our cup. To later generation Mahmud became the Arch-fanatic he never was; and in that 'incarnation' he is still worshipped by such Indian Mussalmans as have cast off the teaching of Lord Krishna in their devotion to minor gods. Islam's worst enemies have ever been its own fanatical followers.

IV: Fall of the Ghaznavide Empire.

Sultan Mahmud's two eldest sons, Masud and Mohammad, were born on the same day and it was difficult to decide the question of precedence between them. But Mohammad, a virtuous and educated prince who composed verses in Arabic, had neither the energy nor the strength necessary for wielding a sceptre, and the eyes of all men were naturally turned towards his brother, who had the physique and personality of a Rustum. No one could lift Masud's mace with one hand from the ground and his arrow pierced through a plate of steel. But the Sultan, somewhat envious of the feats totally beyond his own strength, made a will in favour of Mohammad and obtained a *firman* con-

firming it from the Caliph. The *wazir*, Hasnak, also worked for Mohammad and a brittle alliance of the nobles was formed in his favour. Masud refused to submit. 'The Sword is a truer authority than any writing,' he stoutly declared; and the Sultan, to whom his son's answer was conveyed, felt it to be painfully true.

The conquests in Eastern Persia during the last years of Mahmud's Sultan Mohammad. reign had been mostly due to Masud, and when returning from Ray to Balkh in 1029, the Sultan had left him in charge of Khorasan and the newly conquered territories. It was, consequently, easier for Mohammad's supporters to obtain control of the capital on his father's death. They summoned him from Gorkan and placed him on the throne. The new Sultan distributed large sums to make himself popular. His subjects and soldiers thanked him for the kindness but refused to take him seriously. Every one expected Masud would come and overthrow the rickety Government. Less than two months after his accession the famous Abun Najm Ahmad Ayaz, Ali Dayah and a body of slaves took horses from the royal stables in broad daylight and started for Bust. They were overtaken by Soyand Rai, the commander of the Hindus, and in the battle that followed most of the slaves were slain. But Soyand Rai himself was killed, and Ayaz and Ali Dayah succeeded in reaching Masud's camp at Naishapur.

Masud had offered to remain content with Masud's advance. Khorasan and Iraq provided his name was given precedence in the *Khutba*, but on receiving a harsh reply from his brother he decided to march on Ghaznin. Mohammad on his side advanced from the capital to Takinabad, where he passed the month of Ramazan. But his strongest supporters, Yusuf bin Subaktigin, a brother of the late Sultan, Amir Ali Kheshawand and the *Wazir* Hasnak, decided to make a belated attempt to please Masud by a betrayal of their own candidate. Two days after Eid, on the night of October 3, they dragged him out of his tent and sent him to a fort of Kandhar, and advanced to welcome his brother at Herat. Masud, however, refused to overlook the fault of those who had conspired against him for years. Mohammad was blinded by his brother's order. Amir Ali Kheshawand was put to death and Yusuf bin Subaktigin was thrown into prison where he died.

Hasnak was reserved for the disgrace of a public execution at Balkh. Fall of Hasnak. Masud recalled his father's famous *wazir*, Khwaja Ahmad bin Hasan Maimandi, from his Indian prison and entrusted him with the office he had held for eighteen years with such dignity and power. The fate of the fallen *Wazir*, so graphically described by Baihaki, won the sympathy of all hearts. After weeks of hard and degrading imprisonment Hasnak was summoned to the *diwan* where the great Khwaja behaved with extraordinary politeness. He was asked to sign a bond giving up all his property to the Sultan and the two *wazirs* parted with a touching forgiveness and affection. "In the time of Sultan Mahmud," Hasnak apologized, "and by his orders, I ridiculed the Khwaja; it was a fault but I had no help but to obey. The post of *wazir* was given to me, though it was no place for me. Still I formed no design against the Khwaja and I always favoured his people. I am weary of life but some care ought to be taken of my children and my family and the Khwaja must forgive me". He burst into tears and the Khwaja's eyes were filled with tears also. "You are forgiven," he replied, "but you must not be so dejected for happiness is still possible. I have considered and accept it of the Almighty—I will take care of your family if you are doomed". But the Sultan had made up his mind and the intrigues of Ba Sahl Zauzni, the minister of war, left the issue in no doubt. While passing through Syria on his return journey from Mecca during the reign of Sultan Mahmud, Hasnak had received a robe of honour from the anti-Caliph of Egypt, and this had laid him open to the charge of being a Carmathian. The Caliph of Bagdad had protested but Mahmud, who knew Hasnak's rationalistic beliefs, would not allow him to be punished for an imputation so baseless.

"Write to this doting old Caliph", Mahmud had ordered his secretary, "that for the sake of the Abbasides I have meddled with all the world. I am hunting for Carmathians, and whenever one is found who is proved to be so, he is impaled. If it was proved that Hasnak is a Carmathian, the Commander of the Faithful would soon learn what had happened to him. But I have brought him up and he stands on an equality with my sons and my brothers. If he is a Carmathian, so am I also." The old charge was now revived. Two men

were dressed up as messengers from the Caliph demanding Hasnak's death as a Carmathian, and Masud, with pretended reluctance, acceded to the Caliph's demand. But everybody knew the truth. "If Masud mounts the throne, let me be hanged," Hasnak had declared in the days of his arrogant power; and Masud having succeeded, Hasnak had to mount 'the steed he had never ridden before'.

At the foot of the scaffold Hasnak threw off his coat and shirt. 'His body was white as silver and his face like hundreds of thousands of pictures.' All men were crying with grief. He replied neither to the insults of his enemies nor to the questions asked, but his lips were seen moving in some silent prayer. He was made to wear a helmet and vizor lest his head, which was to be sent to the Caliph, should be battered beyond recognition by the stones the public was expected to throw. But the public, barring a few vagabonds hired by the government, threw no stones. A great uproar would have arisen if the royal horsemen had not prevented it. His fellow-citizens, the Naishapurians, wept bitterly when the hangman cast a rope round his neck and suffocated him. For seven years Hasnak hung from the gibbet. His corpse dried up; the bones of his feet dropped off, and 'not a remnant of him was left to be taken down and buried in the usual way—no one knew where his head was or where his body.' A last touch to the tragedy was given by Hasnak's mother who refused to weep as women weep; but a deep cry of anguish burst from her lips when she was told of his death. "What a fortune was my son's!" She exclaimed, "A king like Mahmud gave him this world, and one like Masud the next."

Masud now seemed as secure as his father had ever been. He had a commanding personality and a strong and unbending resolution. He was surrounded by a body of efficient and loyal officers who had served his father for years. He had no rival to fear. The Government appeared strong in the extent of its territory, its armies, its revenue and its mass of hoarded wealth. Nevertheless a careful observer would have found the forces of decay everywhere at work. It was not easy to wield Mahmud's sceptre. Masud was unheeding and self-confidence gave way to a senseless panic in advice of his wisest counsellors. His superb

self-confidence gave way to a senseless panic in the hour of danger and showed him to be totally lacking in that calmness of nerve which comes through the strength of the intellect rather than power of muscle and bone. He struck thoughtlessly and in the wrong quarter with a total incapacity to distinguish the most dangerous of his enemies from the most contemptible of his foes. The firmness with which he wielded his axe and his spear in the field of battle shone in tragic contrast with the folly with which he directed his campaigns and destroyed the *morale* of his troops before the enemy could fall upon them. Equally lacking in the gifts of a statesman and a general, Masud would have done well to rely on the judgment of a wiser man. Khwaja Hasan Maimandi restored to more than his former glory directed the government with efficiency so far as civil affairs were concerned but the Khwaja never meddled in military matters, and his death in 1030 left Masud free to mismanage things to his heart's content; and within ten years of his father's death he had lost his army and his empire and was flying a helpless fugitive to an inhospitable land.

The two dangers Masud had to fear were the Rais of Hindustan in the east and the Seljuqs in the west. The former, terrorised rather than subdued by Mahmud, were sure to wake up when the invincible conqueror was no more. But they were a lethargic people and would in any case remain on the defensive. Masud's obvious plan should have been to crush the Seljuqs before it was too late and leave the Rais for a more favourable season. But while the Seljuq peril was growing apace, he preferred to divert his strength towards Hindustan in a useless emulation of his father's achievements, who, with a wisdom and a generalship denied to his son, had struck simultaneously in east and west. We will first describe the comparatively prosaic events of the Punjab.

The peculiar position of the Indian province had induced Mahmud to take the extraordinary step of separating its civil and military authorities. All administrative affairs were placed in the hands of Abul Hasan Ali, known as Qazi Shirazi, a man of commonplace capacity whom the Sultan in one of his humours had thought of pitting against the august dignity of the great Khwaja, while Ali Ariyaruk, a Turkish general of remarkable dash

and courage, was appointed Commander-in-chief. The Qazi and the general were independent of each other and in direct subordination to Ghaznin. To keep them both in check Bul Kasim bul Hakam was appointed superintendent of the news-carriers and his duty was to report everything important to Ghaznin. This division of power was intended to keep the province in check by preventing the concentration of authority in a single hand, while by the appointment of a commander, whose sole business was to wage war against the Thakurs (Rais) Mahmud sought to make the plunder of Hindustan a permanent affair. The plan miscarried. Ariyaruk bore down all opposition and made himself supreme; the Qazi in retaliation dressed himself in military clothes but was relegated to a secondary position. The soft words of the Khwaja, however, succeeded in alluring Ariyaruk to Balkh where he was arrested and thrown into prison (March 1031).

The instructions of the Khwaja to the new Commander-in-chief, Ahmad Nialtigin.

Nialtigin, could leave him in no doubt that cordial co-operation between him and the Qazi would be looked upon with suspicion at Ghaznin. "This self-sufficient fellow of Shiraz wishes the generals to be under his command. You must not say anything to any person respecting revenue or political matters, but you must perform all the duties of a commander, so that the fellow may not be able to put his hand on your sinews and drag you down." On Nialtigin's arrival at Lahore the strife between the civil and military authorities recommenced. The Qazi complained of the semi-regal state which Nialtigin was keeping up, of his Turkoman slaves and his possible designs. But the Khwaja supported Nialtigin, and the general in high spirits led a campaign into Hindustan. Marching with the

Benares.

rapidity he had learnt from his master, he crossed the Jumna and the Ganges and appeared unexpectedly before Benares. It would have been dangerous to remain long in the city, but he succeeded in holding it from morning to mid-day during which short interval the markets of drapers, jewellers and perfumers were plundered, 'though it was impossible to do more.' The Qazi found his opportunity. He sent confidential reports to Ghaznin of the immense wealth Nialtigin had obtained and withheld from the Sultan. "What his intentions are

nobody knows but he calls himself a son of Mahmud." Fear or ambition actually incited Nialtigin to treason, and on returning to Lahore he besieged the Qazi in the fort of Mandkakar. It was a bid for independence. The Sultan consulted his high officers but none of them was inclined to lead a campaign to India in the heat and the rain (July 1033). "When one runs away from Ahmad Nialtigin there cannot be much honour left," the minister of war remarked, "but the general sent against him will have enough to do for there is a strong force at Lahore." Ashamed of the pusillanimity of his colleagues a Hindu general stepped forward and offered his services. They were gratefully accepted by the Sultan.

The career of Tilak, the Hindu, shows the rapidity with which Tilak, the Hindu. Hindus and Mussalmans were both forgetting their religious differences in the service of a common king and the superbly oriental feeling of loyalty to the salt. Though the son of a barber, he was of handsome appearance, had studied 'dissimulation, amours and witchcraft' in Kashmir and wrote excellent Hindi and Persian. He had first entered the service of Qazi Shirazi but left it for the better prospects offered by the Khwaja, to whom he acted as a secretary and interpreter and was entrusted with the most delicate affairs. Even the Khwaja's fall did him no harm, for Mahmud wanted clever and energetic young men and Tilak's fortune kept on improving. Soyand Rai, the general of the Indian troops, took the wrong side on the succession question, and when he was slain in the skirmish against Ayaz, Masud appointed Tilak to the vacant post. Thus he obtained the name of a man. "Kettle-drums were beaten in his quarters according to the custom of Hindu chiefs and banners with gilded tops were granted." He had an army under his command, the tent and umbrella of a Ghaznavide general, and sat in the charmed circle of the Sultan's confidential officers. "Wise men do not wonder at such facts," says the reflective Baihaki, "because nobody is born great—men became such." This Tilak had excellent qualities and all the time he lived he sustained no injury on account of being the son of a barber.

Tilak drew up the plan of his campaign, and as soon as it was sanctioned by the Sultan, hastened against the rebel. Nialtigin was unable to hold Lahore and fled towards the

desert and Tilak followed close on his heels with an army consisting mostly of Hindus. He set a price of 500,000 *dirhams* on Nialtigin's head, cut off the right of his Mussalman supporters whenever they fell into his clutches and promised a pardon to all who would desert him. The policy had the result desired. Nialtigin was defeated in battle and his Turkoman soldiers came over to Tilak in a body. 'The span of Ahmad's life was narrowed, his men deserted and at last matters reached so far that the Jats and every kind of infidel joined in the pursuit.' He was ultimately slain by the Jats while attempting to cross the Indus. Masud abolished the plan of two independent jurisdictions in the Punjab and assigned the government to his son, Prince Majdud, with supreme command of civil as well as military affairs. Nevertheless the province remained in a state of turmoil and disorder. Ghaznavide garrisons held the towns: Hinduism and freedom reigned supreme on the country side. Nothing else was possible when the government was so incompatible with the spirit of the people.

In the winter of 1037 Masud decided on an expedition against Hansi. The Hansi Expedition, 1037. The condition of the Punjab was no doubt unsatisfactory but the capture of another Hindu fort could not make the government stable. The Seljuqs were becoming more powerful every day and the Khwaja advised him to postpone the Indian venture till he had subdued his western enemies. "If my lord should not go to Khorasan, if the Turkomans should conquer a province, or if they should conquer even a village, and do that which they are accustomed to do, namely, mutilate, slaughter and burn, ten 'holy wars' at Hansi would not compensate." But Masud was deaf to all advice. He said he had made a vow and must fulfil it. He marched by way of Kabul to the bank of the Jhelum where an illness, owing to which he gave up drinking for a time, prevented him from moving further for a fortnight. Another march of three weeks brought him to the virgin fort of Hansi. The garrison made a desperate defence and relaxed no effort, but the fort was stormed after a siege of ten days and its treasure divided among the army. Masud next marched against Sonpat, but its Rai, Dipal Hari, fled away and his city was annexed to the Punjab. Another chief, named Ram, sent treasures to the invader but apologised that he

could not come in person owing to old age and weakness.

On returning to Ghaznin the Sultan discovered that during his absence the Seljuqs had plundered Taligan and Fariyab and were besieging Ray. He felt ashamed of his Indian expedition and promised to advance against them in the coming summer. The Ghaznin-Seljuq contest was rapidly drawing to a head.

"The rustic, perhaps the wisest, portion of the 'Turkomans,'" says Gibbon, "continued to

Rise of the Seljuqs. dwell in the tents of their ancestors, while the Turks of the court and the city were refined by business and softened by pleasure." No love existed between the two sections of the race. The civilised Turkish population of the great cities of Turkestan and the Turkish peasants, who had learnt the value of agriculture, found the ways of their untamed brethren intolerable. For two centuries the chiefs of Mawaraun Nahr had acted as the frontier outposts against the barbaric Tartars. But the rise of the Ghaznavide empire had greatly weakened their strength and it was impossible for them to discharge their former function with efficiency. The remnant of the Seljuq tribes left in Mawaraun Nahr was intensely hated by the neighbouring chiefs, whose territories they constantly raided. The sons of Ali Tigin, who had re-established the power of their family over Samarkand and Bokhara, refused to tolerate them, and the ruler of Jund, named Shah, for whom they had an innate enmity, made a sudden raid on their wandering camp, and with a double portion of their vindictive animosity slew eight thousand of their males at a single stroke while seven hundred men, who escaped his wrath, fled to other side of the Oxus. But in 1031 Yusuf Qadr Khan of Kashghar died and in the following year Altuntash, the Ghaznavide general whom Mahmud had appointed governor of Khwarazm, was ordered by Masud to advance against Ali Tigin's sons and in a fierce battle, which cost him his life, he crushed their army and deprived them of Bokhara. Altuntash's son, Harun, whom Masud appointed to his father's post repaid the kindness by treason and soon met his punishment. The result of these events was to remove every power that might have prevented the march of Tartar tribes from eastern Turkestan across Mawaraun Nahr to the tempting fields of Persia. The officers of the empire proved totally incapable of either

exterminating or subduing the migratory hordes that had crossed the Oxus. They had no settled habitation and it was impossible to crush them in a battle. They dispersed and reunited with remarkable ease. And yet it is easy to imagine what the unexpected raid of the Tartar shepherds, who came burning and plundering, meant to a population accustomed to law and order.

The leadership of the immigrants naturally fell to the Seljuqs, and in 1036 three chiefs of the tribe, tired of a continuous conflict and hard-pressed for land, sent a petition to the Sultan asking for the districts of Nisa and Farawah, the land between the mountains on the north-west of Khorasan, the Oxus and the desert of Kara-Kum, to be granted to them as pasture. The humble petition signed by Beghu, brother of I-rail bin Seljuq, and Beghu's two nephews, Tughril and Daud, concluded with a desperate threat, 'because they had no place on earth and none remained to them.' Masud bitterly complained of his father's bringing the camel-drivers into the empire, and while beguiling the Seljuqs with soft words sent a force of 15000 against them. Bagtaghdi, the Ghaznavide general, defeated the Seljuqs after a stubborn battle, but when his men had dispersed in search of plunder, they returned from the mountain defiles and practically annihilated his army. There was no alternative but to concede the Seljuq demands; but their ambitions expanded with their success, and they began to aspire for the cities of Merv and Sarakhs situated on the frontier of their territory and even for the whole of Khorasan. But Masud, when he should have concentrated his forces on the southern side of the Khorasan hills, preferred the Pyrrhic victories over the Hindus of Hansi; and during his absence in 1036-37 the plunder of Talikan and Fariyab enabled the Seljuqs to organise their strength, and placed them in a position to challenge Masud's power in northern Persia.

In the spring of 1037 Subashi, governor of Khorasan, was ordered by Mahmud to proceed against the Seljuqs. He protested that he was too weak, but the Sultan insisted on his order being obeyed, and the reluctant governor led his troops to the expected defeat. At one blow Sarakhs, Merv and the whole of Persia came into the hands of the Seljuqs. Tughril was crowned king at Naishapur. A permanent peace between Masud and the Seljuqs was now impossible and a victory gained by Masud at

Sarakhs in the following year only delayed the last stage of the contest.

In the summer of 1040 the Seljuqs collected around Sarakhs, and the campaign of Masud, though he had made no preparations, resolved to march against them. A terrible famine was raging and his advisers requested him to postpone the campaign. Masud refused to listen. The Seljuqs retreated as he advanced and concentrated their forces at Merv. But Masud's army became more disorganised at every stage. Grain had to be brought from distant places; the heat was unbearable; the enemy had filled up the wells and harassed the Ghaznavides on every side. Most of the men were unhorsed; no discipline or order remained; and finally at Daudanigan, near Merv, Masud was surrounded by the Seljuqs and had to offer battle. His generals disgraced themselves by treason and flight and the men followed the example of their officers. "The Turkish troops went one way, and the Indians another, and neither Arabs nor Kurds could be distinguished." Only the royal body-guard remained round the Sultan who surprised friend and foe by his valour and strength, and spear in hand struck down all who came within the reach of his arms. But the field was irretrievably lost. "I saw Prince Maudud son of the Sultan" says the historian, "galloping here and there, and endeavouring to rally his men, but no one gave ear to him for every one was for himself." The Sultan managed to extricate himself and reached his capital fearfully shaken and terrorised. The Empire of Ghaznin was no more.

The officers who had deserted the Sultan at the battlefield were imprisoned. Prince Maudud was despatched with an army to Balkh but Masud himself was so afraid of the Seljuqs that he dared not remain at Ghaznin. He sent Majdud to Multan and ordered Prince Izad-yar to hold the Afghans in check, and then with the royal *harem* and the choicest treasures of Sultan Mahmud loaded on three hundred camels, he started for Lahore. Every one advised the Sultan against the step. His desertion of the capital would throw every thing into anarchy and disorder. The journey itself was full of danger. "I have no very high opinion of the fidelity of the Hindus," the *Wazir* Khwaja Mohammad bin Abdus Samad

has my lord in his other servants, that he should show his treasures to them in the desert?" But misfortune had only increased Masud's obstinacy, and he caustically accused his officers of treason. At the pass of Marigalah the *Wazir's* ominous words were fulfilled. A number of Turkish and Hindu slaves plundered a part of the royal treasure; and seeing that their crime would not be pardoned by Masud, they besieged him in the inn where he was staying and placed his brother, the blind Mohammad, on the throne. Masud was captured and sent to the fort of Giri where he was soon after put to death.

Placed on the throne after nine years of imprisonment, the blind Mohammad contented himself with dry bread while the affairs were directed by his son, Ahmad, who was reputed to be mad. But Maudud gave short shrift to his father's murderers. He hurried from Balkh to Ghaznin and thence marched towards the Indus. Mohammad's army, which had marched to meet him, was defeated at Nagrahar, and Mohammad and his sons were captured and slain on the spot (1041). Maudud built an inn and a village on the site of his victory, which he named Fathabad, and returned to Ghaznin with his father's coffin. But the battle of Nagrahar had not placed the Punjab in his hands. His brother, Majdud, whom the late Sultan had appointed governor of Multan, lost no time in consolidating his power; and with the help of the famous Ayaz, he captured Lahore and established his government from the Indus to Hansi and Thanesewar. Maudud marched on Lahore in 1042 but Majdud arrived just in time to save it. A critical battle was imminent and Maudud's *amirs* began to waver. But on the morning of the Eid of Sacrifice Majdud was found dead in his tent; a few days later Ayaz also died: and the Punjab passed into Maudud's hands without a battle. But further troubles were yet in store.

It was not to be expected that the Hindu *Rais* would fail to take advantage of the troubles of their enemy, now that the Seljuqs had made their task so easy. The Empire of Ghaznin, shrunk to the dimensions of a little kingdom, was torn by civil dissensions and in a perpetual danger of being swallowed up by its western

neighbours. Maudud was in no condition to defend his Indian possessions; and the *Rais* of the Punjab and other lands, 'whom fear of the Mussalmans had driven like foxes to the forest, again raised their heads with confident courage.' The tide turned rapidly. A Hindu confederacy headed by the *Rai* of Delhi captured Hansi and Thanesewar; Ghaznavide officers were driven off from town and country; the oppressive despondency that had taken possession of the Hindu mind disappeared; and the *Rais* determined to crush the prestige of the invader by a victory that would bring joy to every village of Hindustan. Of the sacred places of Hinduism which Sultan Mahmud had conquered, Nagarkot was the only one he had kept in hand. To the average Hindu mind the Muslim possession of Nagarkot symbolised the conquest of religion by brute force, and it was the first duty of the confederates to put an end to this standing insult to their creed. The army of triumphant Hinduism marched to the foot of the fort and laid siege to it with all the sincerity of faith. The Muslim garrison prepared for resistance, but its appeals for help to the *Amirs* of Lahore went unheeded and it had no alternative but to capitulate on terms that saved its life and honour. The temple was rebuilt. A new idol was placed on the throne. The news spread through all Hindustan. Hindu pilgrims were jubilant and once more came to visit it in crowds. The market of idolatry was busier than ever. Islam had become a losing cause and it seemed as if another decisive blow would drive it off from the land. The Ghaznavide *amirs* of Lahore, busy in fighting each other, had forgotten their allegiance to Maudud and turned a deaf ear to the prayers of the garrison of Nagarkot. But when they heard that ten thousand Hindu cavalry supported by a large infantry was marching against them, they at last awoke to the insecurity of their position, and taking an oath of loyalty to Maudud, collected their forces with a determination to defend their city to the last. The Hindu army retired without pressing the siege. Thus Lahore and the large towns west of the Ravi were saved. Over the rest of the country Hinduism soon forgot the Mussalmans. Such traces of Islam as Mahmud may have left in India were simply swept off. On the other hand, the Hindus learnt no lessons from their adversity. No national government arose to end the civil wars of **Aryavarta** and

after a century and a half Shahabuddin Ghorî found the Hindu *Rais* as disunited as ever.

The later history of the kingdom of Ghaznin need not detain us for long. Its petty princes were content to eke out a humble existence under the Shadow of the Seljuq Empire ; its unending palace intrigues were a source of derision to its enemies and of despair to its friends. Sultan Maudud died in December 1049 and his son, Masud II, a child of four years, was overthrown by Maudud's brother, Abul Hasan Ali, who in his turn was defeated by Abdur Rashid, a son of Sultan Mahmud, in 1051. In 1054 Abdur Rashid was put to death by his general Tughril, the traitor, but the usurper was slain before he had occupied the throne for forty days. Next Farrukhzad, son of Masud, was brought out of prison and reigned for seven years (1052-1059), while his brother and successor Sultan Raziuddin Ibrahim, a pious king, was blessed with a long reign of over forty years which came to an end in 1099. He was blessed also with thirty six sons and forty daughters, and the latter for want of suitable princes, were married to Saiyids and pious scholars. Sultan Ibrahim is credited with two Indian expeditions of which he led the second in person (1079-1080). Ajodhan, the present Patan of Shaikh Farid of Shakarganj, was reached and marching thence the Sultan captured the fort of Rupar, situated on a hill with a river on one side and a thorny forest full of snakes on the other. Still more poetic was the conquest of Darah, a town of Khorasan colonists, exiled from Persia to India by the Afrasiyab of *Shahnamah*. "They worshipped idols and passed their lives in sin," but their city was considered impregnable and consequently the *Rais* of India never succeeded in plundering the foreigners in their midst. But Ibrahim cut his way through the thick forest that surrounded Darah and reduced it by force. Apart from this somewhat mythic exploit, Sultan Ibrahim was a sane and sensible man, who never forgot the serious limitations of his power and secured for his subjects a long period of uninterrupted peace.

Ibrahim's son, Alauddin Masud, married a sister of the Seljuq Emperor, Sultan Sanjar, and died after a peaceful reign of sixteen years in 1115. His son, Arsalan Shah, signalled his accession by putting his brothers to death. Only one of them, Bahram Shah, succeeded in

escaping to his uncle Sanjar, who drove out Arsalan and placed Bahram on the throne. But Arsalan returned and besieged Bahram and Sanjar once more marched to Ghaznin (1117). Arsalan was captured and a year later put to death. Muizzuddin Bahram Shah was a magnificent king. He twice defeated the governor of the Punjab, Mohammad Bahalim. Shaikh Nizami dedicated the '*Makhzanul Asrar*' to him and the '*Kalila and Dimna*' was translated from Arabic into Persian during his reign. But a quarrel with the chiefs of Ghor led to the sack of Ghaznin and Sultan Bahram's reign of forty one years ended in disgrace and ruin (1152).

Meanwhile like all things mortal the Empire of the Seljuqs had been progressing through its career of expansion, consolidation and decay. The battle of Dandaniqan had placed the Persian provinces of the Ghaznavide Empire in their hands. Sultan Tughril (1039-1063), the first Emperor of the dynasty, fixed his capital at Ray and assigned Khurasan to his brother Daud Jafar (Chaghri) Beg. The ease with which the conquered people reconciled themselves to the new dynasty is a credit at once to the moral character of the House of Seljuq and the captivating power of civilization. The new rulers threw off their barbaric ways and conformed to time-honoured traditions of the Persian monarchy ; the military vigour of the Turk combined with the administrative genius of the Persian to establish an empire that came into contact and conflict with the anti-Caliphs of Egypt and the Byzantine Empire in the west and the infidels of Cathay in the east ; and in the century of peace that followed no one regretted the fall of the Ghaznavide administration. "It would be superfluous" says Gibbon, "to praise the valour of a Turk, and the ambition of Tughril was equal to his valour. In his own dominions Tughril was the father of his soldiers and people ; by a firm and equal administration Persia was relieved from the evils of anarchy ; and the same hands which had been embued in blood became the guardians of justice and the public peace." The kings of Ghaznin were allowed to eke out their years of inglorious existence but the Mussalmans and Christians of Iraq and Asia Minor felt the hand of 'the Conquering Turk.' Azarbaijan was annexed to the Empire ; the power of the Buwaihids,

which Mahmud had crushed in Isfahan and Ray, was finally annihilated in Baghdad and the Commander of the Faithful, relieved from the vexations to which he had been exposed by the presence and poverty of the Persian dynasty, bestowed on Tughril the titles of 'Sultanud Doulah' and 'Yamini Amirul Mominin.' A Seljuq general, I-tsiz, over-ran Syria and even reached the Nile, while the Byzantine Empire felt the vigour of the Turkish troops across a frontier of six hundred miles from Tauras to Erzurum. The contest was, however, undecided when Tughril died at the age of seventy-two.

Alp Arsalan (1063-1072), son of Daud, who succeeded to the empire of his uncle after a brief period of civil wars, continued the eastern conquests of Tughril. Armenia and Georgia were annexed and three years (1068-1071) of war decided the fate of the Asiatic possessions of Constantinople. The initiative was taken by the Emperor, Romanus Diogenese, who advanced with a hundred thousand soldiers and an auxiliary force of disorderly allies. After three well fought campaigns the Turks were driven beyond the Euphrates and when the Sultan advanced against him with forty thousand men, the Emperor contemptuously ordered the barbarian to cede the palace and city of Ray as the condition of peace. But the Sultan's "rapid and skilful evolutions distressed and dismayed the superior numbers of the Greeks," and at the battle of Mulazgird (Madikerb) the Turkish veterans crushed the power of their vain and disorganised opponents beyond the possibility of redemption. Romanus Diogenese brought a captive to the court, was treated with that superb generosity which Alp Arsalan showed his fallen enemies. Having accomplished his western mission, the Sultan marched eastward for the conquest of Mawarun Nahr. But an assassin's dagger cut short the Sultan's life after he had crossed the Oxus and brought his conquering career to an untimely end after a reign of nine years and a half.

The reign of Alp Arsalan's son, Malik Shah, (1072-1092) was a period of prosperity and peace, and shows the Seljuq Empire at its best. The unrealised scheme of his father was accomplished by the conquest of Mawarun Nahr and Malik Shah's *Khutba* was read beyond the Jaxartes at Kashghar. But during the rest of his reign the

Sultan kept perambulating his extensive empire and supervising its civil administration so that "few departed from his *diwan* without reward and none without justice." The calendar which had fallen into disorder was reformed by a committee of mathematicians (including the astronomer-poet, Omar Khayyam), who inaugurated the Jalali era of Malik Shah, 'a computation of time, which surpasses the Julian, and approaches the accuracy of the Gregorian style.' With the name of Alp-Arsalan and Malik Shah is intimately associated the name of their great minister, Nizamul Mulk, author of the '*Siyasat Namah*,'⁽⁴⁰⁾ and one of the most famous *wazirs* of the East. Deeply learned in all the political wisdom of the day, a patron of literature and art to whom the 'Nizamiah' University of Bagdad owed its establishment, Nizamul Mulk served the Seljuq dynasty with zeal and devotion for thirty years and won for it the loyalty of its subjects and the grateful remembrance of posterity. But the influence of the queen, Turkan Khatun, who wished to secure the succession of her son, Mahmud, alienated the Sultan's mind from him, and at the age of ninety three years the venerable statesman was dismissed by his master, accused by his enemies, and murdered by a fanatic. Malik Shah himself died in the following month.

Malik Shah's two sons, Barkiyaruk (1092-1104) and Mohammad (1104-1117), were succeeded by their brother, Sanjar (1117-1157), 'a great, dignified and mighty monarch,' under whom affairs again came back to 'the highway of legality and the beaten track of equity and justice,' from which they had been unhappily deflected during the reigns of his predecessors. Irak, Khurasan and Mawaraun Nahr increased in population and prosperity; the empire was more extensive than it had been ever before. Nevertheless Sanjar's long reign was a period of disintegration and decay. Provincial governors (atabaks) began to aspire for independence; a new race of Turkomans poured across the Jaxartes; and by slow degrees the foundations of the Empire were sapped. Sanjar struggled valiantly against the rising deluge and won seventeen out of the nineteen great battles he is said to have fought. But he did not know how to take advantage of his successes, and his

(40) The *Siyasat Namah* is sometimes supposed to be a treatise on political science, but it is really a book on political trickery and a violent pamphlet against the 'heretics.' Its historical value is very great.

defeats were, consequently, more important than his victories. In 1141 a member of Kara-Khata-i tribes, who had migrated into Mawaraun Nahr, rebelled against the Empire. Sanjar was defeated near Samarkand and the whole of Mawaraun Nahr passed into infidel hands. Another body of emigrants, the Ghazz Turks, defeated and captured the Sultan in 1153 and carried him about as a captive in their camp for three years. When the Sultan at last escaped to his capital, the empire had ceased to exist. Khorasan had been devastated by the Ghazz; the *atabaks* had thrown off their allegiance to the central power; and the last of

the "Great Seljuqs" closed his eyes after a strenuous life of seventy two years spent in an unsuccessful defence of the work of his ancestors and the civilisation they had inherited.

Under the protection of the Seljuq Dynasty Persian civilisation reached a height which it has never since attained. The middle of the twelfth century witnessed the final extinction of the kingdom of Ghaznin and the collapse of the Seljuqian empire. The kingdoms of Khwarzm and Ghor rose on the ground thus left vacant, but neither had grown to its full stature when the Muslim world was over-whelmed by the Mongol barbarians.

GANDHI CAP: A STUDY.

By MR. A. S. WADIA, M.A.

"The gentle man in Khaddar,
Happy and care-free,
With nothing heavy on his head,
Except a Gandhi Cap."

When long ago Kipling spoke of—"East is East and West is West," and of the twain never meeting he was saying a truism that is seldom true. For, from the dim past of civilisation the East and the West have ever met and, with the increasing means of communication and easier exchange of ideas, shall continue to meet increasingly on the lower rungs of material wants and desires as on the higher planes of spiritual hope and moral idealism. Roads and railways, beggars and daggers are much the same go East, go West. And in their elemental loves and hates as in their highest art and philosophy, there is no real cleavage between the two, even though clever writers may set about creating one.

But there is one matter in which the East is East and the West is West. There is one point on which the pair have for all time agreed to disagree. And it is in respect of the covering for the head. In the West the headgear is only an item of a man's attire, in the East it is its crest and crown. "The changeless East" has

changed in many aspects, even in the matter of its dress, but it has not changed in the matter of its head-dress. A Raja or a Maharaja may cast off his jewelled court-dress to don the simple khaki tunic of a British General, but he would never cast off his turban to wear the forage-cap or the regulation helmet. An Indian political gentleman may appear in the Council-Chamber decked out in frock-coat and striped trousers, but his head will with rare exception be crowned by his own national headgear.

This contrast between the East and the West is never more sharply brought out than in the way the headgear is treated at ceremonial functions. On such occasions the Westerner reverently takes off his hat, while the Eastern religiously keeps it on. This is because with the Eastern the headgear is a living thing—almost a part of him. To treat it slightly would be tantamount to treating its owner slightly. One may, so to say, knock sparks off a typical Oriental without much fear of rousing his temper or ruffling his placidity. But let his headgear be jestingly knocked off or even accidentally displaced and on the instant the long slumbering embers of his wrath would flare up and one should count oneself distinctly lucky, if one emerged from the *contretemps* safely without

attracting a large crowd or being run in for "assault and battery."

This strange reverence for his headgear and the extraordinary caution the Oriental displays for its safety find a queer echo in India in the invocation the mendicants send up in the streets, —an invocation which provides that work-free class with a never-failing *mantram* of at once tickling the ingrained vanity of the passer-by and of preying upon his superstitious fears. To the beggar who first originated the phrase—*gaddi-topi-salamat*,*—the mendicant brotherhood of Western India owe a statue of gold because of this magic phrase of his invention, thousands of his confrères all over the Presidency owe their bread and—their wealth.

It is not so much for the honorific use that it is put to as for its representative character that the headgear of an Eastern is remarkable. Each particular headgear represents some particular caste, class or creed—or more truly its division and sub-division. But there is one exception to this fixed rule. This exception represents neither caste, nor class, nor creed, but stands, on the contrary, for the sinking of all caste prejudices, class divisions, and credal differences into the great melting-pot of Indian unity and International solidarity. And that exception is the Gandhi Cap. In this commendable effort to do away with all manner of differences and divisions among a great mass of humanity, it is immensely and immediately helped by the fact that it is made of a material that is at once plain and appealing and capable of being produced anywhere and of being worn by anyone and is designed after a headgear that is pre-eminently chaste in form and unquestionably the most ancient in existence. In perhaps the oldest rock-sculpture of the world, namely the Persian bas-reliefs of Behistan, the cap which the winged figure above that of Darius wears is the original inspirer and unconscious designer of the Gandhi Cap. Thus taking after the most ancient covering for the head known to men, its shape and form have of long sunk deep in the heart of humanity and, in the case of India, promise to outlive those of the oldest headgear at present in existence there. Add to these basic advantages of age and design, the simplicity and inexpensiveness of the material of which it is made, and it would not be difficult to account for its wide

popularity among the great surging masses and numerous cultured classes of modern India. But amid all its many advantages and present popularity there is one drawback, and it is a serious drawback, in as much as it touches a vital point in human psychology.

Of all the gifts of God to man, there is none so worthy of his wonder and gratitude as the gift of colour. Imagine what the world and our own existence would be if the element of colour were wiped out of them! If, for instance, the blue were taken from the sky and the gold from the sunshine, the green from the leaves and the crimson from the blood! How cold and ghastly would the world and we look in such a horrible contingency? If we could but envisage for an instant leprous white creatures living in a chalky white world under a snow white sky flooded with an incandescent white sunshine, we would soon realise what we owe to this greatest of God's gifts to the sight of man. And yet the Gandhi Cap deliberately turns its back on it and stands in fact in open opposition,—challenging, as it were, its utility and its necessity. But for a design or a project, formed in the brain of man, to challenge the utility or question the necessity of another planned in the laboratory of nature, is to sow the seed of its own undoing and hasten the day of its own extinction. That is the great danger ahead of the Gandhi Cap.

In its perfervid passion for simplicity and chasteness, it thwarts one of the elemental cravings of human nature and drives those fine virtues themselves to the borderline of affectation and insipidity. Let, therefore, a few streaks of colour be added to the Cap to liven up its otherwise dead white dulness and satisfy the irrepressible thirst of human kind for colour.

And what streaks of colour could set it off so well as red and blue arranged after a certain well-known design and blended appropriately with a cross of its own pure white. These colours of St. George and St. Andrew with the white cross of St. Patrick have on the whole served the native land of Gandhi Cap and its people well and faithfully for well-nigh two centuries and might justly be expected to serve them equally well and faithfully for a long time to come. A small diamond-shaped badge of those colours sewn on one side of the Cap won't affect its inherent integrity nor mar its evident simplicity, but help, on the contrary, to set off

*May your throne (the source of your power) and your cap (the insignia of your honour) be kept safe for you.

those virtues and make the Cap acceptable to millions more who find it impossible to take to it in its present dull dead plainness. That little coloured diamond will besides save Gandhi Cap from degenerating, as it is fast doing, into a purely sectional rag and convert it into a truly

national emblem which will for once mark the falsehood of Kipling's short-sighted saying and prove for ever the truth of Tennyson's larger-visioned hope that "East and West, like life and death, can mix their dim lights to broaden into boundless day."

AUTHORS AND THEIR BOOKS :

By MR. R. L. MEGROZ.*

The British Premier.

Looking back over my reading since last Spring, I find first a book published early in the year—*The Man of To-morrow* by "Iconoclast" (Parsons 8/6). As "The Man of To-morrow" is James Ramsay Macdonald, the present Prime Minister of Great Britain, it is worthy of attention from intelligent readers. Mr. Macdonald's romantic career reminded me of a book which my mother presented to me on my twelfth birthday, a fat green volume entitled: "The Story of Self-Made Men; or, Industry, Perseverance, Application and Enterprise Exemplified in Real Life". The author, R. G. Hedderwick, M.A., explained in a preface that his examples had been selected in order "that the volume may be purely and entirely devoted to instance of continued hard work".

I am afraid the last clause would have damned Mr. W. H. Davies, our deservedly famous living poet, who was by turns, shop boy, farm labourer, tramp, super-tramp, and first-rate poet; but the man we are considering as author as well as Prime Minister would certainly have been taken to the capacious bosom of Mr. Hedderwick.

"The Story of Self-Made Men", rather battered, full of idle pencil sketches of my boy friends, lies now beside my typewriter. The frontispiece shows Bernard Palissy, "Glass Painter, Salt Surveyor, and Enamel Discoverer" sitting "in contemplation", an attitude which he seems rarely to have found time for. There is

a picture of Robert Bloomfield, "Farm Boy, Shoemaker, Seal Office Official, Harp Maker, and Poet" at work in the shoemaker's shop. Other texts for the lesson of "Industry, Perseverance and Enterprise" are William Hutton, "Weaver Bookbinder, Bookseller, Paper Merchant, and Author"; William Cobbett, "Farm Boy, Gardener, Clerk, Soldier, Teacher, Newspaper Proprietor, M. P. and Reformer"; William Gifford, "Sailor, Shoemaker, Tutor, Translator, and Editor"; Christopher Columbus; Robert Burns; John Dollands, Sir Richard Arkwright; and Daniel Defoe, "Butcher's son, Soldier, Stocking Dealer, Merchant, Tilemaker, Reformer, and Author". One of the pictures I have always remembered shows James Ferguson, "Farm Boy, Miller's Apprentice, Mechanist, Miniature Painter, and Astronomer", engaged in his "First Studies in Astronomy." Ferguson was born in 1710, a few miles from Keith, a village in Banffshire, in the north of Scotland. While still a farm-boy he began to study the midnight heavens. The picture shows him lying on his back in a field, holding at arm's length a stretched thread with beads on it, and measuring the starry angles.

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James Ramsay Macdonald, Blacksmith's Son, Farm Boy, Pupil Teacher, Science Student, Political Agent, Invoice Clerk, Private Secretary, Reformer, Journalist, Author, M. P., and now Prime Minister, was born in Morayshire, close to the Grampians, at the little fishing village of Lossiemouth. But he was born there in 1866, rather too late for inclusion in the worthy Mr. Hedderwick's book.

*Author of "Personal poems"; "Walter de La Mare, a Biographical and Critical Study"; "Poetry and the Sexual Impulse", etc.

Many, but not nearly enough, of the inspiring details of Macdonald's upward struggle are told in this interesting book, *The Man of To-morrow*. Several generations of his family had been blacksmiths at Lossiemouth. He attended the village school, and attracted the attention of his master, the "dominie", at whose invitation he put in an hour's extra work under him every morning before the arrival of the other pupils. He was still a boy when he left school, and was about to become a fisherman from sheer necessity, when his old dominie interfered and secured him as a pupil teacher. Besides reading all the books in Lossiemouth, he developed a passion for science, and, says, "Iconoclast", (the author of *The Man of To-morrow*), "through the numbers of Cassell's 'Popular Educator' and 'Science for All'—which he was afterwards to describe as his university—he came into touch with the revolutionary discoveries which gave to the second half of the 19th century its determining character, and to his mind its scientific bent."

Apropos of his old dominie, Mr. Macdonald has written: "The simple kindness of the teacher is perhaps the most precious gift he can give his scholars." And "one of the dominie's generalisations was: 'You must master; that is education; when you have mastered one thing you are well on the way to master all things'."

At this time Hugh Miller's "Schools and School-masters" was among the first books that Macdonald bought with his limited pocket money, and a Lossiemouth watchmaker lent him Scott, Dickens, and Samuel Smiles' "Life of a Scottish Naturalist". Arduous years were to pass before he could buy books with any freedom. He came to London like a new Dick Whittington, and after weeks of unemployment, found some work addressing envelopes. Then he became an invoice clerk at 12/6 a week; but the Guildhall Library was near by for reading during lunch hour. Evening classes in the London Council schools were attended and correspondence lessons were taken, and, having passed his science examinations at South Kensington, he was about to sit for a scholarship when his overstrained strength gave way. This was why, instead of becoming a scientist, he became in 1888 Private Secretary to Mr. Thomas Lough, a Gladstonian candidate and subsequently member of Parliament. Thus Mr. Macdonald set out definitely upon the path of a political and journalistic career. But he found a rich consolation for one

frustrated ambition, for he married Margaret Ethel Gladstone, a daughter of Dr. Gladstone, (distinguished chemist) and niece of Lord Kelvin. That was in 1896.

He worked for several famous newspapers, and contributed to the "National Dictionary of Biography" about this time. His first book, "What I Saw in South Africa", was published in 1902 as the result of a personal visit to that country. Needless to say, it caused an uproar in political circles. Mr. Macdonald has indeed travelled much, and I expect there is no need to remind readers that few British politicians know so much as he about Indian problems. In his writings he has constantly shown the instinct of the born word-smith, and most of his experiences have become material for his quickly moving pen. He cannot write a book on Socialism without touching beauty and raising issues much deeper than party politics, for he has an imagination, this fine and typical Scot. If he visits Palestine and writes a tract on the problem of Zionism for the Labour Publishing Company, he cannot help letting his words glow in describing the exotic beauties of sea and land. He may go to Constantinople to study a political situation, but beauty arrests him. He will stop suddenly opposite St. Sofia, for instance:—

"When you venture to look at its wonders of marble, precious stones and colour, you see, like a hovering shadow through the wash and the inscriptions put on by hands doing homage to Allah and Mohammed, the benignant face and symbols of Christ put there first of all by hands doing homage to God and His son. This is indeed St. Sofia. It is a temple of the universal worship, neither church nor mosque, but something embracing both, and more spiritual than both. In Palestine, one has to escape from church and shrine and get out upon the hills of Judea, the road to Jericho, the waysides of Samaria, to feel the presence. It dwells in St. Sofia."

It is not generally known that in past years Mr. Macdonald's pen has strayed from economics and political history into fiction, and many of his short stories have appeared, signed "James Ramsay". But perhaps his finest piece of literary work—one of the best examples of biography in English—is "Margaret Ethel Macdonald", a book that might be described as the fruit of love and sorrow, for it is his monument to the wife who was everything to him, and who died in 1911 and left him with five children and

harder political efforts in front of him than even his past could boast. In "Margaret Ethel Macdonald" the author's severely scientific mind is unusually moved by emotion, and if his natural reticence and impersonality is scarcely weakened, even here, the imaginative fervour breaks out in eloquent recollections of past schemes. The countrysides of England and Scotland share his grateful memories with the noble woman who knew and loved them.

Yes, Mr. Macdonald counts as a prose writer; he will inevitably find his way into any comprehensive history of English prose in the future. His style is always simple and well charged with matter; concise but clear; forceful but never ornate. His compeers, or let us say his close relatives, in style are Defoe, Addison and Cobbett.

"Iconoclast", the author of this first book on Mr. Macdonald (if a French pamphlet written before the war be excepted) is Mrs. Mary Agnes Hamilton, the well-known novelist and historian, who stood unsuccessfully at the last general election in England as Labour candidate for Chatham. I think a fair comment on Mr. Macdonald's strenuous career is afforded by Goethe's remark:

"He who does nothing for others does nothing for himself."

* * * *

Is Science Divine or Diabolical?

This question occurs to me by reason of the appearance of several interesting books. To begin with there is the translation of reflections on religion by Sadhu Sundar Singh, published under the title *Reality and Religion: Meditations on God, Man, and Nature* (Macmillan 2/6) to which Canon Streeter writes an informative introduction about this attractive religious teacher. The Sadhu, as might be expected, approaches the central problems of existence by a direct route which very largely ignores the activities of science, upon which the West has set so much store since the Middle Ages. His golden keys are Faith and Intuition, terms capable of varying interpretation and not necessarily excluding the spade-work of science. Sundar Singh himself is by no means disposed to ignore the usefulness of an efficient mind, though his road towards it may be more difficult for some people than it is for the spiritual teacher.

"The brain", he says, "is a very subtle and sensitive instrument furnished with many fine

senses which, in meditation, receive messages from the unseen world and stimulate ideas far above normal human thought. The brain does not produce these ideas, but receives them from the spiritual, invisible world above and interprets them in terms of the conditions and circumstances familiar to men."

He goes on to trace these messages in the work of poets and painters; which reminds me powerfully of a series of lectures delivered at the London Queen's Hall during June by that stalwart light-bringer, Annie Besant. Her theme was "Civilisation's Deadlocks and the Keys". The lectures were I believe ignored by the press with the notable exception of that courageous little weekly paper *The Clarion*, which is still edited by the veteran socialist Robert Blatchford. *The Clarion* published the five lectures in full, and from those reports I gather that Mrs. Besant's "Keys" to the deadlocks of civilisation are Religion, Education, Science and Art. As usual in her public speeches she pleaded for Indian development on an extended basis of self-government while admitting that Great Britain remained in many respects the chief hope of the salvation of world civilisation. But the reason for my reference to her lectures is that she was very severe with the science which continually produces more deadly means of destruction and so arms more efficiently the powers of evil in the world. It is of course a most troublesome problem.

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Science is the outcome of human curiosity just as poetry is the outcome of wonder, and religion of aspiration. Nothing could be more natural to man than scientific thought—it is the putting of two and two together. By a universal process, science has been separated from other mental activities during the many centuries of its development and specialisation. No educated person today would confuse it with religion, art, or philosophy. So clearly is the autonomous character of science now realised that it is becoming quite difficult for bellicose enthusiasts in one department to work up an antagonism such as existed in Victorian England between science and religion. The scientist, not less than the ecclesiastics and the philosophers and the artists, have passed through periods of overweening self-conceit, during which they believed that their own message held all that was good and true and reliable. But when we brush aside these disputes and secondary purposes which

litter the roads of human progress, we discover at least one unique and uncontrovertible characteristic of science. It gives to man power over material; it subdues natural forces to human intelligence. In doing so it transforms the face of society. Science is responsible for nearly all the social changes in Europe since the Middle-Ages, beginning with the substitution of gun-powder for knightly armour and ending with the introduction of machinery.

It is true that the most obvious changes wrought in the Western world by science during the Christian era have been purely physical, and it is an important fact that the unifying effect on society of a European religion was necessary to that development. Scientists often speak as if civilisation had only one parent; but if science is the father of civilisation, religion is the mother without which the fructifying germs of knowledge could never have found the shelter of a stable society in which to develop.

Now the Sir William Dunn Reader in Bio-Chemistry at Cambridge, Mr. J. B. S. Haldane, is a brilliant young scientist with the gift of inspiring vision which is the fruit of a wide education and a fine imagination. And yet he too is so excited by the progress of science that he clean forgets the predestinate mate without whom its virility can lead to no permanent creation. He read an inspiring paper to the Cambridge "Heretics" which is now revised and printed under the title *Daedalus, or Science and the Future* (Kegan Paul, 2/6).

Mr. Haldane sets out to anticipate the conquests of science during this century. Among the imminent gifts of science, he says, are unlimited electric power and chemically produced foodstuffs that "will substitute the flower-garden and the factory for the dunghill and the slaughter-house and make the city at last self-sufficient," besides increasing our energy and efficiency.

Biological invention which "tends to begin as a perversion and end as a ritual supported by unquestioned beliefs and prejudices" (in other words, to be preserved by religion when it is proved beneficial) will give us shock after shock of the kind that Darwin gave to Victorian society. Quoting from a mythical essay "on the influence of Biology on History, during the 20th century, which will (it is hoped) be read by a rather stupid undergraduate member of this university to his supervisor during his first term 150 years hence". Mr. Haldane tells us that the eugenic movement will have failed, both by its own limitations and

the violence of the opposition to human stud-farming. But following up Morgan's location of Mendelian factors in the nucleus of *Drosophila* in 1912, by which he modified its sex-ratio and Brachhet's experiment of 1913, by which he grew rabbit embryos in serum, biology progressed until in 1951: "Dupont and Schwarts produced the first ectogenetic child. As early as 1901 he transferred embryo rabbits from one female to another; in 1925 Haldane had grown embryonic rats in serum for ten days, but had failed to carry the process to its conclusion, and it was not till 1940 that Clark succeeded with the pig."

When the news of the first incubated child was published, it caused, says Mr. Haldane's mythical student (and we may well believe it) an "unprecedented sensation", for the birth-rate was in most civilised countries less than the death-rate. "France was the first country to adopt ectogenesis officially, and by 1968 was producing 60,000 children annually by this method."

"In most countries", Mr. Haldane continues with a touch of characteristic humour, "the opposition was far stronger, and was intensified by the Papal bull 'nunquam prius audito' and the similar fetwa of the Khalif, both of which appeared in 1960."

It appears that 150 years hence ectogenesis will be universal. Mr. Haldane has, however, grave doubts as to the balance of benefit resulting from the separation of sexual love and reproduction, but the "effects of selection will prove a great compensation in eradicating disease and degeneracy."

All his startling forecasts, Mr. Haldane declares, are no less moderate than Mr. H. G. Wells's prophecies in "Anticipations", and these have of course been proved by less than a quarter of a century's progress to be well within the bounds of truth.

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Mr. Haldane seems to have little fear that science can be other than a mighty benefactor to mankind. And yet in conclusion he admits that the use we shall make of scientific conquests "is essentially a question for religion and aesthetic." This is the only reference he makes to religion that is not contemptuous or inimical. But what a tremendous admission! A less optimistic outlook might well discover grave dangers in the advance of science. Science itself is existing and flourishing on the moral capital of mankind and that does not seem to increase in proportion

to man's growing control over natural forces. So we have in reply to "Daedalus" another little book, *Icarus, or the Future of Science* by that fine thinker Mr. Bertrand Russell (Kegan Paul 2/6). Mr. Russell's book is much more startling than Mr. Haldane's. Not less a scientist and a severer logician, Mr. Russell set out the elements of the case for the destruction and salvation of society in the near future. His ultimate conclusion is that world domination by one power can alone save civilisation. Mr. Russell's case is that while science has increased man's control over nature, men are "bundles of passions and instincts", and:

"an animal species in a stable environment if it does not die out acquires an equilibrium between its passions and the conditions of its life. If the conditions are suddenly altered the equilibrium is upset. Wolves in a state of nature have difficulty in getting food and therefore need the stimulus of a very insistent hunger. The result is that their descendants, domestic dogs overeat if they are allowed to do so...The human instincts of power and rivalry, like the dog's wolfish appetite, will need to be artificially curbed if industrialism is to succeed."

This is coming down to taints. Free food and ectogenesis seem slightly irrelevant unless we can prevent civilisation committing suicide. Mr. Russell is deeply impressed by the power of organisation over the individual in politics, education, daily work and even in private morality. This organisation gains a dangerous power when instead of party politics or trading combinations and rivalries it extends to national rivalries so that the instincts of loyalty to the group can be exploited in murderous wars. "The harm that is being done by science and industrialism," he says, "is almost wholly due to the fact that while they have proved strong enough to produce a national organisation of economic forces they have not proved strong enough to produce an international organisation." He sees organisation developed in the future with the aid of science to an extent almost inconceivable now. Governments will become more powerful and after several world upheavals power will be centralised in one group of economic and political interests. He is very doubtful of the advantage of governments obtaining, as they will, the power to sterilise those not considered fit for parents. "Probably in time opposition to the Government will be taken to prove imbecility." He thinks the average intelligence may in the long run be

increased, but he reminds us that scientific possibilities may be controlled by people who have only average intelligence and ethical standards, and if Bishops and Prime Ministers were considered models for the next generation the ultimate effects of an idealistic movement like that of eugenics might be rather depressing. His most startling anticipation however is the scientific possibility of controlling emotional life through the secretions of ductless glands. "It will be possible to make people choleric, or timid, strongly or weakly sexed, and so on, as may be desired." When physiology has found out how to control emotion, a power of human regeneration or degeneration will be in the hands of science surpassing all the dreams of all the Popes and all the Emperors!

But the prospect is no less alarming than it is inspiring. "Science is no substitute for virtue", as Mr. Russell warns us. Only kindness of heart can save humanity from destruction by the scientific Frankenstein it has made. "The heart is as necessary to a good life as the head."

The answer to our question is therefore that science is just as divine and just as diabolical as human nature. I think we may retain our faith in the divinity when the analogical progress of religion from beastliness and cruelty is considered. Mr. H. G. Wells better than any other contemporary has pictured the alternatives of the future in "The Time Machine" (pessimistic) and "Men Like Gods" (optimistic)

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Mr. H. G. Wells and Mr. Shaw.

Speaking of Mr. H. G. Wells reminds me that in the period under review we have had from him a successor to "Men Like Gods" in *The Dream* (Jonathan Cape 7/6), a book characteristic of his two literary egos, the social prophet and the almost Dickensian lover of human beings. Mr. Wells remains very popular. He is now a friendly and familiar portion of our twentieth century. In the days of "The Time Machine" and "Anticipations" he appeared to be a romantic scientist. "Kipps" and "Tono-Bungay" showed him in the warm human light that has never since left him, not even in "God the Invisible King", that amazing sequel to "Mr. Britling Sees it Through" and anticipation of "The Undying Fire." Sometimes, as in "The Secret Places of the Heart", Mr. Wells's profuse strains of egotism were rather too human. But with "Men Like Gods" he made a magnificent gesture,

waving off his nigh 60 years, and striding back to scientific imagination of his youthful days, but carrying with him the mellow humanity of Mr. Britling. His latest book, *The Dream* shows that the warm humanity of this mucky, stupid world will persist in entering Mr. Wells's clean and spacious future, for *The Dream* is a story of human lives of today dreamed by Sarnac, a Utopian, 2,000 years hence. The first chapter immerses the reader in that splendid world where men answer to Mr. Wells's conception of gods. The last chapter is an illuminating and Wellsian "epilogue", in which the Utopians discuss the dream that Sarnac has told them of his previous life.

"It was a life", Sarnac said, "and it was a dream, a dream within this life; and this life, too, is a dream. Dreams within dreams, dreams containing dreams, until we come at last, may be, to the Dreamer of all dreams, the Being who is all beings. Nothing is too wonderful for life, and nothing is too beautiful."

If this is not a case of West meeting East, then I have never come across one.

I hope Mr. Wells will tell us more stories of the marvellous world of the future which has become a constant and inspiring vision to him. I have no hesitation in hoping for more books from him, although the list of his works given on a fly leaf of *The Dream* credits him with 18 novels, 13 fantastic and imaginative romances, four volumes of short stories, 12 books on social, religious and political questions, and two books about children's games. And following the enumeration of titles:—

"All these are in print and on sale, whatever a lazy bookseller may say to the contrary."

Truly an astonishing record. Mr. Wells's life indeed has been as romantic as Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's. His father, Joseph Wells, was a tradesman in the Kentish town of Bromley and had been a professional cricketer who was a member of the first British cricket team to go to Australia. That was in 1861. Joseph Wells had, I believe, already retired from professional cricket when Herbert George made his momentous appearance in 1866. It is well-known now that much of his early struggle is reflected in "Kipps", but I have discovered an excellent testimony to the autobiographical truth of that book in an introduction which Mr. Wells wrote in 1912 to "Shop Slavery and Emancipation", a political pamphlet by William Paine.

"When I was 15 I ran away one Sunday morning to my mother, and told her I would rather die than go on being a draper" he wrote.

Referring to the author's descriptions of actual conditions, Mr. Wells declares that he "paints the dismal miseries of the living-in shop assistant none too dimly; to that I can bear witness. For a wretched couple of years in my boyhood I slept in one of the abominable dormitories he describes, ate the insufficient food supplied, and drudged in the shop."

He had to tramp 17 miles to his mother, and "felt then most desperately wicked, and now I know that it was the best thing I ever did in my life. All the brotherhood of man fled with me that morning out of the house of mean bondage to life and opportunity. But such a lot of us before it is too late will not 'rather die', and there you have the secret of all the tale of pitiful degradation that Mr. Paine recounts so bitterly..."

The film version of "Kipps" is, I hope, familiar to many of my reader, for Mr. Wells himself supervised the making of it. Not the least attractive feature of the non-Utopian story in *The Dream* is the truthful fun and the keen satire directed against social evils of today. Mr. Wells makes them look the stupid things they are by placing them in the narration of the strong, healthy, free Utopian.

There is a good story, by the way, that after Mr. Wells had become famous he was met one day on the steps of his club by an "ex-comrade of the ribbons and lace department."

"They tell me you've got on fine, Mr. Wells, since you left us" remarked the friend of his shop days.

"Thank you, I'm not doing so badly" was the modest reply.

"Yes", said the former fellow apprentice, "they tell me you're at Harrod's (a big department store in London) now!"

The story is in Mr. Reginald Auberon's "The Nineteen Hundreds."

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It is very interesting to compare Mr. Wells's vision of Utopia, especially in "Men Like Gods", not only with the scientific Mr. Haldane's prophecies already referred to, but also with the anticipations of Mr. Bernard Shaw in "Back to Methuselah." Mr. Wells is less mystical, more human, and his manlike gods offer a strange contrast to Mr. Shaw's children born out of eggs in adolescence and developing rapidly into love-

less sages wrapped in ecstatic contemplation (another rapprochement, surely, with the East). But of course Mr. Shaw was looking forward 30,000 years!

Had there not been so many things to use up my space this time, I ought certainly to have had more to say about Mr. Bernard Shaw and his brilliant new play, "St. Joan", but this is a thing that will not be out of date in a few months later.

* * *

In another field, Mr. T. Earle Welby's excellent little book *A Popular History of English Poetry* (A. M. Philpot 5/-) gave me much pleasure. Mr. Welby defies our more supercilious critics in producing not only the first one-volume history of English poetry, but the first that does not bewilder a general reader. You can never understand English literature without some knowledge of the wonderful career of English poetry. All critics (being but human, surprising as this may seem) have a bee of some sort in their bonnet, and I would not say that I always agreed with Mr. Welby's generalisations. But certainly the bees in *his* bonnet buzz much less bewilderingly than those busy insects which rush round the capacious bonnet of even a great critic like Mr. George Saintsbury. Mr. Saintsbury's history of English prosody is a thing to marvel at, to rejoice for, and to lose oneself in—completely to lose oneself in!

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It is only a step from this survey of English poetry to the useful annual collection entitled "The Best Poems", compiled by Mr. Thomas Moulton, the critic, and author of two charming and very promising novels, "Snow Over Eiden" and "The Comely Lass" (both from Heinemann). In *The Best Poems of 1923* (Cape 6/-) Mr. Moulton presents a selection of verse from the United States as well as England, and a very interesting collection of contemporary work results. Not the least of my reasons for welcoming this experiment (if not the title) is my feeling that the anthologist has at least backed his own honest opinions, and has not been servile to any literary coterie. There is less of the eccentric, less of the merely pretty, and less of the merely pretentious in this collection than there would certainly have been had any but a few of our younger critics compiled the book.

The subject of poetry brings me to a valuable little book, *Milton Agonistes: A Metaphysical Criticism* by E. H. Viziak (Philpot 3/6). Until

I read Mr. Viziak's study I did not suspect that hatred of Milton was a prevalent disease of modern mentality. I had feared something far worse, a prevalent indifference, and therefore I was accordingly cheered to read:

"The Milton-haters of today consist of two classes; one of which may be styled *neo-Catholics* and (although Milton was not a Puritan in the sterile sense) *anti-Puritans*. The more militant and literary members of this class are under the spell of the Middle Ages, which they conceive, or rather misconceive, in a glamour. The other class (which merit respectful sympathy) comprise that remnant of Jacobites who continue to cherish the memory of their 'martyred' Charles, whose statue at the last anniversary of his execution was wreathed with flowers. It is no wonder the author of the *Eikonoklastes* is obnoxious to them, so that, in an angry mood, they might have applauded Judge Jefferies' question at Chalfont St. Giles—'Do you not consider the loss of your sight a judgment from heaven for your treatment of the King?'—but scarcely Milton's rejoinder: 'Is not the loss of his head a still greater judgment on the King?'"

The way Mr. Viziak analyses the operation of Milton's genius as "inverted power" in the "Paradise Lost" is most suggestive, though it is a pity that he uses terms like "supraconscious" and "subconscious" without a little more regard for the reader who may not have read W. H. Myers' great work on "Human Personality and its Survival After Bodily Death". His assurance is also timely that "Paradise Lost" was originally intended to take the shape of an Athenian tragedy. But above all I am grateful to the author of *Milton Agonistes* for his exposition of Milton's sublimity, and his martyrdom of spirit and unbending intolerance of the religious and patriotic shams of contemporary society. Sir Thomas Browne gave voice to the more ordinary temperament that "would not perish upon a ceremony, politik points, or indifferency". But the gallic spirit of Anatole France has gone far beyond this. Sir Thomas Browne could praise Socrates "that suffered on a fundamental point of religion", but the author of "Notes on Life and Letters" can praise Rabelais on grounds that might have surprised even Rabelais, because he "maintained his opinions, but not up to the burning point, reckoning in advance of and with Montaigne, that to die for an idea is to put a very high value on one's opinions. . . . Martyrs are lacking in irony..."

Irony in this sense, "which refuses to receive anything seriously and laughs away sublime verities, is an intellectual martyrdom," says Mr. Viziak, "a voluntary confinement in a mock monastery... 'Charity' was Milton's corrective, as 'Wisdom' was that of Sir Thomas Browne... religion was no Puritannical system of inhibitions to Milton any more than it was to Sir Thomas Browne, who was constitutionally a Catholic."

It is a valuable privilege to be able to go back to a fresh study of a great genius like Milton, and to do so for pleasure instead of as a task will increase our discoveries. College students are especially apt to get together a few hasty impressions of these master-minds of literature in order to meet the requirements of an examination. The "pass" being secured, there's an end on't as far as most of them are concerned; which is a pity, for it means that education has closed, instead of flinging wide open, the gates of literature. There are excuses for the busy students who have time only to skirmish hastily through some easily-read book about the author they ought to read; but there is little good to be said for the universal system which replaces genuine culture with smartness in the examination-room. The problem of competitive education is, of course, a very troublesome one (there seems to be a glut of troublesome problems in my first *Causerie* for the *Hindustan Review*!) but until it is solved in favour of study for pleasure, we who have left college days behind may always, if we will, return to the treasures that we once passed so lightly on one side.

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Mr. Arnold Bennett.

About the time this appears in print a new novel from Mr. Arnold Bennett will be published. This is to be a continuation of his last one, "Riceyman Steps", a study of a miser and his household living in the slum area of Clerkenwell in North London. "Riceyman Steps" was one of the big literary events of last autumn and caused no little astonishment once more at this author's versatility.

Enoch Arnold Bennett was born 56 years ago, and lived his early youth in the potteries region of Staffordshire, "the Black Country" as it is appropriately called on account of its endlessly smoking furnaces. Mr. Bennett is a complex personality. His temperament as well as his work have inspired the most divergent opinions. I confess that I believed him to be a somewhat

cynical and hard man until, for the first time, I saw him in the flesh. The occasion was a West-End theatre "first-night." He sat in the stalls immediately in front of me. He was waving gently an unlit cigar to the tune of the music played in the entr'acte. He turned to a friend beside him and began speaking, and I heard a soft, shy voice. The air of sharp concentration which is a characteristic of his features had given way to a smiling amusement, smoothing his brow, and making humorous little creases about his eyes and mouth. I happened to be acting as a deputy that night to a dramatic critic. Mr. Bennett himself at the outset of his career attended "first nights" as a dramatic critic for about five years. He has described (in "The Truth About an Author") his feeling of isolation sitting among the stalls in a dress-suit which looked too obviously cheap for his comfort of mind. But that was before the war, and we are a little less ceremonious now.

This little aside, however, helps to explain the assumed self-confidence—justified by events—which has marked Mr. Bennett's career. He has never made any bones about the importance to his own happiness of money. Money, he has explained, means culture as well as pleasure; we may not agree, but the candour was impressive.

In his teens he fancied himself (like Mr. G. K. Chesterton) as an artist, and wasted a lot of good paint imitating Turner's skies. Sketching with a brush is still his hobby when yachting, a recreation in which he delights. He has quite an enviable skill as a yachtsman, and his brush has pleasantly illustrated an account of a cruise in Holland. You never know where, and in what guise Mr. Bennett is going to appear next before the public. "Riceyman Steps" was by no means the first big surprise he has sprung upon his very mixed public. His career has been astonishing to everybody except, perhaps, himself. Novelist, playwright, pocket-philosopher, journalist, and essayist, he is; but these terms do not exhaust his infinite variety because the novels, plays and miscellaneous writings range over nearly the whole gamut of literary tones. He steps from the cheapest sensationalism to art of enduring excellence with the superb insouciance of a faultless prestidigitateur.

The man who could write a successful shocker like "The Grand Babylon Hotel" in 1902, turns out "Riceyman Steps", which puts him in the

literary company of the Balzac of "Pere Goriot" and "Eugenie Grandet". The fact is he has always been a good craftsman, even at his inexcusable levels. That Beau Brummel of criticism, Mr. Ford Madox Hueffer, in "Thus to Revisit" speaks of his technique with the utmost respect, even when the theme is Mr. Bennett's "commercial employment of his pen". Mr. Hueffer has no doubt that Mr. Bennett "very obviously acquired an immense knowledge of 'technique' during years spent in Paris." But there is no necessary connection between Paris and the craftsmanship of a writer who has practised assiduously for over 30 years. Yet it is true that Mr. Bennett has admired and studied the French so-called "realists" of the late nineteenth century.

He began as a writer when that first fever of painting had subsided, supplying a local paper with paragraphs. This phase came to an end and he left the Black Country to become a solicitor's clerk in London. On Sundays he would go in for prize-story competitions—and win. Of course he would win. He had reached the comparative opulence of £200 a year as clerk when once more he burnt his boats after careful deliberation, and accepted £150 a year as a sub-editor of a woman's paper. Besides social gossip and captions for illustrations, he contributed a weekly column of literary criticism, signed "Barbara". This caught the approving eye of a lady who was then

president of the Society of Women Journalists. She wrote to him a letter saying: "Here *at last* is a woman who does not write like other women."

Mr. Bennett's fiction, like Balzac's is generally and crudely classified as "photographic", but this is partly his own fault. He once declared that fiction should be photographic or nothing. He has spared no pains to get a photographic accuracy in his descriptions, whether of the Five Towns, or of highways and byeways, shops and business offices in metropolitan London. His last novel was not only a sensitive and subtle study of Earlfordward, the second-hand bookseller and rich miser who starved his wife and himself to death. It is also a wonderful picture of the locality of "the gentle, broad acclivity of Riceyman Steps, which lead from King's Cross Road up to Riceyman Square, in the great metropolitan industrial district of Clerkenwell." This conscientious attention to appearances and facts is doubtless due to Mr. Bennett's almost lifelong practice of jotting down in notebooks every night the things seen and heard which have struck his mind during the day. But his best work cannot be explained by note-taking alone. It is imbued with a personal vision; it has that quality of mind called genius, which transforms a piece of craftsmanship into the living organism that is a work of art.

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THE PAST AND THE PRESENT. A PLEA FOR A RATIONAL SOCIAL THEORY.

By MR. K. M. PANIKKAR, M.A., OXON.

Ideas like currency have a habit of becoming inflated. The national feeling which is prolonged backwards in attempting to see in the past a golden age is such an inflation of the ideal of nationalism. We attribute to the past an increased meaning in relation to the present and put a value on it which is fiduciary and fictitious and passes current only by what the students of primitive culture characterise as *Representation Collectif*. The confessional ideas of to-day are

traced back to the past. For our weaknesses of the present we satisfy ourselves that the past was a glorious one. The attempt to trace back into Indian history the existence of a well developed system of representative institutions is an instance in point. There is no doubt that representative institutions of a type did exist in ancient India but they were crude, primitive and tribal. Their existence two thousands years ago has no more than a historical value to us. Still

the false sense of exaggerated nationalism which tickles our pride to see the germs of everything imbedded in our past makes us seriously claim it as a source of present day political inspiration.

The fact is that this dependence on the past is a sign of our decay. For a living nation the present is more important than the past. The past has no value to them except in so far as the present is its result. It is when rejuvenation has come to a deadstop that nations cast their eyes backwards. Nations like organisms live only in growth and this implies that a slow process of change operates on the collective mind of the group which while leaving the relation of the past with the present indisputable, gives it new ideas, a new shape and a new outlook. This constant rejuvenation is of the very essence of national life. It is the greatest indictment against the British rule that for India as a whole this movement has at least for the time stopped completely, as a result of forces generated by the inevitable evils of a foreign Government.

It cannot be denied that pre-British period in India when states and dynasties were fighting for ascendancy was not so 'civilised' a place as the India of to-day. But during the whole period of history when Islam came to be the ruling power in Hindustan Indian national life continued to live and grow. The great religious awakening of the Hindus from Ramanuja to Guru Govind which embraces the whole Bhakti movement, the rise of Sikhism and the elaboration of Vaishnava Philosophy—the development of the great systems of Hindu law, the growth of a distinctive school in painting, architecture and music and what is more the recurring manifestations of national spirit in all parts of India clearly showed that the Hindus far from being an inert mass were during all the six centuries of Muslim contact very much alive socially and politically. There was strictly speaking no Muslim conquest of India and no Muslim period of Indian history. Except the Punjab, the Ganges Valley, Gujerat and Bengal no portion of India acknowledged for any length of time the supremacy of the Mussalmans. Rajputana even in the days of the Moghuls had to be left unconquered. Muslim rule never effectively extended to Bundelkand and Central India; and in the south the great empire of Vijayanagar was broken up only in 1565, a hundred and twenty years before the Coronation of Sivaji as the Chattrapati of the Maharattas. The Bahmini states had been completely Hinduised. The

Mahommedan conquest was never really effective except in the Punjab, in the domains immediately surrounding Delhi and Agra and in Sindh. The local dynasties of Bengal and Gujerat had become national. One has only to glance at the architecture of Ahemadabad to know how in Gujerat the Muslim kings had contributed to the growth of a new spirit of Hindu-Muslim unity.

The traditional methods of oriental governments which left local institutions undisturbed, the central authority being a mere super-imposed structure, was the greatest factor which helped to keep alive the national spirit. The actual administration fell a great deal on the local Zamindars and chiefs who so long as they paid their quota to the Imperial treasury were left unmolested. That is why Muslim rule even in areas where it became more or less a permanent factor never became a foreign rule. Except during the comparatively short time when the Grand Moghuls held sway, there was no attempt of any kind to rule through a bureaucracy, through Imperial Officers who considered it their business to interfere in everything. The result was that though the rulers of the major portion of India were foreign by birth, the current of national life flowed in a placid stream without any attempt at being dammed or being irrigated. Both Hindus and Mussalmans lived their lives without the State trying to influence their thoughts or trying to spiritually mould them.

The continual rejuvenation of life from inside went on. Worn out ideas were rejected, new impulses and new doctrines took their place with vast groups. The rise of the Sikhs and the impulse behind the Maharatta power are examples of this. There was no fear then of rejecting old ideas merely because they were old. The Brahmo-Samaj was the last light of that period of mental growth. But with the establishment of a modern bureaucratic state which considers itself morally bound to interfere in every aspect of our national life this growth has virtually come to a stop. The development of a system of exotic education cuts us off from our moral inheritance. We began to accept ideas to which we could lay no intellectual claim. The result was a moral bankruptcy which did not show sufficient courage to reject what honestly we have come to think to be the dead weight of past tradition. We cling to worn out ideas and to institutions from which life has flown many centuries ago. We live in the past, without

courage to reject it and renew our life by the acceptance of new ideas. The real reason for this deplorable state is that we have not sufficient faith in the new ideas by which we want to replace the old. They did not come to us as truth. They were taught us by our foreign masters. Hence when the renewal of life impetus has stopped we have begun to look backwards to see in the past all that English education claims to teach us. But this is dangerous process; for the worn out ideas of one age as Dr. Schweitzer says often become like rejected products of metabolism and act as poisons. This is the poison that has enervated us. It is this that interferes with the free circulation of our blood. We have been afraid to question; we have been afraid to reject. Instead of purposive activity and genuine social thought a kind of dynamic orthodoxy took up cudgels in favour of everything that existed. The painted past in which we live has almost suffocated us. We have resisted the acceptance of new ideas from an entirely false sense of national prestige arising out of the inflation of the doctrine of nationalism.

What India requires now is a principle of rejuvenation. The non-co-operation movement tried something of the kind but it was too limited in its social activities. What we have to do is to attempt an extensive cleaning up of the whole range of national life, accepting nothing whose utility or compelling basis is not proved to us. Such a philosophical examination of the basis of our national life—for that is what is required—will throw much that we now unreasoningly hold sacred into the dust heap. The only attempt that was made in this direction was by Raja Rammohan Roy. He wanted to remodel society; he wanted a complete purging of worn out ideas but the time unfortunately was not ripe. Orthodoxy had armed itself and a movement which had in it the germs of a great national regeneration sank into the creed of an enlightened sect. It is one of the greatest tragedies of modern India, for Rammohan Roy's ideas were genuinely revolutionary in social matters and if accepted would have given an impetus to national rejuvenation. He began by questioning the very philosophy behind our social system. His object was nothing less than the breakdown of caste and the *Sanghatan* of the whole Hindu Community. He attacked the basis of the Hindu joint family system with its early marriage and group life. He began the reclamation of the submerged classes. He undermined and set to work to blow

up the Varnashrama Dharma. He introduced new ideas. But alas, moral bankruptcy had already overtaken the Hindus and his effort magnificent as it was succeeded only very partially. We have to take up where he left and continue the attack the plan of which he drew up if Indian society is to be united into a purposive organism for human good.

The first essential requisite for this is a new social philosophy. Indian life is being choked in the *mortmain* of the Varnashrama Dharma philosophy. It must be replaced by a social theory which is rational, synthetic and non-theological. Society, after all, is the collective organisation of individuals in a geographical unit for the purposes of common life, through which alone man attains his highest stature. A systematisation of various activities into ashramas and Varnas may be alright for theoretical purposes but it has never approximated in the least to facts. The Brahmins were never a wholly priestly class and the Khshatrias were not all given to the profession of arms. Varnashrama Dharma is a purely imaginary division without even the merit of providing a tolerable explanation for existing facts. It is a social theory which is neither in accordance with actualities, nor inspiring as an ideal. Its replacement by a philosophy which will provide a compelling ethical basis for the majority of our people is the first essential for the renovation of Indian life.

Is it not because of the lack of this elementary but guiding factor that we cannot satisfactorily solve the problem of the untouchables? The Hindu efforts at the reclamation of the submerged classes have not so far been successful because there was no consistent theory behind them. The Panchamas simply don't fit into the four corners of the Varnashrama Dharma theory and we have not so far accepted any other principle for our social organisation. So to my mind both these questions are intertwined. The elevation of the depressed classes and their assimilation into the general body of Hindu society is certainly the largest problem in India. A question which affects the human rights and development of 60 million souls is certainly a matter of the widest import to the world in general. Its magnitude is bewildering but without its solution the Indian can claim no justice anywhere, and its solution cannot be successfully undertaken except on the basis of a universally accepted and morally compelling social theory.

Another matter in which Indian life would have to renovate the basis and change the direction of development is the joint family system. There is no doubt that our present system is bad for the race and worse for the society. It may be an easy solution of housing and poor law difficulties but the method of bringing up children in herds cannot react satisfactorily on the health of the nation. From the point of view of the community, the creation of a new loyalty between the individual and the wider society of which he is a member can only result in disorganisation. That is in fact what we see in India. There is no doubt that if progress on a wide scale is to be achieved then the whole family system must be reconstructed. Here also the Brahma Samaj tried to introduce the individualistic basis.

The time has come when we must set our hearts to the disagreeable but not the less necessary operation of removing the decayed ideas from our body politic. No society was reformed and no community saved by merely continuing in the old grooves of settled tradition. What is required for it primarily is a clear understanding of the relation between the past and the present. The true perspective in which any living nation will look upon its past is merely as being continuous and alive through its results, in the present day. The past is not to be worshipped because it is past, and is not to be accepted without question of its utility and justice for the mere reason that it once was. In India at the present time for this reasonable and normal relationship

between the present and the past we have enthroned the idea of the greatness of an imaginary golden age. Our histories are written with that view. Our common modes of thought take it for granted. This unreal and fallacious doctrine must be replaced by a belief in the possibilities of shaping the present and of directing the future if India is to attain greatness. There is no use in legitimising our claims to greatness as a nation by appealing to a past which exists only in our imagination. If we are to be accepted as a community which contributes its quota to the well being of humanity and is thus entitled to respect then we must depend upon our present, on our ideals and achievements of to-day. That is possible only when we have dropped the beautified mask of the past which we have put on to hide our ugliness. An ugly man alive if he is animated by noble ideals and is devoted to service is of greater value to humanity than the most beautiful man who is dead. The question must be frankly and squarely faced. It would indeed have been an easy matter if the cause of truth and reason won merely on its inherent strength. But the walls of Jericho do not fall by themselves and truth and justice triumph only when the hand and mind of man actively work for it. That is what is required in India now. The false gods of a dead social theory must be dethroned, and in their place we must plant the banner of a rational social theory which while taking its inspiration from the past looks to the present and the future and is not content to worship the Golden calf of a bygone age.

THE DISMAL DEVIL'S GLARE IN THE DARK—III.

By MR. K. C. SEN.

Elucidation of the Curse of Adam.

The Curse of Adam stands recorded in the Book of Genesis thus :—"Thou Shalt Eat bread in the sweat of thy face". The curse does not mean that the process of eating or consuming bread is accompanied by sweating. On the other hand, as experience shows, the process of eating is a pleasant fact; and is more calculated to dry

up drops of sweat if they are already in the face. Eating implies producing. "The curse implies that to eat bread a man must produce it, that is, he that eats bread produces it, or conversely, that he that produces bread eats it; he is at least entitled to eat it. Negatively, no man should eat bread without producing it. Here lies the foundation of socialism.

The next point is, did God intend the curse to be hereditary? It is generally understood and believed that He did so intend. The law of heredity shows that the offspring inherits the evil as well as the good in the nature of the progenitor. Biological Science has confirmed this primitive interpretation and belief.

In the third place, the curse implies that there is a constant ratio between the quantity of bread eaten and the quantity of sweat shed through the pores of the skin and as eating is identified with producing, the curse implies the law of constant ratio between the value of the commodity produced and the cost of producing it. The curse of Cain made the curse of Adam more severe by ordaining that this ratio between production and its cost was variable and that if the unit of labour produces the unit of commodity two units of labour will not produce two units of commodity but less—This is the law of 'diminishing return.'

The curses did not indicate what quantity of bread each man should eat, and whether to obtain relief from excessive perspiration a man might reduce his consumption of bread without detriment to his health. It has been believed for long ages, and it is still believed by most people that the more bread a man eats the better he is, that though perspiring is painful, eating is comparatively more pleasant, and it is better to perspire more in order to eat more than to perspire less with the prospect of eating less.

Misapplication of the law of conservation of mechanical energy has for long supported the idea that the more a man eats the stronger he grows. But food is not by itself energy. It is not the quantity of comestibles eaten, not even the quantity digested, but the quantity assimilated that constitutes physiological energy. The relation between nervous energy and muscular energy is still obscure, and it will be a long time yet before science can determine the nature and quantity of food a particular man should consume for the purpose of obtaining and retaining the maximum energy. The general idea on the subject so far has been that every man has a fixed power of assimilation and that it is better for him to make available to that power more substance than it can assimilate than to present less to it, it being understood that the rejected substance would pass out of the system without leaving any harmful trace behind. But this idea is gradually

changing, and it is now being increasingly held that a comparatively small quantity of food consumed is better than a comparatively large quantity, the standard being the unknown quantity which taxes the power of assimilation to the best advantage. Fasting is better than surfeit. Deficit is better than excess; moderation is better than intemperance and gluttony. The problem however is in the experimental stage.

The ratio between the quantity of bread consumed and the quantity of sweat exuded being fixed, the pain of sweating might be partially evaded by reducing the pleasure of eating. But man, as a rule, is so ardent in his desire for this pleasure that he is prepared to submit to the pain of sweating for the purpose of enjoying it. This desire was created while man was yet in paradise where food was like manna. Among the robust Western people, the most civilized of modern times, the best thing in life is a good dinner. The "good things of life" are laid on the table every evening. Johnson said not very long ago that "a man may travel all over the world without finding any thing better than dinners."

The western people are to be congratulated even for being able to imagine that any thing better than dinner can be found in this world. But so far their nomadism on land and water has been almost invariably inspired by the prospect of good dinner and its continuance through life. They work hard in fields and factories for dinner. They wage war against neighbours for dinner. They depopulate countries and continents for dinner. They enslave people wholesale for dinner. They send their children to school that they may have dinner when they grow old. Education for the sake of knowledge is now sincerely repudiated as camouflage. When it is said that man does not live by bread alone, no spiritual idea is necessarily intended to be conveyed; for a man can live by cake also, if he is shrewd enough. When the King of France said, "if they have no bread why don't they eat cake?" he probably had this idea of the life-supporting value of cake in his mind.

Another implication of the curse of Adam is that the perspiration caused by the exertion to produce food should be still present when it is eaten, that is to say, that man shall consume immediately what he produces, which has for its corollary that he shall save nothing. The habit

of saving and of creating capital, it will appear, has been the most potent factor, first, in disturbing the ratio between the bread consumed and the sweat exuded, and then in completely divorcing the pleasure of consumption from the pain of production, and lastly in creating a hereditary class of parasites.

Lastly, it may be mentioned here as a relevant fact that the prayer, "Give us this day our daily bread," standing in the face of the curse of Adam, by persons who have accumulated enough wealth for themselves and their progeny sounds like a piece of unredeemed irreverence. This prayer was probably intended for the time, subsequent to the establishment of the kingdom of God on Earth. But that kingdom was not established by Christ in his first advent, and the second advent is still waited for. The prayer virtually asks God to withdraw the Curse of Adam, and cleverly reminds Him that it has failed and is therefore unworthy of being retained in the Bible. But probably Christ meant the prayer not for the rich, but for the poor, who sweated for finding food for others while they themselves starved. Uttered by them the prayer contains a request for retributive justice without any vindictive implications. The labourers of the present day however do not appeal to God for help, but assert themselves in strikes and in other ways, and compel their parasitic oppressors to part with a fraction of their profits to be converted into wages. The iron law of wages has made the law of profits soft and plastic by its heated blows. But after all the conflict between capital and labour is a conflict for dinner, and has no high spiritual inspiration behind it.

Evasion of the Curse of Adam.

A very important implication of the curse of Adam is that it has no application to the pre-cultural stages of life; for bread is made of wheat, and wheat is produced by agriculture. An astute rich man living in the West in modern times might perhaps, lawyer-like cleverly argue that he is not, except in a small measure, subject to the curse, because though society has advanced to the industrial, often having successfully passed through the agricultural, stage of human life, bread forms only an insignificant part of his food, most of which belongs to the pastoral and hunting stages of progress.

The change from the pastoral to the agricultural mode of life is accompanied by a

corresponding change in the character of food; surely our ancestors did not sweat in the fields for mere aesthetic gratification. It is not known that in any civilization in the past the food of pastoral life has been entirely supplanted by that of agricultural life, but the tendency has always been towards that consummation. Instead of eating the flesh of the cow man has resorted to milk and its products, possibly out of growing reverence for life. But with the progress of western civilization animal food is growingly reasserting itself, and the consumption of wheat in all its variety of forms is gradually dwindling among the richer, that is to say, among the more advanced sections of society. Wheat forms a mere supplement in the good things of life with which the rich man's table is loaded. Poor people sweat in the field and live mainly on bread. They do not draw for their food upon the slaughter houses of Chicago; and as to Smithfield, it is all but inaccessible to them. In India the consumption of animal food is nominal. It is almost absent among the higher castes of Hindus; and the Mussalmans, in spite of the reported cases of fighting with the Hindus on festival occasions, do not consume much cow's flesh. Cow slaughter in India is chiefly intended for the Christian ruling classes, who keep the memory of their home traditions green. Irreverence for life is characteristic of western civilization with all its implications of lack of genuine sympathy and compunction, and the historian has no difficulty in perceiving that this irreverence is the prime factor in the progress of that civilization. It has rendered exploitation easy, and has kept the ape and tiger quality in man in sound and efficient condition. It has enabled him to evade the Curse of Adam more effectively than the highest achievements of science.

Evasion of the curse is possible in two ways, namely, (1) by the power of science designed to enable man to produce much with little labour, and (2) by the power of systematically consuming what others produce. The first power is intellectual and the second moral. The two powers are mutually helpful in western civilization. They are so blended in actual operation that they look like a single undivided and indivisible faculty. There is a third method of evading the curse, which proved partially successful in India in the past, but which under the pressure of foreign culture is being increasingly abandoned. To avoid the pain of

sweating Indian sages suggested, from a high spiritual point of view, abstention from the pleasure of eating bread. Of course no man can live without eating food for any length of time. At the same time excessive eating, which implies excessive sweating is now scientifically regarded as injurious to life. The minimum quantity of food required for maintaining health, if it could be found, would be the most important discovery in hygiene and most beneficial to mankind. But it will be a long time before that discovery can be made. Besides a general formula will perhaps be futile. And so long as that discovery is not made the struggle between work and wages will go on and every man will try to work less and to consume more.

The history of the evasion of the Curse of Adam is virtually the history of exploitation. Exploitation is of two kinds, *viz.*, Exploitation of Nature and Exploitation of Neighbour. The Exploitation of Nature is primarily intellectual in character and seems to be morally colourless. In truth, however, this exploitation is open to criticism from two points of view. In the first place exploitation of Nature on a large scale is impossible without exploitation of Neighbours of the present generation. In the second place it cannot be carried on indefinitely without injuring future generations, who will find the earth either completely exhausted or so drained that the proportion of wage to work will perceptibly decrease. After the great war the miners complained that the ores were too deep to permit the old unit of labour to bring to the surface the old unit of raw material. The exploitable volume of the earth's crust is limited. Its depth cannot exceed five miles, and probably it does not exceed one mile. The deeper the exploiter goes the more difficult he finds his work, and the sweating is out of proportion to the bread obtained. However this kind of exploitation, though morally objectionable is by no means very reprehensible, for it may be argued that science will possibly open ways of utilizing natural resources without much additional cost in labour. But the burden of proving that science admits of indefinite progress lies on the exploiters of the present generation, and so long as they depend upon mere chance or possibility they cannot claim the right of indefinite exploitation, against the interests of persons yet unborn and therefore unable to assert themselves openly. It is generally affirmed that western civilization is accumulating

wealth, instead of spending it lavishly, because of its solicitude for the interests of future generations. There can be no doubt that it is accumulating wealth, which may be available to future generations, but it can not be asserted that the interests of the future generations openly or directly enter into the consciousness of the final cause of the accumulation. Professor Keynes seems to regard the accumulative instinct as the result of a deep-seated superstition or illusion. He says:—

"The capitalist classes were allowed to call the best part of the cake (accumulated wealth) theirs and were theoretically forced to consume it, on the tacit underlying condition that they consumed very little of it in practice. The duty of saving became nine-tenths of virtue and the growth of the cake the object of true religion. There grew round the non-consumption of the cake all those instincts of puritanism which in other ages has withdrawn itself from the world and has neglected the arts of production as well as those of enjoyment. And so the cake increased; but to what end was not clearly contemplated. Individuals would be exhorted not so much to abstain as to defer, and to cultivate the pleasures of security and anticipation."

Thus it will appear that excessive exploitation of nature is not morally defensible, though its reprehensibility is not easily detected and constitutes a delicate problem in casuistry. It is remarkable that the principle of optimism being the cult of western civilization any thing calculated to give rise to pessimistic prognostication should be avoided. Pessimists of a cultured type are, however, already springing up by hundreds. Should the spirit of unbelief in the principle of optimism, to say nothing of the spirit of pessimism, come to dominate the heart of the majority of the cultured people, the bottom of western civilization will be knocked out of it like the spangled head of the snake, which in the mind of the uncultivated Hindu supports the earth in the void of infinite space. The principle of optimism is that though men do come and men do go society lives for ever, and *progressively*. Its ideal, as a cult, is that society is approaching to a state of perfection when wage will bear no proportion to work, and all men will eat bread and also cake without sweating; when the law of conservation of energy will be completely relaxed in favour of man. Excessive exploitation of nature on the other hand will make that law run in the

opposite direction and make man's life extremely miserable. It invites, in short, the destruction of western civilization, and is therefore open to moral animadversion. The history of this type of exploitation is quite modern and does not extend beyond one hundred and fifty years. But within this short period it has performed stupendous *Harikari* in the bowels of the earth, and has rendered the comforts and conveniences of life more costly than before. No doubt the great war is largely responsible for this, but great wars are inseparable accidents of western civilization, and can no more be eliminated from it than hydrogen can be eliminated from water.

As to exploitation of neighbour the theory is quite sound while men believe in its necessity and righteousness. It becomes shaky and unstable when the belief begins to oscillate. The fight between cosmic necessity and sentimental morality obstructs human progress, upward as well as downward, by its indecisive results. The history of western civilization exhibits periods of decisive victories gained by cosmic necessity, and it is by the results of these victories that western civilization stands erect, though the victories themselves are condemned by historians as inhuman. It is like denouncing robbery which fattens on stolen property, that is, property stolen by ancestors, near or remote, better if remote.

Midway between the two kinds of exploitation mentioned above lies the exploitation of animal energy. God gave man "dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth". This dominion did not explicitly extend to the privilege of eating the flesh of the animals. Herbs and fruits were his meat in paradise, and when expelled from it man at once took to the habit of eating mutton, beef and bread. We afterwards learnt to use cattle as carriers and drawers. He was privileged to so use them. The cattle drew his plough and carried his crops home and to the market, and when wheels were discovered the exploitation of cattle as drawers was much enlarged. Cruelty to animals was largely practised. But the term had a limited signification. Merely making the animals work against their will was not cruelty, for this was covered by the term 'dominion'. Cruelty meant only such torture as was practised for its own sake, and not for the purpose of exploitation.

Slaughter of cattle is not an offence, but the causing of unnecessary pain in the process is sinful. The exploitation of cattle, except for purposes of eating their flesh, is being substituted by the exploitation of inanimate nature and ploughs and vehicles are now drawn by steam and electricity. This substitution is not the result of kindness and compunction, but is due to the fact that the exploitation of animal energy is less efficient and more costly. There is likeness between this substitution and that of free labour for slave labour. The abolition of slavery has no moral significance. All its value lies in the sphere of economics. The credit for the abolition belongs not to the advancing morality of man, but to his intellectuality. The partial abolition of the exploitation of animal energy does not proclaim the triumph of Christian morality, but of the science of civilization.

The slaughter of cattle goes on increasing with the progress of western civilization. Ten thousand heads are killed every day at Chicago, and the flesh distributed over the world in tin cans and Chicago is one of many slaughtering places. In India there was a king who killed 250 heads daily for the use of his guests. But Chicago caters for the entire world, for countless paying guests.

A refined form of exploitation is practised in the shape of milching. The milk is transformed in numerous ways for final consumption. Curd, butter, cheese, ghee, chhana, ghol, etc. are some of the names of the forms in which milk is consumed. The calf is given enough to live upon. It is sometimes killed to supply meat, while the milking is carried on by painful processes.

Towns which consume most milk and meat keep an organization for the prevention of cruelty to animals; and much cruelty is practised in the name of prevention of cruelty. Mysterious are the ways of civilization. Nothing is done in a straight-forward way. Complicity and camouflage add relish to civilization.

The curse, as it stands recorded in the Book of Genesis, and as interpreted above, condemns all men and women and their children and children's children to sweating toil on penalty of death to the end of time. This curse stands as a divinely ordained law, or as a law of Nature, as we now designate such ordinances in science. The laws of Nature are ordinarily supposed to be perpetual and inexorable. But scientific men who are also philosophers do not consider it

impossible that they are subject to modification or termination, though practically and for all human purposes they are immutable. It cannot be said that the curse, once passed, limited the power of God to change it or to put an end to its further operation. God afterwards promised that he would send his son to put an end to it after man had been disciplined enough to receive the boon. God also in his infinite wisdom endowed man with freedom of choice subject of course to limitations specifically imposed by Him. It was open to man to try to eat bread without sweat in his face, and his success depended on the condition that he would respect the commandments, and one of these commandments was that every man should love his neighbour as himself. Any act or behaviour showing that he loved himself more than his neighbour would eventually defeat his endeavour, whatever success he might attain temporarily. The evasion of the curse during the last five thousand years has been effected by a more or less violent disobedience of the above commandment. This disobedience has been most pronounced and emphatic during the last four hundred years, that is to say, since the inauguration of what is known as—western civilization, and among people who rhetorically call themselves Christians, or devoted followers of the son of God to make the disobedience shine more brightly in the blazing success of their evasive operations. But their success has lasted for some generations, and most of them believe that it will not only last for ever, but will show increasing brightness. There are perceptible, however, quickly growing signs that the success will terminate in disastrous failure.

A small difference of brain and brawn gave one brother an advantage over another which he utilized for the purpose of evading the Curse of Adam. The second sweated for the first. As this spread over a large area, public opinion became reconciled to it, and what was an infringement of the moral order came to be regarded as an instance of the natural order. Small natural differences were exaggerated and perpetuated by art. Natural superiority was reinforced by conventional superiority, and the divergence between the superior and the inferior grew in mass and strength till the superior became slaves. Slowly the very psychology of the society changed so as to turn mere acquiescence into acceptance, and acceptance into conviction. The difference was perpetuated

by the conventional law of inheritance and succession confused with the natural law of heredity. The conventional difference was at first proportionately larger than the natural difference, and in course of time intensified the latter. Natural difference was either accidental and ephemeral or fixed for life. It might be caused by fortuitous incident or by remediable disease. To take advantage of such difference was not only cruel but cowardly. The machine of convention grinded slowly and surely, and once declared inferior, a man had very great difficulty in washing out the stigma. In some societies it became indelible.

Fortuitous, temporary differences between race and race, between nation and nation often lead to marvellous results. Victory in war is a matter of luck; but a decisive victory once gained makes one nation slave for another for a long time, if not for ever. In a moment of weakness in the Indian nation the British found an advantage which has given them an Empire,—an illimitable field for exploitation and administration,—which has been utilized to widen the divergence so as to make the weak still weaker, and the strong still stronger. Compare the position of England under James I. and of India under Jehangir, and compare the position of the two countries in the present year of grace 1924, and the power of accidents on national condition will be at once obvious. India now sweats and starves, while she produces bread and cake,—bread buttered on both sides and cake filled with apples—for the enjoyment of Englishmen. She has been given a corresponding psychology to keep her contented, peacefully and complacently living on crumbs thrown from the exploiters' table.

Germany is now slaving to pay reparations to England and France, though she was admittedly considered superior for half a century. Empires have risen and fallen; Nations have eaten bread in the sweat of other nations' faces, and the history of the evasion of the Curse of Adam constitutes the most interesting branch in the history of mankind. At present the majority of mankind eat bread in the sweat of their faces, and only a small minority eat it unsoaked in salt water. Every nation suffers sweating, and national progress bears an inverse ratio to the quantity of sweat exuded from the bodies of men. The object of civilization seems to be to defeat the curse or law of God. But the success of civilization so far has not been considerable.

The revolt of the minority of mankind against the curse of Adam would have been futile but for the curse of Eve, which in the first place made woman a dependant of man, and in the second, filled the world with more men than there was bread. The curse of Cain helped the minority by making the majority mere vagabonds and fugitives on earth. They were like the Jews of the middle ages who, scattered over Europe, accumulated wealth for the benefit of the rich among the settled population. The several curses united to produce the same result. God's curse is another name for the Devil's blessing. The supreme being has two sides. The Devil represents the dark side, and what is ordinarily known as God is the bright side of that Being. The anthropomorphic God can never be identified with the absolute. Mankind became divided into exploiters and exploited. The exploited bore the curses, and the exploiters remained as near to paradise as Adam and Eve before the fall, with the important difference that they have the tree of knowledge in their possession, and can eat its fruits without further molestation. Indeed they have been eating it for a long time in the past, and are expecting to eat it for a long time in the future, though Bolshevism is threatening them.

The history of pre-social life is not accurately known to man. He has discovered no reliable record of any kind, in stone or bone, to enlighten him on the subject under discussion. Shortly after the expulsion of Adam and Eve from paradise the entire population, albeit infinitesimal in number was reduced to hard labour. We know Cain became a cultivator, while Abel lived a pastoral life. Spencer thinks they were chiefs of agricultural and pastoral communities respectively. Abel was not cursed like Cain. He lived in the favour of God, and as he did not eat bread, he had no sweat dripping from his face. But how long his offsprings continued to live the pastoral life is not known. His family have either disappeared or changed their mode of living.

At the present moment out of seventeen hundred million people about sixteen hundred million toil and moil for their daily bread under precarious conditions which compel them, according to Christian doctrines, daily to look for the mercy of God, and to appeal to Him every morning with the object of inducing Him not to withhold from them the daily ration soaked in salt water. For this alone can be the meaning

of the daily prayer, "Give us this day our daily bread." The other hundred million souls having secured enough bread coated with butter, with cake added unto it, have gradually ceased to say their morning prayer as an unprofitable waste of time and thought.

During the last hundred and fifty years the total population of the world inspite of wars, and massacres, famines and pestilences, cyclones and earthquakes, cannibalism and infanticide, to say nothing of less impressive forms of death, has increased five fold, i.e. from about three hundred million to seventeen hundred million. This increase is enormous, having regard to the fact that what man had failed to accomplish in a hundred thousand years he has accomplished in one hundred and fifty. This is the period covered by the mechanical and industrial revolution. The supply of subsistence also has no doubt increased. But it is inconceivable that it has increased in the same ratio as the population, for though much virgin soil has been brought under cultivation, at the same time that the methods of cultivation have improved, yet it is hard to believe that the total quantity of food crops has kept pace with the geometrically increasing population, specially in those parts of the world where the population has been dense for many hundred years. The most advanced countries in the old world now live upon food largely imported from the new world. England is unable to produce more than a fourth part of the food grains consumed by her people. If the above rate of progress of population be maintained during the next hundred and fifty years the total population of the world will be more than a billion by the end of the twenty second century. Further progress will make the world over crowded in the sense that the average individual will not have more than twelve square feet of ground, the area required for his burial. The density of population threatens in the near future to exceed the final limit fixed by the laws of economics and of hygiene. We are thus passing through an interesting period in human history to its final crisis. This crisis is not likely to be put off by schemes of disarmament and compulsory cessation of war. Some scheme of world-wide importance must be found to arrest the surging tide of growing population, or Nature will be constrained to exercise unutterably monstrous cruelties to prevent the world from bursting, or running into utter Chaos,—cruelties compared with which Japanese earthquakes,

Bengal cyclones, Madras famines or Chinese floods will look like child's play. Man expected some final solution of the crucial problem from the great world war. That war seems to have been designed by providence to serve the same purpose as the advent of John the Baptist was designed in connection with the redemptive scheme designated as Christianity. That war has terminated for the time being but the heat generated has not been dissipated into infinite space, but has sunk beneath the surface in the heart of man transfigured from the kinetic to the potential form of energy. Either man must reduce population, or Nature will reduce it for him. Man may do the work silently, but Nature will do it tumultuously and spectacularly. The dismal devil finds more pleasure in torture than in slaughter.

The problem of population has become insistent for a definite solution. The glare of the dismal devil has developed an unprecedented degree of ferocity and terrific monstrosity by his catastrophic fascination, producing phenomenal stupefaction in the most advanced races of mankind. These races, under the generic name of the 'white man' have suddenly developed a tremendous reproductive energy aided by a stupendous productive ingenuity, nourished as much by the exploitation of nature as by that of neighbour. The whiteman is now ubiquitous. He is found in the tropics and the poles, and has permanently occupied nearly the whole of the temperate zone on both sides of the equator. He circumnavigates the world with a thermometer in his hand, and wherever he finds the thermal readings favourable he squats and settles, be it in the heights of the Himalayas or in the depths of Columbian forests. Elsewhere he does not settle, but visits and exploits from an outpost, which he uses as a base of operation. The Himalayas form the outpost for the exploitation of India.

As to the problem of population among the black, brown and yellow races he follows a double policy. In the temperate halts where he settles he exterminates the original population, after calling them the aboriginal people. In the hotter regions he encourages the aborigines to multiply themselves—where he exterminates he fills the land with a rapidly growing white population. Thus the total population of the world grows with tremendous rapidity. The double policy is designed to facilitate exploitation of the natural resources of the world.

Its effect is to exhaust those resources more quickly than nature intended, and to bring on the end with catastrophic quickness. That end will come much earlier than the complete exhaustion of the resources. It will certainly not wait for the cooling of the sun. The dismal devil is preparing the world for a spectacular destructive demonstration transcending the power of the most comprehensive imagination to anticipate and compass. The devil has his own ways of dealing with population. The Malthusian law does not imply that the ratio between population and subsistence is constant. Sometimes a large population is maintained on small rations, it may be on reduced health. But the problem is obscured by the subjective element in the quantity of food required for healthy life. At all events the balance between food supply and population may remain disturbed for a long time, after which a sudden disaster comes unawares and causes havoc on a shocking scale.

For the purpose of effectively evading the curse of Adam man has divided himself into three primary selves, *viz.*, the personal self, the group self and the human self. The first self takes care of his personal interests, the second those of the group to which he belongs or attaches himself by choice, and the third takes care of the interests of humanity as a whole. The three selves have three different standards of Ethics or Moral life, and they assert themselves sometimes severally and sometimes jointly and confusedly. Occasionally one of the selves, either by the power of impulse or by the strong urge of reason, triumphs over the other two and controls the activities of the personal organism. As a rule in the routine course of life the personal self stands supreme, and the interests of the other two selves are taken into account only so far as they are conducive to the interests of the personal self. On rare occasions the group self dictates to the other two selves, and calls on them to make sacrifices great or small. This is specially observed in time of war, when men rush to the front regardless of discomforts and risks. The third self is the weakest in the organism of selves, so far as the past history of man discloses their relative strength. Idealists hope that in the remote future this self will reign supreme in peace and perpetuity, the other two selves surrendering themselves to its dictates. But if the past is the prophet of the future in any sense the optimism of Idealism

seems to be unsubstantial. The different races are knowing one another more intimately than before, but instead of loving, the more they know the more they hate. One race hugs another with the love of *Dhritarastra* who reduced Bhima's iron image to mere pulp.

The group self is subdivided chiefly into the family self, the class or communal self, the national self and the racial self. These are other forms of group self already in existence and more may be invented hereafter for the purpose of evading god's curse respecting the relation between cost and compensation in self and race conservation.

Every man is consciously or subconsciously trying to impose upon others his share of the sweat that the curse of Adam demands. Every group of men is trying to impose upon other groups the sweat required of it. Among the groups the nation is the most powerful and widespread. Every nation tries to exploit other nations, directly by force, or diplomatically by fraud. Exploitation means that the exploited nation should place its services at the disposal of the exploiting nation without demanding adequate remuneration. Force and fraud are both at the back of exploitation. Sometimes force and sometimes fraud plays the supreme part, but as a rule they play together. After all force and fraud are not such monstrosities as we suppose them to be. They have made the world what it is. They have civilized it. It is inconsistent to denounce them and at the same time to praise civilization, particularly the Western variety of it. Some people think they can retain civilization as an accomplished fact, and send the means by which it has been attained to the gallows, as if they were like a ladder which might be kicked down when the roof had been reached.

A group of men instead of making the interest of humanity the guiding principle of conduct follow the shorter and smoother line suggested by the interest of the group to which they belong ; and it is to be noted that the group interest is wider and nobler than the interest of the individual ; and that one group succeeds in exploiting another in proportion as its members subordinate the personal self to the group self. This subordination sometimes extends to conscious annihilation, as an extremely probable fact, of the personal self. The reward of the hero lies in posthumous applause. Whether imperative impulse or calculating reason forms

the real urge of the suicidal jump, the hero is esteemed all over the world for the bare fact that the group self has subordinated his personal self. Sometimes it is even suspected that the human self of the hero has for the moment triumphed over his personal self, and when this genuinely occurs the hero really deserves the highest praise. In him for the time being the lower selves have sacrificed themselves at the altar of the highest ; true love has displaced hatred of neighbour ; the love of God has displaced the love of life ; reality has annihilated illusion.

Some people think the group self is higher than the personal self and that to reach the human self the personal self must part through it. The human self is perhaps not an aggregation of personal selves or of group selves and neither philanthropy nor federalism can truly make man human.

Exploitation has made such a big jump during the last century and a half that we are apt to suppose that it is an invention of Modern times, and especially of Western civilization. The truth is that exploitation had its origin in the desire to eat bread without sweat in the face, in the desire to evade the curse of Adam. It has received statutory sanction from the original compact by which society was formed, and it has ever since been developing with a growing rate of progress until now its intensiveness as well as its extensiveness has nearly reached the climax. This double progress is due not merely to the growing debauchment of the moral sentiment, but to a greater extent to the development of the inventive genius of man. The glamour of intellectuality obscures the black spots of restless morality quivering behind it. The power of applied science backed by the subtleties of a meandering morality, which challenges criticism by its dimensionless massiveness, while its perfection of continuity has raised Western civilization to the top of the world, which is ceaselessly scheming to evade God's curse, *i.e.*, to defeat his law.

In the midst of conflict of opinion as to the circumstances in which society was formed, and as to the exact nature of the object aimed at, *viz.*, as to whether it was mere preservation or amelioration of human condition, one fact stands out conspicuously, *viz.*, that some individuals obtained the privilege of commanding while the duty of the rest was to obey them unquestioningly, subject to certain undefined limits.

Power was organized and concentrated in a definite group while the duty of submission was paid by or exacted from scattered masses severally, *i.e.*, from each individual separately. Tax was gathered from every man and put into a common purse, commanded by one man or a small group of men. There was thus established the Empire of the minority over the majority, which was gradually transformed into a parasitic oligarchy. The new arrangement did not excite revolt so long as it did not violently interfere with the common liberties of every day life, and proved successful wherever the rulers were moderate in their demands on the patience and tolerance of the people. In course of time the psychology of submission, started by acquiescence, was consolidated and stabilized into custom. Custom again was slowly changed until the moral sentiment of the people was sufficiently transformed to convert the consciousness of wrong from a sense of toleration to that of open approbation. Free criticism of the ruling class was condemned by public opinion, and combination for any disloyal purpose was prevented by law, which received the sanctity of divine commandment from State propaganda. Thus the difference between the ruler and ruled, the powerful and the weak, the superior and the inferior, grew in width and depth increasingly facilitating exploitation, which was ramified in diverse directions. Free barter of service or commodity made room for contract executed on the part of the weak with the sword of hunger hanging over them, and the result was that pinched by the necessity of immediate relief they feared to press for terms without which their future would become worse, and their faces suffused with a thicker layer of perspiration, while sitting with their wives and children down to dinner. The weak became weaker, and the strong grew stronger until the relationship of Master and Slave was established between them. This was the lowest depth to which exploitation could morally descend. Exploitation next took a backward turn because there was no lower depth to descend to ; and after a thousand years it was also discovered that slavery did not symbolise an economically profitable form of exploitation. The natural result was that slavery was raised to serfdom, and in course of time serfdom was transformed into villenage. A further advance found the villiens turned into

yeomen, and yeomen became middle class gentlemen, leaving a large residue of landless labourers to carry on the menial part of the productive work for the upkeep of society. The descendants of these landless labourers form the proletariat of the present day, simultaneously impoverished and vitalized by the mechanical revolution of the last years of the Eighteenth Century. They were huddled up in factories and tenements, where physical conglomeration slowly led to political combination, against which the statutory privileges of parasites and capitalists proved unavailing after a prolonged struggle which lasted for nearly a century.

The backbone of parasitism has been broken by the power of political combination, whose utility was suggested by the power of economic combination invented by the capitalists for their own benefits, illustrating the conflict between immediate and remote good as the guide of activity. Irrigation which brings prosperity is ultimately followed by Malaria which causes depopulation. Imperialism is followed by re-barbarisation. Ascent and descent follow the course of the trajectory. Life is a Sisyphean struggle. Trade-unionism, the symbol of combination, has been instrumental in teaching the proletariat the value of temporary sacrifice reaped in permanent benefit, which the Christian priesthood had failed to impress upon mankind by their teachings extending over two thousand years. The benefit has now been dazzlingly visualized by the fact that in half of Europe the representatives of the proletariat hold the reins of government in their hands, while in the other half they have a distinctly audible voice in the framing of the ideals of governance, and in formulating the methods for their attainment.

The creation of a third class between the commanding and the obeying sections has given a character of complexity to the process of exploitation. This third class combined the traits of the exploiting and the exploited classes. It is a hermaphrodite class that largely blurred the conceptual distinction between the two main groups of society, while it has made the condition of the lowest class worse by the multiplication of new modes of exploitation, and making the evasion of the old modes difficult. Sambo and Quimbo, two famous personalities in H. B. Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, belong to this third class, which has now ramified into diverse sub-classes, as service-holders, professionals and

vocationals. They are mulattoes by descent and character. They are like bats, birds or beasts at convenience. They are liberals in possession of the borderland between labour and conservatives. They sometimes keep the balance between the two parties, but generally obstruct

the progress of society towards equality, liberty and fraternity. In England at the present moment, as a political class, they are in a sad plight.

(to be continued).

IS INDIA LIGHTLY TAXED?

By MR. A. S. VENKATARAMAN.

"India is lightly taxed" is a facile remark oft-repeated and oft-quoted, rapidly gaining currency among people, who without caring to examine all about it, not only satisfy themselves but also sedulously propagandise and win neophytes whose zeal becomes proverbial. As is often the case, such statements, whose truth it is often difficult to probe, are readily believed in and acted upon so much so, that after a time, truth finds itself overgrown with a thick layer of shrubs and thorns that the search after it, however assiduous, becomes a lost endeavour. Leaving aside the globe-trotter who airs forth his views on the Indian political situation and India's economic condition, statesmen whose knowledge of Indian affairs, if well used, is sure to bring credit, going home, lose that imaginative sympathy, quite essential for the proper understanding of the needs and conditions of an alien country. Strachey need not be classed among these statesmen but certainly his remarks "There is certainly no country in the world possessing a civilized government in which the public burdens are so light," cannot withstand close scrutiny while the further remark "In England taxation supplies $\frac{5}{6}$ and in India not much more than $\frac{1}{4}$ of the public income," must be more fully gone into.

The Indian government derives its revenue from three different sources such as (1) Property, (2) Commercial undertakings, (3) Contributions from the people. The first category includes the income from lands, forests, railways leased out to and managed by companies, while state-managed railways, posts, telegraphs, canals, monopolies of sale, etc., constitute the com-

mercial undertakings of the State. Lastly the contributions from the people embrace direct and indirect taxes, the first comprising land tax Income-tax, the second comprising customs, excise, stamp and registration duties. The railways, a decided liability for 50 years at the rate of a crore of rupees per year, have become since 1904 a valuable asset and just at this time the separation of railway from general finance has been sanctioned. They come under two categories, as they are managed by the company or by the state itself, all of them being owned by the state. The railways under company management give a share of their profits. People obsessed with a desire for logical division and exactitude, are tempted to adopt the principle of division by dichotomy in classifying revenue into tax revenue (revenue from taxes) and non-tax revenue. Non-tax revenue comprises revenue from forests, opium sales, railways, irrigation works, post office and telegraph and other minor items as departmental receipts and fees for services rendered to the public. Opium revenue once considerable, is now declining owing to the agreement with China and may dwindle into a vanishing quantity. The steady increase in the income from forests depends upon the utilization of forest products for industrial purposes. The management of public utilities like posts and telegraphs by the state has proved immensely useful to the people. The place of the English income-tax as a single tax making a large contribution to the revenues of the country, is in India occupied by the Land Revenue and the difference is, while the English Income-tax is capable of adjustment year after

year by being raised in times of stress and lowered in times of prosperity, the land revenue is subject to a periodical assessment of 30 years in areas other than permanently settled. In this latter respect, namely, annual adjustment, that which marks an approach to the English Income-tax is the Indian Salt Tax, which by reason of its reaching down even the small incomes, easy collection with little change in machinery, offers an irresistible temptation to a financier confronted with deficits. One may wonder what is the place of the income-tax in the scheme of Indian taxation at present. At present its yield is not promising and a fear is even entertained in some quarters, that by reason of India being a country where agricultural economics still holds the field, and by reason of the comparative slowness of development of credit and exchange transactions, the levy of income-tax may act as a handicap on India's industrialisation. Whatever it may be, Indians may be fed on the assurance that the taxes of the future are customs, excise and income-tax, while land tax may fast be taken back to the ante-chamber.

So much in general about Indian taxation. We shall now consider what after all is the substratum of truth in the remark that India is lightly taxed. Putting it aside as an entirely insupportable proposition is the better part of gross ignorance or wilful misrepresentation. The remark, as I consider it, is based on the assumption that land revenue is a rent. Here we need not enter into that unedifying and unprofitable controversy whether the land revenue is a tax or not. For our purposes it may be taken as a tax since it is a portion of wealth taken by the government in spite of its utter disregard of the principles of progression or equality or equity of incidence and since it is primarily a tax on agricultural incomes or wages earned by agricultural labourers (as often the cultivators are) though properly speaking they should be exempted from taxes, just as the artisans, shop-keepers and petty merchants are. Well, it is this assumption of land revenue being a rent that occasioned the remark of the lightness of taxes. Another thing too might have provoked the remark. We need only run our eyes through the Indian and English income-tax figures to detect the disparity in the rates. The income-tax in industrial countries, is an important tax capable of indefinite expansion and limitation and is a reserve of financial power in the hands of

financiers and eyes accustomed to revel in high income-tax figures, find it difficult to accommodate their vision to Indian figures. We all know why the comparison falters. Again the remark may be explained away, if not justified. "The land tax may be included and yet the taxation is lighter than in England," is the objection raised by some. The succeeding part of this article attempts an answer. At the same time one important point must be noticed and assessed at its true value. England is a country where industrial economy reigns supreme and India is still a country where agricultural economy has not ceased to hold her sway, and need we add, any comparison between the two is out of court! When India becomes industrialised the taxes full of promise are customs, income-tax and inheritance duties, while land revenue which is *jacile princeps* now, may go down.

Apart from the unsuitability of the comparison, from the economic point of view, as indicated, we still proceed on the assumption—the temptation being so irresistible—that such a comparison may, somehow, be instituted. Here we encounter difficulties. There are certain postulates of Indian taxation. India's poverty is one of them. Even eminent statesmen and financiers subscribe to this proposition. The following figures given by Sir Viswesvaraya in his address in the economic conference, are eloquent by reason of their silence:—

	Average wealth or property per head.	Annual per capita income	Trade per head.	Death rate per 1,000.	Average expectation of life in years.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.		
United Kingdom	6,000	720	640	Below 14	45
Canada	4,400	550	510	14	..
India	180	53	23	Over 30	24

These figures while speaking for themselves reveal in lurid colours some millions starving for want of a meal a day while others have only one, the low average wealth and income (2½ annas a day!) the poorest trade, the lowest expectation of life and the highest rate of mortality. No wonder that in the face of these figures, the standard of living is low, the efficiency of Indian labour is poor and the death rate appalling.

The second postulate is that the administration is costly. No less an authority than Mr. Fisher recognises in his book on "STUDIES

Now for purposes of comparison with England the following figures for 1917 are furnished :—

	UNITED KINGDOM.	INDIAN.
Population	45 Millions	250 Millions
Earnings	£2,250 Millions	£600 Millions
Taxes	£170 Millions	£45 Millions

In these calculations, non-tax revenue has been excluded, while land revenue has been included and local rates for England and India have been omitted. If they are added, the rates are enhanced by an equal percentage. Without them the percentage of taxation on income (*i.e.* the relation between per capita income and taxation) is $7\frac{1}{2}$ both for England and India and what is the inference we have to draw? No doubt the per head taxation is smaller in India, but certainly not lighter. When we speak of light or heavy taxes we have always in our minds the capacity of the people to bear the burden. Let us only turn once more to the figures furnished by Sir Visweswaraya and we find therein that from every point of view, average income or wealth or trade, not to speak of

other things, India takes an unenviable place as compared with the United Kingdom and Canada. One principle we have to remember is that the smaller the income, the greater the sacrifice and the heavier the burden. The sacrifice of Rs. 6-8-0 for a man who has an income of Rs. 53/- is certainly greater than that of Rs. 88/- for a person having an income of Rs. 720/-. Another equally important principle that must never be lost sight of is that the smaller the wealth, the heavier the burden, even though the taxation figures are lower. The average wealth of an Indian is Rs. 180/- and that is nothing beside a sum of Rs. 6,000/-. A comparison between the two is not even approached by the disparity in size between a giant and a pigmy!

To conclude, the remark that India is lightly taxed is not warranted by the facts behind the figures, even supposing that a comparison between Industrial England and agricultural India can be instituted. In theory and practice, that proposition is untenable and from the point of view of economics, the remark is as perverted as it is uncalled for from the political point of view.

THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM OF INDIA.

WHERE DOES IT LEAD US?

By DR. BHUPENDRANATH DUTT, M.A., PH.D.

The radically minded leaders of India being dissatisfied with the "Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms" inaugurated the non-co-operation movement to bring down the Government to its knees compelling it to grant "*Swaraj*." It has been said that *Swaraj* is their desideratum or the ultimate end, they have been fighting for. But the meaning of the term *Swaraj* has been left undefined, or an ambiguous meaning has been put upon it. The people are being asked to sacrifice themselves to a vague indefinite ideal. Therefore it is just pertinent to ask the question, "what do they want?"

The country is divided in its opinion regarding the ideal. Those who have accepted the reforms believe in "Home rule" for India at some future date, while the radicals demand it immediately, but failing to get it (though promised by the Government during the war), they have inaugurated the non-co-operation movement with "*Swaraj*" as its end and have invited the co-operation of all classes of society for its realisation. As a subsidiary help, the agitation against the dismemberment of Turkey, otherwise known as the "*Caliphate*" movement, has also been made an adjunct to the non-co-operation

movement. Religious enthusiasm and national feelings have persistently been sought to be aroused, the emotion of the masses have been lashed up in various ways for the same end, and as a result heroic sacrifices have been made by the people. But these efforts however heroic have been checkmated by the Government by stern repressive measures. This is the gist of the situation in India.

Present-day India is in the midst of cross currents of different political ideas. Different social classes and parties are pulling the strings from behind and trying to influence public opinion in their own favour, and fish, out of the troubled waters, their individual interests. But if an analysis be made of this medley of class—and party—interests we may find the following salient facts: The failure of the first war of independence, miscalled the Sepoy mutiny of 1857-59, sealed the fate of the Indian feudal aristocracy. The power of the feudal princes who had so long been the ruling section of the Indian Society got a death blow after the discomfiture of 1857. Then began a new chapter in the History of India—the rise of democracy. A new social class has come to power in India, namely, the Bourgeoisie. The Indian liberal Bourgeoisie born of modern education is to-day the dominant class in India. It is equal in power and intelligence to even the British Bourgeoisie, which is now ruling the British Empire. It is also the rival of the British ruling class in India and is challenging the British supremacy in the land. But not being able to cope alone with it, the radical section of the Indian Liberal Bourgeoisie is asking the co-operation of the masses which is the third and the most important factor in Indian politics. The masses so long dumb and traditionally oppressed by the upper social classes are raising their heads. They are becoming articulate and demanding their rights and recognition of their claims. As a result, a big mass movement is in the process of formation, which is expected to play a most important and determinate part in future. And upon these masses the vague ideal of a *Swaraj* has been thrust. But what is *Swaraj*? It is generally said that by *Swaraj* we are to mean national freedom which will place the destiny of India in our hands. But that does not enlighten us about the true nature of *Swaraj*; moreover, in the present-day-world-politics the word “national” itself is becoming ambiguous and the oppressed and exploited classes in the

world are challenging the validity of that expression.

Hence a negative hatred of industrialism and of everything foreign, together with a vague idea of *Swaraj* cannot be the goal of the Indian masses. A “national freedom” does not really emancipate the masses. The ultimate salvation of the Indian masses can but lie in the social and economic freedom. It is a fact that India's misery is not due to foreign domination alone, but also to a corrupt and effete social-polity under which it has been labouring for centuries. Therefore, what we want should be clearly defined.

Young India speaks in terms of “nation” and dreams of national freedom or independence. It tries to make a solid front composed of different social classes against the common enemy. So in this matter, Young India is still under the influence of the political philosophy of the 18th century which ended with Joseph Mazzini. In our youthful days Joseph Mazzini was our prophet and his autobiography, our Bible. We spoke of ourselves as a “nation” and we dreamt of national liberation from foreign yoke. We shut our eyes to the discrepancies that existed in Indian Society. We disregarded or tried to deny the cleavages that existed in the Indian body-politics in the shape of castes, creeds, languages, sects, provincial differences, etc. We laid all the faults that existed growing like cancers on the body of the Indian social-polity at the door of the foreigners, and thought only of shipping off the foreigners that we might be able to rejuvenate our society. With this ideal in view we tried to enlist the sympathies of all the social classes. It is true that here and there we got the sympathy from a few of the upper “fourhundred”, but we failed to lodge our ideal amongst the masses. And until the non-co-operation movement was inaugurated the masses had never been won over to the popular cause. This was the reason why so long the cause of freedom never found a universal response. In our days what we few spoke in whispers, is to-day spoken by the masses in public. To-day the masses are aroused and it is they who are the mainstay of the non-co-operation movement, which is committed to the policy of non-violence, non-resistance and other passive means.

It is said that this policy is the only one that is left for the Indians to resort to and India being a country which has peculiarity in every thing

IN HISTORY AND POLITICS" that "The British administration in India is the costliest in the World and a not unnatural mark for Indian critics who complain of the heavy financial drain which it involves and in particular of the large sums devoted to the payment of pensions." We can try and make a case for enhanced salaries for people leaving their homes and serving in other lands ; but at the same time even the worst enemy of Indian aspirations will have to admit that the Indian Civil Service is the costliest service. The Prime Minister in England—though as such he is entitled to no salary, as the office is unknown to the constitution—gets only £5,000/- only per annum. He is the highest officer and gets the salary of a High Court Judge in our country. The Provincial Governor is paid twice as much, while the Governor-General's salary is fourfold. Correspondingly the officers in the Indian Civil Service, not to speak of other Imperial Services, Forests, Education, Police, Engineering, Finance, and Medicine, etc., are paid, and their prospects are likely to be made more princely as a result of the Lee Commission labours. The third postulate relates to the voice of the people in the affairs of the country. Without hesitation it must be admitted that a measure of responsible government had been granted and that India stands to profit by it. Unfortunately however the system of Government, *viz.*, dyarchy, has has been found wanting and even responsible statesmen have pronounced an unfavourable verdict. It is perhaps rather hard to speculate—happily it is not our province—what the course the events would have taken if there had been no Reforms Act. What we notice now is that responsible public opinion has declared dyarchy to be a failure and is almost unanimously insistent on making it go. Expenditure and taxation are not subject to effective popular control, and no scrutiny of the existing scale of expenditure so as to bring about economy is possible.

With these postulates we shall proceed further. Behind the low Indian rates some thing is lurking. Truth is there, *i.e.*, the right way of testing the burden of taxation ; for the figures may be high and the burden may not be heavy while the burden may still be heavy in spite of the low taxation figures, as will be seen presently. The right principle in arriving at the incidence of taxation, is to discover the relation between per capita income and per capita

taxation. The figure for earnings divided by the population yields the per capita taxation. As regards the revenue opinions are divided with regard to the items that must go in. English critics harping on the lightness of taxation proceed on the assumption that the land revenue is rent. Some Indian economists of repute are for deducting the non-tax revenue while they treat the land revenue as a tax. Again there are others who while including the commercial undertakings, delete opium and forests. Opium is fast diminishing by reason of agreement with China and it is difficult to find what portion of the opium revenue is taxation, seeing that in the absence of government monopoly the profits of cultivators and merchants are yet to be calculated on a sound basis. The forest receipts must also be excluded as they are uncertain and as they depend for their increase on the utilisation of the products for industrial purposes. To that extent we will be erring on the safe side. Similarly interest, receipts by civil department, military receipt miscellaneous, other public works must also be excluded. They all form fees or receipts on account of services rendered directly. The question whether a particular charge is heavy or light is beside the point. When the above are omitted, the items that enter into our basis of calculation are land revenue, salt, stamp, excise, provincial rates, customs, income-tax, registration, railways, post and telegraph, mint and irrigation. The total figures are given below for the following years—

1911	...	...	£50,321,000
1913	...	...	£55,410,000
1920	...	...	£86,832,600

These figures divided by the population give the per capita tax in the respective years as shown in this table which speaks for itself.

Incidence of taxation in British India.

Year	Taxation per head.			Average annual income per capita	Percentage of Taxation on average income
	Rs.	A	P.		
1871	...	1	13	20	9
1881	...	2	2	27	8
1891	...	2	3	...	...
1901	...	2	10	30	8.8
1911	...	2	13	50	5.7
1913	...	3	1	...	...
1920	...	5	0	...	...
1922	...	6	7	53	8.2

would evolve a new method of acquiring freedom, possibly some form of bloodless revolution. All these are plausible enough. But before we strive and sacrifice ourselves to an ideal we must first clearly understand what is our ideal. The masses cannot be asked to sacrifice themselves to a vague and indefinable ideal. It is easy to arouse the religious fanaticism in an Oriental mob and the so-called "national" spirit, which through a psycho-analysis will be found to be based on race hatred. But the enthusiasm endangered by fanaticism on other kinds of frenzies, religious or political, will not avail in the long run in the twentieth century. Rather it will recoil on itself. What now seems to be helpful will prove destructive in the end. The basis of unity of the people or peoples lies elsewhere. The Economic Interpretation of History is at the bottom of every human motive. We must never lose sight of that fact. In a country like India religion cannot be the binding force. The bond of union must be sought elsewhere. Therefore before the masses are asked to sacrifice themselves for a *Swaraj*, one has the right to ask the nature of it. A clear ideal together with a programme of systematic action must be put before the masses.

Present-day India is making heroic efforts for the "national freedom". But we must know clearly what we mean by it. Unfortunately for us our leaders have set up an ideal, of which the nature is still unknown; on the contrary a spiritual interpretation is now being given to it. We are groping in the dark. The methods and means have been mixed up with the end and aim; and we are only led by emotion. It is easy to arouse the emotional Panjabi and the nervous Bengali and we glory in them when they are worked up to frenzy. But their effects are momentary. The movement for the freedom of India must be put on a more solid and permanent basis.

The Indian peoples suffer from a plethora of injustice, and Hindu Society is based on inequalities. The oppression and exploitation of the Indian masses have been going on for thousands of years. Empires and dynasties have risen and fallen, hundreds of foreign invasions have swept over the land, races after races have conquered and settled in the country, religions have changed but the condition of the Indian masses has remained always the same. Political, social, religious oppressions and exploitations have been their lot. It has been their destiny

to remain as helots. And these masses are now asked to sacrifice themselves at the altar of a mysterious god—*Swaraj*.

Now, what is *Swaraj*, and intended for whom? A *Swaraj* where the upper social classes dominate, cannot have any interest in uplifting the masses. However philanthropic and pious the upper ten thousand may try to become, the cleavage of class interests will remain just the same. Benevolence, philanthropy, abolition of Untouchability will never elevate the Indian masses. From the time of Buddha down to Keshub Chandra Sen, attempts have been made to put the Indians on the basis of social equality through religion, but to no effect.

Human society is dynamic, the different social classes have different interests and stand in opposition to each other. The most powerful classes dominate over the weaker ones. Therefore, social equality can never bring men on the same footing. It is only economic equality that can put man on equal social basis. As has already been said, economic interest is the greatest motive power in society. And we must not forget it in the case of India and its present struggle for freedom. The history of Indian society has not evolved in a way different from that of the rest of mankind. The Historic Determinist finds the same motive forces in Indian history as elsewhere. The history of India has also been the history of class struggle, and this struggle is still going on, however much we may begot it under the name of "Nationalism." The struggle to-day is between the Indian and the ruling British Bourgeoisie. It is true that the political cleavage between the Indian bourgeoisie and the masses is not now much perceptible and that they have a common political goal, *viz.*, political freedom, as long as they have a common enemy. But the difference in social and economic interests will always remain the same. For a day will come when the common barrier will be removed and the different social classes will stand apart in juxtaposition to each other.

The Demos.

To-day the Indian masses—the Demos—are not yet class conscious. Long years of servitude have dehumanised them. They have been bereft of all rights. It will therefore take time to make them self-conscious. But the time will come when they will be class conscious and demand

their rights and their proper position in society. They cannot be kept down for ever. They will demand a new order of things. In the Indian and especially the Hindu social-polity the "lowly" have no place. Indian society is still feudalistic and is based on social inequalities. There is a huge landless agrarian population, besides the "submerged tenth" who have gone down without redemption. Besides the economic exploitation there is religious exploitation by the priestcraft. As a result of all these exploitations and social injustice the Indian masses have sunk down to the position where they are to-day. Specially the case of the Hindu is the most pathetic in the whole world. From birth to death the Hindu is a slave, rights he has none, but only orders to obey. There is no social polity in the world which keeps the man so bound down as entirely to hamper his development, as the Hindu social-polity.

Thus we see that in the Indian body politic the masses do not enjoy any right or liberty and as it happens everywhere, a handful of men forming the upper classes of the society rule the others and enjoy all the benefits. Yet in full view of these facts these masses are asked to sacrifice themselves for what is called "national freedom." This no doubt provides food for reflection for the Indian sociological thinkers and leaders. Granting of only a concession here and a few rights there can never remedy the disease which is rotting the whole Indian social-polity. A radical change is necessary. A new social-polity has to be introduced in the Indian society. Truth is always unpleasant, but it must be said, the solution of the Indian problem cannot be found merely by getting rid of the foreigners. It may leave the administration to the hands of the Indian Bourgeoisie but it cannot help the masses to attain the maximum development of manhood. Hence a new "watch word" should be found for the masses, a new world view should be given to them. A new ideal must be held up to them by which they can realise true manhood. A positive and concrete program dealing with the vital interests of the masses must be put forward. It is of no use shutting one's eyes to the conditions as they exist in Indian society. We must face the facts broadly and try our best to find out a solution of the problem. The masses are being asked to fight the battle of freedom, but what benefits are they going to get thereby? They are asked to make a solid national front against

the enemy, but nothing as yet has been set on foot to bring the different classes on the same social level. After the struggle for freedom of 1857, the feudal aristocrats went out of the arena, after playing out their role. Next came the Liberal bourgeoisie to play its part. At present the third and most important factor, the masses—are going to play their role, and the future of the movement lies in their hands. In this matter the same historic process of development is going on in India as has taken place in other oppressed countries of the world. Only in this following respect India is lagging behind the other civilised countries. In India the Third Estate is trying to assert itself, while in the other civilised lands the Fourth Estate is now trying to do the same. Unfortunately the Indians living, as they do, within the narrow limits of their own country appear to be amazingly ignorant of the outside world. The political, social and economic conditions as they exist in other parts of the world find no place in the Indian mind. The isolation of India from the outside world had been a curse to her in the past and it is continuing the same even to-day. The leaders of the Indian masses have built a Chinese Wall around the country, and lead by preaching emotional hatred against everything English. But the world's prosperity is built on mutual aid and co-operation. The educated Indian mind fed with the Spencerian doctrine can not see the truth in the principle of co-operation. India is a part of the world and as it contains one-fifth of the population of the world she can never remain aloof. The various world problems must find echoes in the Indian mind, and the movement of the Indian masses must be a part of the world movement, otherwise, their salvation will not be easy of access. India must take part in the working out of the world problems and contribute her quota to it.

It is said that no foreign people will help India in her struggle. True it is that no foreign people or political party will actually come to free the Indian people from their sufferings. But the world's sympathy and with it the recognition of India's claims are not to be trifled with. So, in order to establish relations with the outside world the Indian public must have a new program of work before them and must rise to the new demand. India must organise her own forces within her own borders and at the same time collaborate with the outside world.

On this account the Indian mass movement

should be put along the same line with the world mass movement. India is a *world problem*; and as the key to the world situation lies in India, the suffering working masses of the world are looking towards India with high hope. For this reason the movement in India for independence must be looked at from a different angle of vision. The Indian question is not merely one of foreign or indigenous rule, but is a question of exploitation of one-fifth of the humanity by a handful of exploiters. It is the exploitation of the Indian masses that is mainly keeping the British bourgeoisie in power, and it is again the strength generating out of this exploitation that enables the British Bourgeoisie to dominate the world. Hence it is that the world-suffering humanity are looking towards India with high hopes for a solution of their own problem.

India contains a vast impoverished population, therefore, labour is cheap. The capitalist class of the world will always find there a huge industrial reserve army at their command. Therefore nothing will prevent India from passing through a high capitalistic period and an exploitation of her resources. A negative hatred against modern Industrialism and the introduction of Charka can not prevent it. The inevitable laws of economics must find its fulfilment in the Indian history. For, how can the enslavement and the exploitation of one-fifth of humanity alter, *parri passu*, the conditions of the toiling masses of the world? Nay, rather it will crush them. Hence the workers and the exploited population of the world hope that the little cloud that is gathering in the Indian horizon if it drifts aright may bring their salvation. This is not a mere speculation but is actually passing through the minds of many revolutionary labour leaders. For this reason the Indian movement must collaborate with the world movement. The days of Mazzini are gone. The world is now being treated to a new philosophy—the philosophy of Karl Marx. As has been said before, we must look at the Indian problem from a different standpoint. We must analyse it from the stand point of Marxian doctrines. In future it will be the Fourth-Estate—the proletariat which will fight the battle of freedom. And when it will become class-conscious, the class-struggle will become inevitable. It is said that the movement will be hindered if the proletariat be organised and class-struggle begun at once. But then it is only the dictum of the class which has vested interest at

stake. True class-struggle may not take place until the horizon be cleared of the threatening cloud that hangs like a pall on the head of all the social classes. But for the sake of humanity and of civilisation the huge traditionally oppressed and exploited masses of India, have to be awakened. The sociological and economic forces are acting towards it. The electric shocks generating out of political, social and economic stresses which are arousing the world proletariat will also rouse the sleeping Indian leviathan. And when they will be awakened will they be satisfied with such a Swaraj—theocratic or plutocratic or bourgeoisie democratic?

The world is striving towards democracy. The toiling part of humanity is always restless under the oppression of the privileged classes. The masses of the world are no longer satisfied with hearing the theory of the leisured classes but are interesting themselves in the theory of the working classes. The masses have found out that true democracy is yet to be evolved. Hitherto the so-called “democratic” experiments have not been successful. The third estate in France established a democracy, but it was a class democracy. The fourth estate in Europe is trying to evolve a democracy not based on class interests, but on economic justice. This makes the fourth estate hated everywhere in the world. But true democracy does not know any class interest. In the new social-polity there will be no class interest. True it is that from Plato downwards to H. G. Wells lots of Panaceas have been prescribed for the betterment of the world. But we are not interested in any Utopian cure—all are mere Panaceas. We will have to look the cold facts in the face. We must seek out the most effective means for the uplift of the Indian masses.

Uplifting the Masses.

The true means of uplifting the Indian masses lies in a new social-polity. There cannot be a flourishing civilisation and development of true manhood in India unless and until a rational social-policy be made the foundation of the Indian society. Naturally enough it will have conflict with the existing prejudices, interests, etc., but wherever nationality and rationality conflict, nationality must give way. We must not shrink from it. If Asia is ever to rise in the scale of civilisation and her teeming millions are to be redeemed from abject degradation, it must be through the destruction of feudalism and the

establishment of democracy on economic basis and the introduction of rationality—and that again is possible only through a social revolution.

These are hard and unpleasant things to say and sound Utopian. The interest of the privileged classes has befogged their eyes from seeing the truth, but the truth must be said and talked. The sooner the Indian leaders and social thinkers discern it the better. To-day the non-co-operation movement is in swing. But the repression has already been set on foot to crush it. It may be crushed, and the movement may turn into a *Sein Fein* movement. As a result the authorities may be obliged to grant some sort of self-government at a future date. But, will that elevate the Indian masses who compose the majority of the population? I suppose that complete independence is achieved; will then the Indian ruling authorities establish true democracy or will it be a class rule again?

Hence it behoves the Indian thinkers to look forward and analyse the social conditions. Those who have no prejudices or interests to warp their judgment will discern that the struggle for freedom does not end with getting self-government—*swaraja*—"within or without the British Empire." That this kind of qualified freedom may better the conditions of the privileged classes but will not bring the masses up to a higher level of civilisation and manhood.

Swaraj to be Defined.

What they need is an all round egalitarianism, political, social, and economic. The term *Swaraj* therefore must be defined. The masses must know what they are going to get as it is on them that the brunt of the fight is going to fall in future. A patched-up truce can never put off the inevitable.

The Asiatics as a rule are individualists, especially the Hindus. But it is not the individualism according to the Spencerian sense but the selfish habit which is the outcome of slavery. It is "every one for himself the devil take care of the rest" principle engendered by thousands of years of political, social, religious and economic oppression and exploitation. Collective principle and co-operation are unknown to them, particularly to the Hindus. Nowhere in the affairs of life can the Hindus co-operate with one another. As a result of this slavish instinct mutual aid and co-operation are unknown to the Indians; but the world is built on mutual aid.

The biological principles do not controvert this fact. In an inter-racial group, individual competition is not necessary for its development, and the principles of economics show that society is based on collectivism. The old individualist doctrine emanating from the principles of the Physiocratic School and developed later on by Adam Smith and ending with Spencer's *Laissez Faire* theory, does not hold good any longer except in the case of those who have need of it for selfish ends. Communalism on social and economical lines is absolutely necessary for the uplift of the Asiatics. The principle of natural selection does not imply the cut-throat principle euphemistically called individualism. In an inter-racial group, natural selection plays but a small part as Karl Pearson says, "All the evidences, however, that I have been individually able to gather from a naturally limited examination of Anthropometric Statistics and anthropological facts, distinctly point to the very small part played by intragroup selections in the case of civilised man. If this be so, then the manufacture of Biological bogies for socialists is idle, being an occupation like that process of planting economic scarecrows round the field of social reform, by which the Manchester school strove for a time to delay their political bankruptcy". (*Chances of Death* Page 138—139).

Thus communalism on social and economic lines is what is wanted for India. But what we need for India is not a blind imitation of the old English systems, but a sound rational socio-political system, which has to be evolved in India. Unfortunately, we have not as yet developed any political philosophy of our own, only we are led by emotion and try to assert ourselves in the world only by sentimentalism. No movement for freedom has been so poor in Philosophy as the one in India. A positive hatred towards the British, and a negative idea of getting freedom, will lead us no where. The thing wanted is that our leaders and thinkers should study what is going on all over the world, and try in the light of that to uplift the Indian masses to their fullest capacity. .

To get rid of Class Rule.

The exploited classes of the world are trying to get rid of class rules and apply the principles of social democracy based on economic equality or communism. We cannot lag behind the other nations of the world for ever. Now that a movement for freedom has been started we must

try to conduct it on rational lines. For this reason what we want should be clearly defined. The masses must know where the movement is leading to. By appealing to sentiments or arousing enthusiasm only we cannot achieve much. The masses cannot be made the food of the cannon, unless they regain by it what they have lost. For this reason, before the masses are asked to die the moot questions regarding the reconstruction of the Indian society must be grappled and solved. A country means the people inhabiting a given geographical area. These people or the individual "Socius" collectively, form the society. It is the welfare or development of the "Socius" and its collective organ—the society that mankind strives for. Therefore, the philosophy underlying the present struggle in India is nothing but an attempt of the people to create an environment where they can realise themselves to fullness. This being the case, the thing which hinders the development of the socius in his entirety has to be detected and remedied.

But the present struggle for freedom tries to deny or postpone for the present all the vital

problems affecting the exploited social classes or the Indian social polity. In to-day's fight for freedom, the exploiting and the exploited classes are being asked to co-operate and form a single "national" body. The leaders try to ignore the cleavages of interests that exist between the landlords and the peasants, between the capitalist and the labourer, between the Brahmin and the Sudras, and are trying to unite them on "national" basis, which in the long run is bound to be a failure.

The masses of the world are already detecting the trick of "nationalism" played by the interested classes. And in India also the oppressed and exploited classes will sooner or later detect it when their class-consciousness will be aroused. On this account the sooner the solution is found, the better for the Indian people. An Indian fight for freedom, instead of dwelling in the morass of impossibilities, contrarities and platitudes which are characteristic of Indian mentality should be conducted on a concrete and clear socio-political plan of action setting forth the various means of reconstruction of the Indian society.

SPINOZA AND VEDANTA.

Among the idealistic systems of philosophy developed in the West Spinoza's is one of the most important. Besides it is one of the most thorough idealistic monisms there. In the East, at any rate in India, we know no better idealistic system than that developed by Sankara. Some people may demur to call him the greatest idealistic philosopher of the world but none can deny him a very high place among such men. A comparative study of the two thinkers will therefore be of very great use to a proper understanding of idealism besides being of absorbing interest in itself.

It will be better to recapitulate the two systems before proceeding to compare them. Spinoza starts with the cartesian principle that substance has, as nature, independence of everything else for its existence. It is unconditioned, unlimited and infinite. Its existence is spontaneous. A plurality of substances is therefore im-

possible and a contradiction in terms. There is only one substance. But what is its nature? How about its positive characteristics? This question is impossible to answer for a definition means limitation and substance is unlimited. This is the reason why Spinoza speaks of it only in negatives as that it is not this and not that. The next main conception is that of attributes. Substance has two of these: mind and matter. It appears either as a mental phenomenon or as a material one. It cannot appear as any other. But its limitation in this manner is not due to anything inherent in itself but to the finite nature of man which cannot comprehend it in any other form. The limitation is in man and not in substance which is by nature unlimited. These attributes are mutually exclusive; a mental thing becoming by no possibility a material one and *vice versa*. But in so far as they are both the aspects of the same thing, they are not so. The

third important idea of Spinoza is that of modes. The various individual things seen under the aspect of mind or of matter are so many manifestations of the substance and they are all conditioned by necessity.

As to his practical philosophy man being only a *modus* he can have no free will. Good and bad are not things which are true in themselves but exist only in our minds. Where everything is substance there cannot be anything bad in itself. But we call that bad which does not fall in with our scheme of right and wrong. Only that however can be called truly good which leads us to a knowledge of God.

The Vedanta system is not as easy to summarise. It starts with *pramanas* or measures of truth and recognises three of them. One is the *pratyaksha pramana* or the standard of sensuous perception; a second is *anumana pramana* or the method of getting at truth by means of inference as when we know the existence of fire by the perception of smoke; the third is *sabda pramana* or the criterion of authority. This consists for the Vedantists only of the Vedas. Next comes a long argument at the end of which it is established that subject and object are mutually exclusive and that the common of the world consists in translating one to the other as when we say "We are strong or we are right." In this way is established the illusory character of the connection between the Ego and the non-ego and the sole reality of only the former. The seeming nature of the connection however is due to *Maga* or ignorance which is not individual but universal. Truly, it is only the Ego that exists. Though this is the truth, we must grant the reality for all practical purposes, *Vyavahartham* as Sankara says, of the universe as it appears to us from day to day. We have thus two kinds of realities, the real and only Reality and the Phenomenal one. Corresponding to this duplication of reality we have knowledge also divided as higher and lower, the first consisting in the way of freeing the Self from its illusion as to its connection with the Universe for all eternity and the second being the way in which man by doing works and worshipping Brahman attains liberation. The former emphasises knowledge, the latter action. Two Brahmanas are also given, the *Nirguna Brahman*, the qualityless Brahman and the *Saguna Brahman*, the "quality-ed" Brahman. The former is of course the true Brahman, the latter

being meant only for phenomenal purposes. For such purposes also the doctrine of Karma is introduced. It only carries beyond one life the law of cause and effect and applies it to moral relations as well as to material ones. It explains why there are the existing differences in the world and indicates what the way is to improve oneself in coming lives. In fine we may say the Vedanta teaches the truth of the Brahman and the unreality of the universe. The ego can not be anything else than that Brahman. But for practical purposes the world shall be real, man shall do good actions and worship a Brahman as living, as human as he himself. The position of this school has been very beautifully put in the three words "That *thwam asi*". "That, thou art". Now for a comparative review of the two systems. And first to the criteria of truth, the sources of knowledge. The Vedanta, as we have seen recognises three of them, the *pratyaksha pramana*, the *anumana pramana* and the *sabda pramana*, that is, sensuous perception inference and authority. For the purpose in hand, we shall say that the first two are dependent only on reason so that the Vedanta might be said to count upon only two things as sources of knowledge, reason and authority. Spinoza however takes only one of these reasons as his criterion and indeed we could not expect anything else from a lineal descendant of Descartes who started Modern Philosophy in Europe after rigorously eliminating all prejudices and writing on the clean slate, as his first point of speculation "Cogito ergo sum" "I think, therefore, I am." In a sense we may say that Descartes rejected all authority but we must be careful of what we mean by that term. If it implies such a thing as was used to stifle rational inquiry in the Middle Ages then certainly it must be set aside. But if it refers to authority, not on account of reason but on that of a faculty higher than reason, it is but right that reason should submit. In fine the Vedanta recognises, as means of knowledge both reason and a higher faculty in man than that, whatever we might call it, intuition or anything else while Descartes and like him Spinoza both recognise only reason. To the very pertinent enquiry as to whether such a faculty exists one should think that it is too late in the day, with Bergson staring in the face, to give an elaborate answer. In any case, Indian philosophy assumes such a faculty and is prepared to justify the assumption. It rests on those who deny it to substantiate their position.

Both the systems arrive at the sole existence of only one Reality but they do so in different ways. Spinoza starts with the Cartesian principle that Substance is the thing which does not depend on anything else for its existence. But while Descartes very inconsistently assumed two such substances mind and matter, Spinoza rightly came to the conclusion that plurality must mean dependence in some way or other and real independence can be posited of only one. Sankara who also holds that only one exists comes to his position in a different way. He starts with the diametrical apposition of subject and object, Ego and the non-ego and with the natural corollary that one cannot be attributed of the other. Of the two things it is self-evident that the Ego is real ego, the non-ego is unreal. But the real is unlimited, independent and unconditioned. The "I" therefore is the Real, the whole world is unreal. Thus we reach the same destination by both the paths.

Moreover both the philosophers decline to describe the nature of the Reality in any definite and positive manner and for the same reason. The attribution of positive qualities implies the negation of their opposites and negation is limitation, a thing which is opposed to the nature of Substance. Spinoza says that it is not finite, it is not limited and so on while Sankara summarily says, it is Nirguna Brahman, the qualityless Brahman. He is afraid of saying that It is one lest his statement might be construed to mean It is not two. He merely says It is *adwaitam*, not two. After all, the true explanation of Its nature seems to be that given by the ancient Rishi who when asked what the nature of Atmam was, did not reply but kept silence. He was asked the same question a second time but did not reply then also. The increasingly anxious pupil put the same question a third time when he got the reply from the Rishi. "My son, I answered you twice but you did not understand me. You want more preparation to do so". Brahman is not a matter for words but one for experience.

Sankara says that though in reality Brahman alone is existing, we see so many things in the world because of ignorance which is not individual but generic. That ignorant is Maga. In short, he holds that appearances are desistful. At the same time however, he discerns that as Brahman is infinite, those appearances also can not be devoid of reality. He grants them therefore what we might call phenomenal reality.

Spinoza also holds the same doctrine of Maga in a way. Of course he never called it by the Indian name and might not have even thought of it as such. But his position regarding the appearance is very similar to that of the Vedantin, for he says that man by his finite nature is constrained to get a view of substance only in two aspects, mental and moral. There must be, there are, he admits various other aspects in which substance can be seen but the nature of man incapacitates him to do so. That is, the nature of man limits his vision. At least in so far as this limitation goes, have we not a distant echo of the doctrine of Maga?

A difference however soon crops up between the two philosophies. For Sankara, the world as we see it, is only phenomenally real, that is the true and only reality is Brahman who is beyond and above the appearances we see in experience, and those appearances are deceitful and to be taken as true only so long and so far as the Reality is not reached. They are real only for the purpose of every day life not for that of truth.

Spinoza however holds that his modes are really real. There is no phenomenal reality or real reality for him. He has only one kind of it. We may shortly put the difference between him and Sankara on this point thus. Appearance for him has for him reality while for Sankara it has not.

We have seen the two kinds of realities the Indian philosopher arrives at. His distinction necessitated a division of knowledge also into Higher and Lower. The former helps a man to know the nature of Brahman in its true form. It aids him in gaining freedom for the Self from all the Upadhis and to do so for all eternity, not for this life only. The latter also helps him to gain the same object but in a different way. It enjoins on him the worship of the phenomenal Brahman, the Saguna Brahman as distinguished from the real one, the Nirguna one, the discharge of worldly duties in a strictly moral way and to do other good things in life as though the world with its appearances is the real one. Spinoza of course has nothing of this kind.

The psychology of the Indian is much deeper than that of the Jew. Whereas the latter recognises, in all probability, only three states of consciousness, the former speaks of four. For Spinoza, they are conscious stage, subconscious one and the dreaming one. But for Sankara there are the conscious one, the dreaming one, the stage of deep dreamless sleep and what is merely

called the turiya stage, or the fourth one. In the first the Self is perceiving with the aid of Manas and the Indriyas; in the second, the Indriyas cease to work but the mind does not; in the third mind also ceases to work and the Atman is separated from it; and in the last stage the Self goes out of the material body with the Sukma-Sariram.

Coming to practical philosophy, the two systems are quite opposed in the matter of free-will. According to Sankara our actions are determined by Karma, that is, by what we do, we are bound. Here it is wise to clear an existing confusion.

Karma does not inculcate fatalism. The latter by binding an individual hand and foot denies to him all initiative and makes him dispirited and worthless but Karma far from doing any of these things gives him hope for the future. "Do not be discouraged by your plight now," it says, "but do good actions and you will be better, if not in this life, certainly in the lives to come." This is anything but make a man useless and implies free-will on his part. According however to Spinoza, modes being all determined and an individual soul being a mode, it and free-will are antipodes. It is the same with the notions of good and bad. The Jewish philosopher deriving everything from Substance cannot consistently say that some things are good and some are bad for everything is Substance. Such conceptions are only in the mind of man who as soon as he sees some object which does not square with his preconceived scheme of things at once classifies it as bad, other-

wise calling it good. According to the Vedantin however, it is clear that what contributes to the freedom of the soul is good and what does not bad. But it is interesting to observe that the realisation of God is the end of man according to both.

One word about the criticism levelled at Spinoza that his God is all devouring. He is a negative gulf, a lion's den *to* which there are many steps but *from* which none. This is essentially just in his case for he has failed to bring experience in its fullness out of his abstract substance which he has taken all pains to subsume under it. In the case of Sankara such a criticism is obviated for plurality is derived from Oneness by means of Maga.

On the whole we can see that their abstract monism is the central point in both the systems. "There is no reality but God and Substance is his name" Spinoza would say. "There is no reality but God and Brahman in his name" would say Sankara. Both are God intoxicated. Schweigler says that Spinoza's system is the most abstract monism that can possibly be conceived and such a conception is a consequence of his nationality, an echo of the East. May not the same be said of Sankara and his nationality? And in praise of the Upanishads, Schopenhauer says "In the whole world there is no study except that of the original (of the Upanishads) so beneficial and so elevating as that of the Oupnekhat (Persian translation of the Upanishads) It has been the solace of my life, it will be the solace of my death". And may not the same be said of Spinoza and his system?

THE NEW SCHOOLMASTER.

MR. N. K. VENKATASWARAN, B.A.

The schoolmaster is not quite a happy individual. He is often positively discontented. But he puts a good face on things and seldom complains. This is particularly so in India where there is so little of the spirit to oppose and hit out. The schoolmaster has patiently borne no end of negligence, disrespect and obloquy. The

public pay him slight attention or at best pat him occasionally on the back with patronizing condescension. Altogether his position is not enviable.

But he has to thank himself for all that. He has been too meek and seldom got out of his shell. He has always been willing to put up

with any amount of annoyance and overwork himself. He has been content to live in the illusion of claptraps and if anybody ever suggested that his was the noblest of professions, he straightaway mounted the high horse and felicitated himself to the immense amusement of less simple folk. No wonder people often carry about them a smile, however slight, of pity if not of contempt for the schoolmaster.

There is, however, an end to everything in the world. It is nature's inexorable law. Therefore the school-master has become dimly aware that his proverbial patience is not for aye and that already past are its halcyon days. Indeed the urge of restlessness has begun to haunt his breast and latterly his snug vocabulary has been rudely stirred by the irruption of such disturbers of peace as Messrs. Whys and Wherefores. The newcomers do not allow him now-a-days to show the other cheek to his enemy or to plod along with unquestioning obedience. He has nearly turned a new leaf and entered a new existence.

His discontent has broken its shackles and found its voice. He is no longer of that sagely fraternity known as dumb, driven cattle. He has begun to feel the joy of thinking and doing, of asking questions and solving them. He looks about him and says "The world is in a precious mess and bankrupt statesmanship is of little avail. Is there no way out? Cries Bernard Shaw, "There is no way out through the school-master." He thinks otherwise, positively otherwise. "The only way out is through the school-master!" Education and Education of the right sort, he believes, is the only remedy for the chronic convulsions of a suffering humankind. The school-master alone can pour oil on the troubled waters. In him lies the sublime duty of evangelizing future generations to the gospel of peace and goodwill and he will do it if his hands are not tied.

If a decade ago, the schoolmaster had suggested that his art had any such potentialities or claimed to have at least a finger in the pie, his so-called betters would have pelted him with their jeers and sternly commanded him to hold his tongue and keep his head cool. But to-day the jaded world is pathetically looking about for some means of relief and in certain quarters the schoolmaster has come to be regarded as a possible physician. Yes, the call of a new Education is heard in the distance and humanity is straining its ears to hearken to it as the call of

hope. Really are great things in store for the schoolmaster.

But what is this new Education and its missionary the new schoolmaster like? This is a question well worth answering.

Current ideas about Education are fundamentally wrong. People usually equate Education with knowledge and knowledge with information. Education is not knowledge and knowledge is not what is stowed away in memory. Education is a process co-extensive with life. It gives life its harmony and equilibrium. It makes it mellow and sweet. It liberates its potentialities and develops them. It unfolds personality and enriches it. It purifies it, spiritualises it and makes it as near as possible to the life of Him in whose image we are created. Education, in a word, is the sublimation and exaltation of life or at least it ought to be.

Knowledge, on the other hand, is only a product of Education, but not its sole nor even its most important product. Knowledge is experience. It guides us in our efforts to make the best of our talents and to live our lives fully and happily. Knowledge is the ability to think, to decide, to do. Education is an inspiration and knowledge an achievement accomplished under the spell of that inspiration. Education is the source and knowledge is the stream.

But more pathetic than the identification of Education with knowledge is the identification of knowledge with what are called facts or information. The mistake is serious because it, more than any other, is responsible for making Education a tragic failure of high purposes. If there is anything that we can boldly assert is not Education it is our present-day schooling which gives our boys a snippety smattering of the subjects in the curriculum. We give them, of course, some rudiments of reading, writing and ciphering, a few rules of grammar, a few names and dates in history, a few geographical terms, chemical formulæ and things of that kind and we put all that together and call the motley crew an Education. That is why our "schooling" is so indisputably removed from life and that is why it is so unreal, mechanical, false and injurious.

This tragic translation of Education into practice has produced an amputated humanity with unnatural cravings. Obsessions and manias have preyed on it at will. It has produced an educated class steeped in superstition and ignor-

ance. It has given them power and the capacity to make that power monstrous. It has given them a thousand giants' strength and ten thousand giants' unscrupulousness to use it like giants. It has furnished old Adam with liquid fire, poison gas and all the rest of it. It has released primitive passions and jealousies and made man the greatest enemy of mankind.

The supreme thing in this spurious Education is the cramming in of facts. Things that really matter are left alone. Character shifts for itself. Instincts and emotions are smothered under a heavy avalanche of information. Personality goes under. "The training for citizenship" is a worn platitude fit only to be consigned to the limbo of oblivion. All real Education goes by the board and only one thing remains and that is the tyranny of facts.

Nor is this all. There is the other thing—the natural sequence to this veneration of a Mumbo-Jumbo. That is the examination system. We not only hammer into these young heads all this stuff and nonsense passing for knowledge, we also want to find out exactly the amount of such false knowledge that we have been able to put into them. The examination is the time-honored machinery to weigh out the amount. Of late the patient toil of disinterested workers has brought to life certain palpable absurdities of the examination system. The human psychology is so complex and varies so much from individual to individual that examinees and examiners respond to it with the most unequal stimuli. Say, A and B are of equal abilities in most things that matter. A and B sit for the examination. A does ill and is ploughed. B does well and gets a first class. Again, say, A and B are of equal abilities and answer their examination papers equally well. X, the examiner, marks A's paper and passes him; Y marks B's paper and plucks him. If both A and B are to get their desires, they must equally be apt at examinations and their answer papers must be marked by the same examiner or examiners having the same mind. This is a combination of circumstances that fall to the lot of only those who are born under exceptionally lucky stars, but unfortunately such stars are few in the heavens and there is a close scramble for their patronage. With the result that examinations often prove the ruin of many an ambition and ability, if occasionally also the exaltation of mediocrity, of even of unworthiness.

Here is a classical story which, although has nearly become a chestnut by constant repetition, may perhaps bear re-telling yet once more.

P. B. Ballard relates it in his book, *The New Examiner*. It refers to an examination in history in an American University. The passing mark was 60. There were six examiners. Papers that secured less than 60 were handed on to the other examiners so that examinees on the borderline might be given full justice. One pious examiner with a rather disturbing "still small voice" within prepared a model answer to each question before setting out to mark the papers. Mischance always on the look-out to play its pretty pranks got the good Professor's model answers mixed up with the papers which he forwarded for the perusal of his colleagues. It was valued by them as a *bonâ fide* paper and, as with the others, met with different fortunes at different hands, the marks it received ranging between 40 and 80. The Professor came to the very verge of failure on his own examination.

And this is not a solitary instance. Examinations therefore stand self-condemned; but the schools of to-day are not past the totem-stage yet. They still venerate facts and allow themselves to be dominated by examinations. That is why the present Education is justly stigmatized as being unpractical. Indeed, it is so completely divorced from every-day life.

And what are the practical results of this divorce between life and Education? It is undoubtedly one of the causes of the general discontentment on the part of pupils and teachers alike. The former, living as they have been on this kind of chaff, crave for something better. The latter tired of vending this niggardly nutrition are anxious to offer something richer and more abundant. Dissatisfaction smoulders under a false discipline. Given an opportunity youth would break the bondage of despotic Government which a hostile fraternity of school-masters has imposed on them. Given an opportunity school-masters themselves would rebel against their own despotism. A couple of years ago the Travancore school-boys went out on strike, breaking all the ties of age-old conventions. The underlying causes of this open defiance lie in the galling defects of School Education. The immediate cause, whatever that is, served only to open the sluices of accumulated disquiets and dissatisfactions. The strikes have come and gone and school-masters are where they were.

Non-co-operation and Education.

When the evangel of Non-co-operation sanctified by the breath of one of the purest and sincerest souls that ever lived, came with its exhortations to youth to leave the schools of a "satanic Government", ardent adolescence hearing with its impetuositities gave it a response which continues to shake the foundations of discipline to this day. Our boys live in an electrified atmosphere of restlessness and it requires stout hearts and lusty hands to stand sentinel to their safety. But alas! the influence of teachers is waning with tragic rapidity just at the time when it ought to grow from more to more. Any wandering tub-thumpers are able to attract their wards and set them adrift on the unsteady waters of impassioned eloquence. No, they must not leave them to their tender mercies. They must win them by their affection, open the portals of their confidence by the golden key of love, touch and elevate them by the magic wand of personality and broaden their minds with the sweet intimations of mellowed culture. They must no more be mere fact mongers or axemen at the examination block. Theirs is a glorious mission and they must rise to the occasion or they will be unworthy of themselves and the great profession they represent. Be not satisfied with daily injections of doses of English, Mathematics and all the rest of it.

The Function of the School-Master.

Dr. T. P. Nunn of the University of London tells us: "They now regarded school as a real society in which free persons mingled together, not necessarily on the same level but free from prohibitions and having room for give and take. That change had been the most blessed thing they had seen in the field of education in the last half century, and it promised more in the way of training in citizenship than anything else.

"The teacher should be the interpreter between the greater society of the outside world and the smaller microcosm of the school. Citizenship should mean a consciousness of belonging to a great historical community which had contributed great things to the world's spiritual wealth. It was in this consciousness of those great spiritual traditions that our schools had hitherto been unduly weak.

"One of the great needs of the day was to introduce in the school a consciousness of great

human movements that made up the glory of civilization. The quality of the citizenship would be greatly raised if our teachers were men and women of culture acutely conscious of those great human movements, keeping in touch with the springs of knowledge and duty."

That is a fine picture and gives a glimpse of what the new school-master will be like. He must give them life, more life and still more life. He must give them freedom, more freedom and still more freedom. He must inspire them and guide them to lead their lives in amity and goodwill with all the world. "Teaching is lighting a lamp and not filling a bucket." This is the greatest secret of the school-master's art. Let them make it their gospel and live up to it with courage and faith unfathomable.

The message of Dean Inge, one of the greatest thinkers of the day, a person who has seen the ups and downs of a long experience is worth their perusal. In one of his recent sermons he said "that the whole object of a good teacher was to make himself unnecessary. He unlocked the outer gate of the treasure-house of knowledge; he imbued his pupils with a lively faith in the riches within, and with a keen desire to make them their own. And then he put the bunch of keys in his pupils' hands and bade them go in and explore for themselves. It was not the quantity of knowledge imparted that tested the teacher's fitness. It was the intellectual love that he had nurtured, the spiritual longings he had fostered. In the higher walks of education the greatest school-masters that his country produced in the last century were men who possessed this gift in a pre-eminent degree. They sometimes had nearly every other fault a school-master could have. Some were bad disciplinarians, very hot-tempered, and unmethodical, but they kindled enthusiasm, and their pupils many of whom became famous distinguished their memory."

Scrap All That.

But few school-masters set their eyes on such an ideal and fewer still strive to reach it. The fault is partly the school-master's, and partly of the system within whose tentacles they have, perhaps unwittingly, fallen. But the rising tide of discontent does, in many cases, prove an eye-opener and straightaway they start to put their houses in order. The defects of the system, however are deep-rooted. The gateways of the

bastille can be rushed only by a well-organized and persistent propaganda. Evil outlives itself with the die-hardest of obstinacies. When a storm lashes the sea into fury and the good ship is in distress, you jettison cargo overboard. The Ship of Education is in imminent danger. Heavy trucks of fact, unrelated heaps of dry-as-dust that cluster thick in unfrequented haunts far removed from life, these have no place on the deck at such an hour. Jettison them. Nor can the crushing weight of examination be allowed to add to the peril.

Instead of the dead weight of mere facts, give them the joy of abundant knowledge. Instead of these essay-examinations which have won our University the unsavoury reputation of being a cracker of young bones, test them by the rational method of the new-examination into which none may dip with the hope of snatching something valuable. In the field of Education, lucky-bag methods, indeed, have no place. The New Examination would test the real knowledge of the candidates which is assumed to be large. Scarcely any writing will be demanded of them. The True-and-False Test, for example, asks the candidates to indicate by simple marks which of a number of statements on a certain subject are true or false. Thus the candidates' mental depth is measured by the unerring plummet of truth. In a short paper like the present, it is not possible to exhaust this branch of the subject which alone is enough to fill a volume. Dr. P. B. Ballard in his *New Examiner* has treated it with illuminative insight.

But scrapping the present-day examination-system and the cult of facts is not enough. Teachers cannot halloo yet. They are still in the wood. The teacher cannot cast aside his old inertia and evolve a new outlook or imbue his personality with the fascination of real and ripe culture or browse leisurely—hurry is impossible in such matters—on the pastures of luscious literature so he might make his contact with his pupils fruitful and inspiring unless he has a far lesser amount of work to do and a far greater amount of time which he might call his own. Now-a-days a teacher usually works between 18 and 28 periods a week, of 50 minutes each. Good teaching is impossible wherever such a volume of output is enforced. Trashy, shoddy teaching, however big in quantity, is of no good and those on whose shoulders the burden of such sweated work rests are no better than day-

labourers. They cannot lay the foundations of the future of humanity—no, not in the least. One thing alone they do. *They earn their bread under the sweat of their brows.* But their efforts wither away in tragic futility and bear no fruit. Reduce his work by one half at any rate and the turbid stream of wasted energy may be turned to fertilize the lovely, tender little plants growing in the garden of Life.

It must be remembered that teachers whose lot it is to live in the closest intimacy with immature minds must, by way of compensation, be given the widest scope to move in society and to keep themselves abreast of all the progressive movements and the trends of the best thought. They must on occasion be afforded opportunities of travel in foreign lands and strengthen their minds with the surge of new ideas. They must for ever be drinking at the fountain of knowledge and slaking an unquenchable thirst. They must, they must; for otherwise they go to the wall—and with them humanity!

A Glimpse of the Future.

Such in brief are the conditions for the coming of the New School-master. But when he comes—and he is coming as certain as tomorrow—he will assuredly change the face of things and accomplish the greatest task of all, to get man to love his kind. For, when this is done the millennium of which he has been trying to catch a glimpse through the endless vistas of bleak centuries, shall have come and our present-day blustering jingo nationalisms shall have broken into the sweetest flowers of love for the whole of human kind sojourning in this wonderful Earth of God.

For, he the coming one, will bring a race of manly, benevolent, happy, aspiring, hopeful citizens who will forge ahead with heart within and God overhead, who will make their voice heard in the councils of the world and who will have their rightful seats in the galaxy of nations, true and worthy sons of mother earth able to guard her honour in her old age and make her young in the holy ashes of voluntary action. Yes, he will bring up a race who shall eschew an education that does not impart to them imperishable lessons on the sanctity of existence and oneness of humanity, on virtue's eight-fold path, on the wickedness of war that never conquers, on the sublimity of love that ever conquers and on the vileness of passions, communal rivalries and

clannish prejudices. They will never forget this supreme lesson that History has taught us and is still teaching us that empires carved and kept by the sword have come and gone. Your Cæsars and Alexanders are dead. The empires of the mind acquired by the unconquerable weapon of love and bound together by its elastic cords still continue to flourish. The Buddhas and Jesuses,

Mahaviras and Zoarasters live. They cannot die.

Such is the future of the profession and there is none but proud of it. Let not teachers therefore strangle education in striving to educate. Be free and let education live. Be bold and let education thrive. Be great and let our children grow.

INDIAN MUSIC.

By MR. M. S. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, B.A., B.L., L.T.

X

SARGAM NOTATION.

1. The Notation of European Music is of two kinds, *viz.*, Tonic Solfa and Staff. But that of Indian Music is of only one kind, *viz.*, Sargam. I venture to name the Indian Notation.....“Sargam Notation”.....because the uniform basis thereof is the Sapthaswaras and the word ‘Sargam’ is nothing else than an abbreviated form of the first four letters of those Sapthaswaras, *viz.*, Sa—Ri—Ga—Ma.

2. Notation is to music what alphabet is to language. Ram Doss is said to have composed 12,000 songs. Where are they heard now sung? They are lost for want of Notation. The Prabandhas of *Gitagovindam* cannot now be sung in the manner of Jayadeva; nor can the masterpieces, collected by Krishnananda Vyas in his *Sangitharāgakalpādruma*, be sung in the manner of their authors. “When I”, wrote Sir William Jones in his *Musical Mode of the Hindoos*, “read the songs of Jayadeva who has prefixed to each of them names of modes in which it was anciently sung, I had hopes of procuring the original music. But the Pundits of the South referred me to those of the West and the Brahmins of the West would have sent me to those of the North. While they, I mean those of Nepal and Kashmir, declared they had

no ancient music but imagined that the notes of *Gitagovindam* must exist, if anywhere, in one of the Southern provinces where the poet was born.” Is this not quaint, especially when we know as a historical fact that Jayadeva was born and flourished in Bengal near Dr. Tagore’s Shānthinikethan and had nothing to do whatsoever with South India? Be that as it may, if Sir W. Jones had been driven from one corner to another, he would have to thank himself for it. For, how could he “hope” to procure the original music of *Gitagovindam*, merely with the help of modes, prefixed to each of its Prabandhas?* The truth is that there was neither the Notation to record the songs of Jayadeva nor any scientific treatment in his book whereby to teach or even suggest the methods of singing them.

3. Again, Tansen is said to have electrified his audience with his enrapturing music. Mira Bai is said to have bewitched her audience with her soul-stirring music. Maha Vythinathier, Peria Vythi and Shadkala Govindan are all said to have spell-bound their respective audiences with their inimitable performances. But where are they heard now sung? They are all lost for want of notation. The four remarkable Oratorios of South India, *viz.*, (1) Arunachala Kavi’s *Rāma Nātakam*, (2) Gopalakrishna Bharathi’s *Nandan*

*See foot-note Section III.

Charithram, (3) Kavi Kunjara's *Skānda Purāna Kirthanas*, and (4) Ramaswami Aiyar's *Peria Purāna Kirthanas*—are every moment running the risk of getting into oblivion. Why? For want of notation. The learning process of a pupil takes an unduly long time. Why? Again for want of notation. Krithis and Kirthanas are nowadays sung in different ways by different men in different places; and some of them are slowly getting out of use. Why? Once again for want of notation.

4. Can we drift in this way any longer? Can we, who see unmistakable signs of progress in all other directions, suffer ourselves to be blindfolded in the matter of preserving music for ages? Surely not. We must therefore leave no stone unturned to find out the ways and means whereby to record the superior airs, whencesoever they may come, and transmit them over to our contemporaries and down to our successors too.

5. But to find out a uniform Notation for Indian Music is no easy task. Mr. V. N. Bhatkhande wrote to me on 28th September, 1921:—"The Girl-Schools of Bombay follow *my* Notation." Mr. Digambar of Bombay Gandharva Mahavidyalaya speaks of *his* notation. Mr. Subharama Dikshithar contemplated a third kind of notation. Mr. K. V. Srinivasa Aiyangar employs a fourth kind. Quite recently Mr.

Abdul Karim put into my hands his own music-book, wherein I noted a fifth kind of notation. Hence to make the whole country of India recognise and acknowledge one particular kind of notation as a uniform and even *national* one—is certainly no smooth sailing.

6. The foreigners take advantage of our differences and move heaven and earth to foist their Staff Notation into our System. Thus the problem of Notation has been made doubly difficult. In addition to the task of settling our own differences, we have been confronted with another new problem as to whether the Notation for Indian Music should be the European Staff or the Indian Sargam.

7. Let me first consider the arguments adduced by the advocates of the Staff and dispose of them one by one:—

I. "The Staff Notation is more economical of space than an elaborate Sa—Ri—Ga—Ma—method of writing."

As against this contention, I submit that in an article, with the spirit of which I fully concur, in the *Hindu*, dated 5th November, 1921, the following remarks were found:—"The Staff music is uneconomical to be used, for it occupies much space and its printing costly." Now, put both the systems of writing a scale in juxtaposition; and you will see which of the two is more economical of space.

Staff Notation				Sargam Notation			
				○	●	●	●
				त-क-त	त-क-त	त-क-त	त-क-त
				स-ग-प	पम-गम-रि	नि-रि-म	गम-रिग-स
				पू-स ग	सरि-गरि-सनि	सरि-गम-प	धनि-सा-ड

- II. "The Indian Notation has now begun to borrow some of the European signs. See, for instance, Subharama Dikshithar's Notation."

Such borrowing is to be attributed to individual idiosyncracies but certainly not to any indispensable necessity. The late Subharama Dikshithar of Ettiapuram borrowed European signs, because he was in the grip of the late Chinnaswami Mudaliar, possessed with Staff mania. But the mere act of borrowing is no argument why the European notation should displace our Sargam Notation altogether. Can a creditor be permitted to kill the debtor, because the latter happened to borrow money from the former? Assuming without admitting that Indian music has to borrow some signs from the Staff Notation, the principle that should guide a reformer must be what was chalked out by Lully (1633—1687) the Founder of French music. Seigneur Baptiste Lully found the French music extremely defective and very often barbarous. However, knowing the genius of the people, the humour of their language and the prejudiced ears he had to deal with, he did not pretend to extirpate the French music and plant the Italian in its stead but only to cultivate and civilise it with innumerable graces and modulations, which he *borrowed* from the Italian. But the question of questions, in this connection, is: "Has the Sargam Notation anything to borrow from the Staff Notation?" I shall presently show that it has not.

- III. "The Staff Notation has the advantage of a simple 'visual' method of indicating uniformly relative pitch and relative time-value of notes."

The Sargam Notation has an equal advantage of a very simple 'visuo-aural' method of indicating pitch and time. For instance, dots above and below the notes indicate Pitch.

- IV. "But the dots are liable to misprint."

So, the semibreves, minims, crotchets and other varieties of time-value notes are as much liable to be placed on wrong lines and wrong spaces of the stave. Due care and attention in either case will set the matter aright. As for the time-value of the staff-written notes, the scope thereof is very limited from the Indian point of view. Indeed the European and Indian systems of Time-measure are as poles asunder. The Indian Thála is derived from song, while the European Thála is derived from dance or march. Though both are based on the numbers

2 and 3, the Indian system *adds*, while the European system *multiplies*, in order to form combination of these. While, again, the syllables in a European verse are marked by accent, those in an Indian verse are marked by máthras. Is there any time-signature in the Staff to correctly indicate the Sankirana Játhi of Dhruvathál or even the common Kanta Jathi of Athathál, or at any rate, Chowthál of the North Indian System?

- V. "The European Notation has signs to indicate which note is sharp and which note is flat. Much confusion is created in the Indian Notation for want of such signs."

That, in the Sargam Notation, such or similar signs are not made use of, in the body of a music-piece while writing it, is at once admitted. But it is submitted that no confusion is created thereby. An average student of Indian Music who is familiar with Venkatamakhi's *Mēla-karthachakra* knows which notes in a given scale or raga are sharp and which flat. You will have merely to tell him "Melam—8"; and he will at once understand it to be *Hanumathodi* (Hindustani *Bhairavi*) and sound all the notes flatly. Or tell him "Melam—65"; and he will forthwith understand it to be *Mechakalyani* (Hindustani *Yaman*) and sound all the notes sharply. At the head of each music-piece, the names of the Rāga and Thála are usually given; just as the treble or bass clef, the time-signature and the signs of sharp or flat notes are placed at the beginning of the stave. Nowadays the number of the Melam is also added. These headings alone are more than enough for an Indian music-student to know what sharp or flat notes he has to sound in a given piece. If desirable, the heading of a music-piece, say, *Niravadhisukada* may be as follows:—

Mela. 28	} <i>Janya Raga</i> —Ravi Chandrika.
Harikamboji	
(Hindustani Jinjoti)	
	} <i>Thala</i> —Adi.
	} <i>Kala</i> —Madhyama.

Arohana:—Sa—Ri₂—Ga₂—Ma₁—Dha₂—Ni₁—Dha₂—Śa

Avarohana:—Śa—Ni₁—Dha₂—Ma₁—Ga₂—Ri₂—Sa

In the body of the music-piece, it is enough that mere swara letters are written, inasmuch as the number 1 or 2, indicating respectively the flatness or sharpness of the notes, is correctly inserted in the heading. Be it noted that "Sa" denotes the key-note and "Śa" denotes its octave and that the theory of flat and sharp

notes applies only to Ri—Ga—Ma—Dha—Ni and never to Sa—Pa. Here the European Music would make confusion. We call the first black key in a Harmonium 'Flat Ri'; but the Europeans would call it C Sharp or D Flat. Again we call the second black key 'Flat Ga'; but the Europeans would call it D Sharp or E Flat and so forth. Is not our clear and unambiguous nomenclature decidedly better than the confused one of the Europeans?

VI. The following sixth contention was raised by an educated Indian lady with University honors in a letter written to me on 26-11-21. To be fair to her, I shall quote her letter at length: "I request you to kindly think over the question of having a Staff Notation for our music. With the Staff Notation, our music will be studied and appreciated by the Americans, the English, etc.; and there is the chance of Indian Music becoming universal and popular and still Indian. If we wish to be recognised as a nation, we must make others see the greatness and the superiority of all that we possess. How did our great religion find its way to the United States of America? It was through the common medium—English. At present, the western people make fun of our music; and a few like Mrs.———, who honestly and sincerely wish to know something about our music, are handicapped for want of a common notation. So if we allow our music to be written in the Staff Notation, I don't think we need fear of its becoming corrupted. On the other hand, I think it will become rich by absorbing the western music and yet remaining Indian. The time has now come when we should no longer be content with confining ourselves but should go out more and assert to the world that we are a nation."

Which reader of this letter will fail to appreciate the noble sentiment of patriotism and the nobler spirit of independence that run throughout it? O! how I wish for many more such learned ladies in our country!

But all the same I fear the writer of the letter

under reference has not caught my point and all her arguments have therefore overshoot the real issue. My contention is, and shall ever be, that the Indians should learn and practise Indian Notation for Indian Music. Her main contention seems to be that the Indian Music should be reduced to the Staff Notation for a twofold purpose, *viz.*, (1) for the benefit of the Europeans and the Americans and (2) for ourselves going out and asserting to the world at large that we are a nation. If so, I hasten to agree with her. But is the Staff necessary—I earnestly ask—for the Indians themselves to study and appreciate Indian Music? The learned lady seems to say 'yes', as inferred from her reference to the Staff as a "common" notation in her letter. Evidently she wishes that the staff should be made a *common* notation for both the Europeans and the Indians. Here I agree to disagree with her. If a European or American wants to study Valmiki's *Ramayanam* and is yet unwilling or unable to learn Sanskrit; let him by all means read Griffith's translation of the poem and appreciate the original author as much as he can. But would he, on that account, be justified in compelling even the Sanskrit-knowing people of India to study Griffith and forget their Sanskrit? Similarly, if any European or American wants to study Indian Music and is yet unwilling or unable to learn the Sargam Notation; let him by all means reduce the Indian Music into his own Staff and appreciate it as much as he can. But would he, on that account, be justified in compelling the Indian students to forget their own Sargam Notation in favour of a foreign Staff? True, Swami Vivekananda employed English in the United States of America to assert the superiority of Indian religion. But did he ever ask the Indians to forget their own Vernaculars in favour of English? Again, the letter speaks of a few Europeans being handicapped for want of a common (*i.e.* Staff) Notation. How many of those "few Europeans," I ask, availed themselves of Mr. Chinnaasami Mudaliar's *Oriental-Music*, wherein some of Thiagaraja's Krithis had been reduced to the Staff Notation? For ought I know, the Europeans discarded it, because there was the *Indian Music* in it; and the Indians equally discarded it, because there was the *Staff* in it. Nor does the learned lady's complaint, *viz.*, "the Western people make fun of our music", frighten us into adopting the Staff. For if the westerners make fun of our music,

they really make fun of themselves. For, it is a truism that different races possess different auditory faculties and hence different systems of music came rightly into existence. The Frenchman cannot enjoy the English music, nor can the German enjoy the French music, nor can even the Hindustani Gavayi enjoy the Karnatic music. Hon'ble Sir Charles Turner, Kt. C.I.E.,* observed in this connection: "the Southern Englishman and the Scotch are within 400 miles of each other; and yet the former cannot honestly enjoy the latter's bagpipe. This difference in taste is due to the difference in the structure of the ear and more to habits and other circumstances of life." If therefore the westerners make fun of our music, the inference is that the funny element is, not in our music, but in themselves. Reduction of Indian Music into the Staff Notation cannot be a remedy to such "funny" people. They must be prepared to have their tastes changed or modified, before they can approach our music.

VII. As though a seventh contention were raised, a European friend of mine wrote to me on 7-9-1922: "I have now got a native musician, quite ignorant of English, who tells me that it is not impossible for him to reduce all the *Indian* airs into the Staff Notation."

My reply was: "Possible or impossible—that's a different question. Inasmuch as the mother's milk of the Indian (or Sargam) Notation is plentiful for the Indians, why should a foreign Doctor hoarsely cry and unduly praise to the skies the unnecessary Mellin's Food of the Staff Notation?"

VIII "If the Staff Notation is not accepted, why should not the Tonic Solfa Notation be adopted, inasmuch as it has been advocated by no less a person than Abbe Dubois?"

I don't know whether Abbe Dubois ever advocated the Tonic Solfa; but he expressed his over-anxiety to give the whole credit of inventing the music scale to Guy of Arezzo. The French Missionary had, however, to feel surprised to find that the Hindu Music had also the same scale. Here are his own words: "The Hindu Scale bears a striking resemblance

to ours, being composed of the *same* number of notes, arranged in the *same* way, as follows:—

Do—Re—Mi—Fa—So—La—Si—Do

Sa—Ri—Ga—Ma—Pa—Dha—Ni—Sa

Are we then to deny the merit of this invention to Guy of Arezzo?" My answer to this last question of the ill-informed Missionary is an emphatic "yes."

8. Above all, the Staff Notes are meant more for the eye, while our notes are meant more for the ear. Mr. Hawis, in his *Musical Memoirs*, gives the palm to the ear rather than the eye. If, with a key given, an Indian note Ga is written on a piece of paper, the ear—as soon as the eye is directed to the note—rings within itself the sound peculiar to Ga. But if a European crotchet is written, you cannot at once give its proper sound, even with the help of the keynote given. For some more ceremony has to be performed for it, *viz.*, placing it on the correct line of the stave, perhaps E, if the given key is middle C. Indeed the European Staff is seven times more unnecessary, more difficult, more cumbersome, more uneconomical and more costly, in addition to its being quite defective from the Indian standpoint.

9. I am happy to be able to state that quite an array of my friends and others back me up in my position. The Maharaja of Travancore wrote on 29-6-1885 in reply to Captain Day's letter: "Captain Day has to some extent anticipated the difficulties in getting the Hindu airs written out according to the European system of musical notation. There are, however, far greater difficulties than that of finding a man equally conversant with the two systems. The two systems themselves widely differ in many respects:—

- (1) In the Hindu system there are half notes, quarter notes and infinitely minute and delicate shades, as in a painting by a master artist;
- (2) The Vocalist or Instrumentalist very often glides over a whole gamut or half gamut, backward or forward, in an unbroken easy flow.
- (3) In European Music, there is no such thing as Râga, which in the Hindu system is a thing permanently and scientifically established from time immemorial.

Any man possessing the most ordinary knowledge of music will at once recognise the particular Râga, in whatever form of composi-

*Vide Madras Mail of 17-11-1884

tion (and there are innumerable forms) it is sung to him; and one mis-placed swara will immediately jar in his ears. Indeed with all deference to European Music and appreciation of its soul-stirring effects, I must say that Hindu Music is far more scientific and systematic. In the meanwhile what I have said will in a manner indicate the great inherent difficulties which must present themselves to one who attempts a 'translation' as it were."

10. Mr. V. N. Bhatkhande of Bombay wrote to me: "I am strongly opposed to making the Staff Notation the sole medium of instruction. My idea is that an Indian notation will go certainly, if not further, at least as far as the Staff Notation, with proper signs and symbols. If, for our gamakas and grace notes, new signs would be necessary even in the Staff Notation, why should we not introduce them in the Indian notation and make it serviceable? An Indian notation will appeal to the Indian mind much more easily. I leave out the question of patriotism and base my opinion on utilitarian grounds." Mr. H. P. Krishna Row of Mysore once wrote a book called "First steps in Hindu Music in English notation" and, by sheer force of experience, changed his opinion and wrote to me (25-9-21): "The Staff Notation is unnecessarily difficult for our music. If we use it, we are likely not to develop our swaragnanam." Mr. P. S. Sundramier of Tanjore wrote: "There is already a notation and the Staff is cumbrous and costly." Mr. Govindasami Pillay of Trichinopoly, Mr. Muthiah Bhagarathar of Harikesanallor and Mr. Mysore Krishniengar—these Vidwans told me they were quite opposed to the Staff Notation being used for Indian Music.

11. Sir W. W. Hunter wrote, in his *Indian Empire*: "It is impossible to adequately represent the Indian system by the European Notation." Sir William Ousley remarks: "Nor are the Hindu airs known to the Europeans from the impossibility of setting them according to the European system of notation. The fact that the Hindus have quarter tones renders it still more difficult to express their music by the European system." Maharaja Sir P. C. Tagore wrote very recently, in the *Statesman*: "No one who has a thorough knowledge of Hindu Music will venture to deny that it is impossible to accurately represent it by European notation or express it by European instruments. We

have already become too denationalised in many things. But for Heaven's sake, let no desecrating hand be laid on Hindu music, which is venerated by orthodox Hindus as being of divine origin." John Curwen, a European musician, observed: "Even in Europe, the Staff Notation presents discouraging difficulties. If a simpler notation be used, the progress will be quicker and far more solid. *The Staff was never designed as a teaching instrument* but was intended to give a picture of the keyboard of the piano-forte. The crotchets, quavers, clefs, flats and sharps of the Staff are too abstruse for children and even for men."

12. While thus even in Europe the Staff Notation is not universally accepted, it would be an unpardonable crime and sin to attempt to thrust it as a compulsory notation into India, where there has been from time immemorial a 'Sargam' Notation from Mount Kailas to Cape Camorin. By all means, join with us in improving our Sargam; but, pray, do not think of throwing it overboard.

13. Enough, I believe, has been said to convince you that the system of Notation, most suitable to Indian music, is neither the Staff nor the Tonic Solfa but the Sargam. I must now proceed to place before you what occurs to me the best possible uniform—and I may even say "national"—system of Sargam Notation for the whole of India, which is the main, if not the sole, way to resuscitate our fallen music.

14. But a preliminary point has first to be settled, for at the very outset we are confronted with the question: "At what stage in a pupil's course of music should Notation be commenced?" Doubtless it is in human nature that, as between the thing and its symbol, preference is given to the former rather than to the latter. A hungry man cannot be satisfied with the symbol of bread but wants the bread itself. In education, symbols are needed and employed only when the things they denote are not available or procurable. The true function of Notation, which is but a symbol of music, begins only when the sounding material, the living music teacher, is not available or procurable. Hence the teaching of Notation may be postponed to a later stage, when the chances of the pupils' leaving the school and of being away from the living teacher become greater and greater and may, in fact, be commenced from the First Form, according to my Syllabus. The pupils of

the Primary classes who would even otherwise have to encounter the difficulty of mastering the "notation," so to speak, of the language (or languages!) they have to learn, need not be encumbered with an additional burden of the music-notation. The method that has to be employed in the earliest stage of a pupil's course of music should be what may be called the Imitation, or Lip-Ear method. That is the time-honored method too. Further, it is only after the pupils' minds have been saturated with a bit of Swaragnânam and Thâlagñânam that Notation proper could, with advantage, be commenced. The teaching of Swaras and Thâlas should necessarily precede the teaching of Notation.

15. Is Swara-teaching after all necessary? Can it not be altogether avoided? These side-issues have of late been causing much anxiety in the music-world of South India, inasmuch as they have emanated from high quarters and attempted to shake the very foundation of Indian Music. I must answer them.

16. Most managers in schools and most parents in households are obsessed by the idea that every music-piece must, at every stage, be capable of—and be ready for—show and display to casual visitors and friends. Surely saralis, alankaras and githas are not adapted for such popular show but are intended to illustrate the principles enunciated in Text-Books on Music. The idea of caring for the visitors' vapoury satisfaction must not be allowed to prevail against the substantial and necessarily slow development, especially at the initial stage, of musical knowledge in the pupils. "The early steps of any art," observed Florence Wickins, "are and must be slow at first; and these beginnings should on no account be hurried (or avoided). For once the elementary lessons are thoroughly and clearly understood and grasped by the pupil, the rest of the teacher's work is easy." It is those that are impatient of the necessarily slow progress of the early steps of the art who would generally sympathise with the objectors of Swara-teaching.

17. The truth is, just as a man with a mere bone frame is disagreeable, but a man with flesh and blood is agreeable, to look at; the songs which form the 'flesh and blood' of music are agreeable to hear, but not the swaras as forming the mere boneframe thereof. The on-looker may be satisfied with the sight of the flesh and blood; but the possessor thereof must take care of his

boneframe as well. For, the stronger the boneframe, the healthier the flesh and blood. How can you have a strong boneframe without attending to its growth and development? And how can you attend to its growth and development without knowing the component parts thereof and the laws of their growth? In Indian music, the component parts of the boneframe are saralis, alankaras, githas, varnas and other "idioms" of swaras. A learner therefore cannot with impunity dispense with them. Whoever observes "There is no need at all to practise Jantaswaras and other gymnastic exercises," may as well say that there is no need at all to practise, under the modern system of education, gymnastics and other physical exercises. I would however agree with him, if he should say that the teacher must not make too much of swaras and mistake the means for the end itself. Be it remembered that swara teaching has been, from the time of God Parameswara, the right royal method of music-teaching in India, inasmuch as Narada said and Thiagaraja repeated in his famous Krithi, "Swararagasudharasa"—that the secrets of *Swarârnavam* had been first taught by God Parameswara to Goddess Parvathi. I need hardly tell you that "*Swararnavam*" was a musical treatise presented by Narada to Thiagaraga. The word *Swararnavam* literally means 'Ocean of Swaras.' Evidently the book related, as the name indicates, to the illimitable permutations and combinations of Swaras.

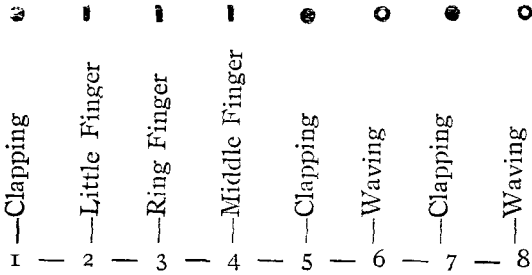
18. I believe you will have, by this time, been convinced of the truth of two important points, *viz.*, (1) The System of Notation, most suitable to Indian Music, is Sargam and nothing else; and (2) the teaching of Sargam Notation should be preceded by the teaching of Swaras and Thâlas.

19. I shall now proceed to the Notation itself.

20. Each of the 35 main Thâlas of South India and of the 25 main Thâlas (according to *Abhinavathâlamanjari*) of North India—has, on ultimate analysis, three essential parts, *viz.*, clapping, fingering and waving. Note that, when you *clap*, you see the outer part of your hand and, when you *wave*, you see the inner part or palm of it. Is not the palm or inner part of a hand whiter than its outer part? And is not 'the outer part' blacker than the palm itself. Hence the clapping may be represented by a black-sign or New-Moon sign, *viz.*, ● and the

Waving by a white sign or Full-Moon sign, viz., ○. The Finger looks like a rod and hence the fingering may be represented by a rod-like sign, viz., |

21. Now the most popular South Indian Thāla is Adi. It has 3 clappings, 3 fingerings and 2 wavings—in all 8 beats, which may be represented thus:—



For every song in the Adi Thāla, the following heading is desirable and may, with advantage, be adopted:—

●				●	○	●	○
त-क	त-क	त-क	त-क	त-क	त-क	त-क	त-क

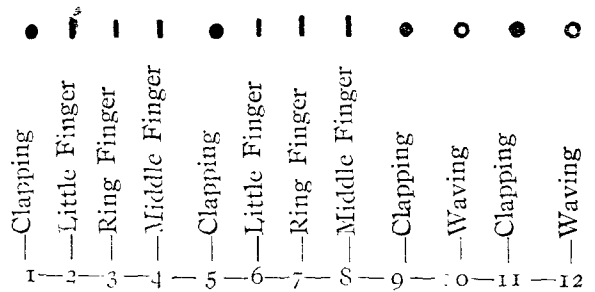
The letters त क (pronounced Tha-ka) in the heading above denote the mātṥras or Kalais, the slowness or quickness whereof depends on whether the Kāla or time is vilambitha (slow), madhyama (middling) or drutha (quick). “ त ” denotes one mātṥra and “ क ” denotes again one mātṥra. So one column or bar, consisting of “ त-क ” denotes two mātṥras which come to one beat. The letters त-क may be written त-क or क-क. It is for convenience of pronunciation that I have given two different letters त-क. But, be it remembered, that each of the two letters denotes one mātṥra and both together represent one beat. Again, the lines of the bar are drawn for convenience sake and have no significance of their own, except the last perpendicular double line which denotes the end of an āvartṥa.

22. The same principles may be applied to other thālas as well. Take, for instance, Chathusra Roopaka. It consists of 2 clappings,

3 fingerings and only one waving—in all 6 beats, which may be represented thus:—



Take again a North Indian Thāla, Chowthāl. It consists of 4 clappings, 6 fingerings, and 2 waving—in all 12 beats, which may be represented thus:—



23. As the student learns each new Thāla, he may easily get it analysed into clappings, fingerings and wavings and have such analysis recorded in the manner indicated above. The old notation of | to denote Laghu and ○ to denote Drutha has a deal of ambiguity and confusion about it, especially to a beginner. For instance, the Laghu-sign | stands for one clapping and any number of fingerings ranging from 2 to 8. I have therefore eschewed the old notation and given you my own. So much for the Notation of Thāla.

24. As for the Notation of songs, the Sapthaswaras, viz., Sa-Ri-Ga-Ma-Pa-Dha-Ni, shall invariably form its fundamental basis. But with a view to nationalise the Indian (or Sargam) Notation from Mount to Cape, those Sapthaswaras shall invariably be written in Nagari characters. The Sahithyam or wording of songs may be written in the language of those songs or in any other language; but the Sargam Notation of those songs must be uniformly written in Nagari, throughout the length and breadth of India. The music students need not fear that they have to learn, for this purpose, Sanskrit Language. I assure them that it is enough for them to learn seven letters—not more nor less

than seven letters—of the seven notes of the scale. They are as follows:—

Notes	Nagari Letters		Same Letters but Conjunct	
	Short	Long	Short	Long
Sa	स	सा	स्स	स्सा
Ri	रि	री	र्रि	र्री
Ga	ग	गा	ग्ग	ग्गा
Ma	म	मा	म्म	म्मा
Pa	प	पा	प्प	प्पा
Dha	ध	धा	द्ध	द्धा
Ni	नि	नी	न्न	न्नी

25. With the sapthaswaras written in Nagari characters, we have yet to learn some special signs to denote pitch, time-value, commencement, end, repetition, grouping, rest, and so forth. Let us study them one by one.

26. The signs of Pitch may be as follows:—

Pitch	Signs	Signs Explained	Ex-ample
High or Thara Sthayi	•	A Dot above	सं
Middle or Madhaya Sthayi	Nil	Nil	स
Lower or Mandra Sthayi	•	A Dot below	स.

N.B.—Whatever applies to स applies equally to each of the other six swaras.

27. The signs of Time-Value may be as follows:—

Time Value	Signs	Signs Explained	Examples
Ekamathra ...	Nil	Nil	स
Ardhamathra ...	—	A Single Horizontal Line below.	सरि
Chathurthamathra ...	— —	A Double Horizontal Line below.	सरिगम
Ashtamamathra ...	— — — —	A Quadruple Horizontal Line below.	सरिगमपधनिसं

N.B.—Whatever applies to स applies equally to each of the other six swaras. Be it noted here that the European signs, Crotchet, Quaver, Semiquaver and

Demisemiquaver correspond respectively to Ekamathra, Ardhamattra, Chathurthamattra and Ashtamamattra

28. The following supplementary sign havealso to be studied:—

What the Signs indicate	Signs	Remarks. if any
Commencement ...	⊗	
End ...	||	
Drone ...	ॐ	
Rest	■	
Ditto	”	
Grouping ...		
Accent ...	W	
Repetition ...	+	
Portion Repeated ...	+ { }	
Prolongation of the previous Vowel sound.		This will occur only in Sahitya and not in Notation.
Komala ...	रि ₁	} So is the case with each of ग-म-ध-नि
Thivra ...	रि ₂	
Suddha Gandhara ...	(रि ₂) ग	} See <i>infra</i>
Shadsruthi Rishabha ...	(ग ₁) रि	
Sudha Nishada ...	(ध ₂) नि	
Shadsruthi Dhaivatha ...	(नि ₁) ध	
Anuswara ...	(गस) स	(गस) Ex :—सरिगस

29. At the commencement of a song, the Mēla, the Rāga, the Thāla, the Kāla, the Gathi, the Arôhana and the Avarôhana should be clearly given. The flat or sharp notes should also be pointed out. If flat, write, for example, रि₁ ; if sharp, write रि₂ ; and so on with each of

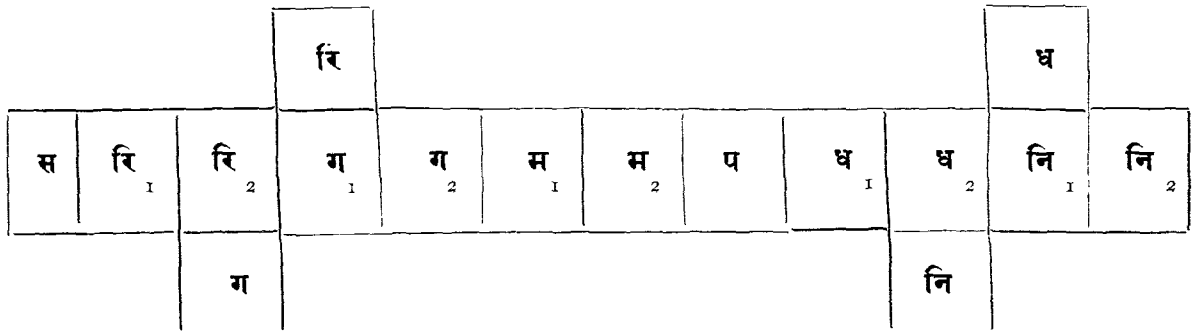
ग—म—ध—नि as well. Remember again that the theory of flat and sharp notes applies only to रि—ग—म—ध—नि and never to स—प Remember also that 1 and 2, indicating flat and sharp notes respectively, will be tacked on to any of the former but not to either of the latter.

30. At this stage, I may be confronted with a query, whether, in view of the fact* that Venkatamakhi gave 16 names to 12 swaras, the nomenclature of Kômalâ and Thivra and their respective signs 1 and 2 cover all the "16

Swaras"; and whether, if not, what special signs have been, or should be, given to the four special swaras of the Karnatic System, viz., Suddha Gandhara, Shadsruthi Rishabha, Suddha Nishada, and Shadsruthi Dhaivatha.

*Vide my *Theory of Music*.

31. In the following Figure,



the four side-swaras, so to speak, marked रि-ग-ध-नि belong exclusively to the Karnatic System and are of Venkatamakhi's creation, for all practical purposes; while, the twelve Swaras, marked स-रि₁-रि₂-ग₁-ग₂-म₁-म₂-प-ध₁-ध₂-नि₁-नि₂ form a common feature of both the Indian (North and South) and the European systems. Signs like रि₁-रि₂-रि₃ to indicate respectively Suddha Rishabha, Chathusruthi Rishabha and Shadsruthi Rishabha, will not only clash with the general arrangement, hitherto followed, but also prevent us from arriving at a notation common to our country as a whole. Reference has already been made in my *Theory of Music** that Suddha Gandhara and Chathusruthi Rishabha sound alike; as also Sadharana Gandhara and Shadsruthi Rishabha, Suddha Nishada and Chathusruthi Dhaivatha, and Kaisiki Nishada and Shadsruthi Dhaivatha. Hence the signs

(रि₂)—(ग₁)—(ध₂)—(नि₁)
ग रि नि ध

have been given respectively to Suddha Gandhara, Shadsruthi Rishabha, Suddha Nishada

and Shadsruthi Dhaivatha. This arrangement, it is believed, will serve us a double purpose, in so much as it avoids clashing with the arrangement in other systems of music and indicates the true nature of the sounds of the four special swaras of the Karnatic System. The Kanakangi scale may, for example, be written thus:—

(रि₂) (ध₂)
स—रि₁—ग—म₁—प—ध₁—नि—सं

32. I shall bring this subject of Sargam Notation to a close with giving you a few typical exercises for practice, only to familiarise you with all the signs and explanations mentioned above.

TYPICAL EXERCISES.

Caution—The teacher should demonstrate to the pupils how to sound त (tha)—क (ka) in Vilambitha (slow), Madhyama (middle) and Drutha (quick) Kâlas. Later on, the very swara letters should be taught to be sung; instead of त—क. in all the three Kâlas. Then the pupils should be slowly initiated into the saralis and their paraphernalia, till they reach the classical songs.

*Vide my *Theory of Music*.

EXERCISE I.

SOME PHRASES AND IDIOMS.

● त—क	त—क	। त—क	। त—क	● त—क	○ त—क	● त—क	○ त—क
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि</

● त—क	। त—क	। त—क	। त—क	● त—क	○ त—क	● त—क	○ त—क
सरी डग मग रिग पधा डनि सरि सं संनी डध सरि संनि धमा डग रिग स							
सग री सरि गम पाडधनि धाडनिन निडसरि सां संध नि संनि धप माडपमगाडमग रीडगरि सा							
सरि गम गरि गम पम गम पध निसं संनि धप धनि धप मप धप मग रिस							
सरि गम प सां डरि संनि मा ड संनि धप म धा डग रिग सा ड							
स रि ड रि ड सनि सरिगम पधनिसं सं नि ड नौ ड सरि सनिधप मगरिस							
सा ड ड रि ड ग मपधनि सां सां ड ड नौ ड ध पमगरि सा							
साडरिग रिग मस स रिग मपा डधा डनि सं सां डनिध धनि निप प संनि धमा डगा डरि सा							

EXERCISE II.

HEADING

Mala 28. { Janyaraga—Ravichandrika,
Haikamboji { Thala ———— Adi.
Kāla ———— Madhyma.
Gathi ———— Chathusra.

Arohana—स—रि—ग—स—ध—नि—ध—पं
2 2 1 2 1 2

Aarohana—सं—नि—ध—स—ग—रि—स
1 2 1 2 2

SONG.

Pallavi.

Niravandhi Sukhada, Nirmalarupa,
Nirjithamunishapa.

Anupallavi.

Sharadhibandhana, Nathasankrandana,
Shankarâdigiyamana Sadhumanasa Susadana.

Charanam.

Mamava Maragatha Maninibha deha
Srimanilola Srithajanapala
Bhimaparakrama, bhimakararchitha
Thamasarajasamanavadoora Thiagaraja
virathacharana

EXERCISE III.

Adapted after the European fashion.

C. Major, (Sankarabharanam).

Thala—Adi; Kala—Madhyama; Gathi—Thisra.

N.B.—Only Notes and no wording.

● त-क-त	। त-क-त	। त-क-त	। त-क-त	● त-क-त	○ त-क-त	● त-क-त	○ त-क-त
प-म-म	ध-म-म	स-म-प	धा-ड-ड	नि-प-ध	सं-प-प	म-प-ध	मा-ड-ड
प-सं-धनि	सं-निध-पम	प-ध-मप	ध-मग-रिग	सग-म-गम	प-पध-निध	प-सं-मप	धनि-सां-ड
रि-सं-रि	संरि-संनि-धनि	सं-नि-सं	रिस-निध-निसं	रि-स-रि	सरि-सनि-धनि	सं-नी-सं	रिस-निध-पम
मगं-रि-सं-मां	ग-म-ग-म-ग-रि	संनि-धप-म	ड-ड-ड	सरि-गम-पध	निसं-रिग-मां	ग-रि-मगं-रिस	रिसं-निध-पम

THE BOOKS OF THE QUARTER.

Walter De La Mare. By R. L. Mégroz
(Hodder & Stoughton Ltd., London) 1924.
7s. 6d.

The art of literary criticism has not yet been reduced to strait-laced principles. There is consequently a wide latitude for the critic in the matter of form and method of criticism. But criticism of poetry and poets has always sought to escape rigidity of rules. The scope for the critic of contemporary poetry is wider still: he has almost an uncharted field to roam about and explore; he need not feel the handicap of prejudiced opinion; he can give the lead whereas in case of old poets the general opinion is already crystallised and the modern critic's function is limited to mere elucidation of details. And yet criticism of a living poet is a very ticklish matter. The critical faculty must be extremely alert; it must approach genuine intuition to arrive at a judicious appraisal. We accordingly welcome with great pleasure such a fine work of criticism as Mr. Mégroz's study of *Walter de la Mare*. The subject is a living poet of great power and recognised skill. But opinion about his poetry has still to be formed; he is yet to be placed. Mr. Mégroz undertook the task of disintegrating the man and his poetry with eager enthusiasm. He is wildly appreciative but with a critical discrimination. If the author on occasions becomes over-enthusiastic in praise of his favourite poet he knows and feels that he is not over-stating his case. Poetic appraisal is largely subjective and with this criterion the critic justifies his enthusiasm for Walter de la Mare's poetry.

What is poetry? It is defined as "sublimated imagination" a definition as good as any other. There should be imagination and imagination to be poetic should be of a refined and exalted nature. Mr. Walter de la Mare's poetry undoubtedly satisfies this test. Who will not take genuine delight in the exquisite lyric:

"I met at eve the Prince of sleep,
His was a still and lovely face,

He wandered through a valley steep,
Lovely in a lonely place."

We feel here that the poet has achieved a delicacy of touch and a pleasing sequence of ideas and words. The lyric is undoubtedly great and deserves a permanent and high place in English anthologies. But high as this achievement is we can not really ignore the extreme limitedness of Mr. Walter de la Mare's poetry. He surveys a narrow field but with almost a divine vision. He has confined himself to few subjects but he has achieved a masterly excellence in what he has done. He is *par excellence* the poet of childhood and no one has delineated the moods and instincts of children with more exquisite beauty and picturesqueness. It has been said that few children read and enjoy his verses. We think it is not a correct statement as indeed Mr. Mégroz explains in his book. The psychology of childhood is a very serious psychology; the child when he plays the dragon or the cavalier is extremely serious about it; he genuinely imagines himself to be the centre of his imaginary world. He draws his inspiration from his own world of ideas and it is only by way of relaxation that he turns to picture-books and nursery rhymes, laughing all the time perhaps in his tiny little mind at the stupidity of the grown-ups who think his world revolves in the whimsical manner delineated in the fantastic picture-stories. Walter de la Mare's accomplishment does not lie in providing the child with amusement in the hour of relaxation; he has attempted a more difficult task: he interprets for the adults the serious moods and ideas of the child when at play. He has succeeded remarkably well in this interpretation. His *Songs of Childhood*, *Peacock Pie*, and *Down-a-Down Derry* deserve very high praise. The poet himself has written that "Children live in a world peculiarly their own, so much so that it is doubtful if the adult can do more than very fleetingly re-occupy that far-away consciousness." How astonishingly well he has recaptured for us that "far-away consciousness" becomes vividly evident from a perusal of his songs of childhood. Andrew Lang

in an appreciative review of Walter de la Mare's first book applied Lamb's phrase "A fairy way of writing" to his poetry and children all over the world love fairies and gnomes, the elves and the moonlands. Mr. Mégroz's estimation is fair and just: "As a poet of childhood he can remain himself, the artist, the thinker of primitive phantasy, the epicure in pleasing imagery and wistful inconsequence.....the rich tapestry of image and the melodious sweetness of the song respond to the essentially childish desire for sensuous beauty."

The second chief characteristic of Walter de la Mare's poetry is its dreamland inspiration. The critic devotes two valuable chapters to the consideration of dream poetry and shows that while inspiration and rational thinking combine together to yield a poetic note, the character of the tune depends upon the balance preserved between dream and reality. This attitude is reminiscent of the prosaic mean sought to be achieved between romance and history. If we differ from Mr. Mégroz in his estimate of poetic inspirations it is because we consider poetry to be outside the confines of nicely calculated balances. Yeats is the dream poet of the first rank, as were Blake and Coleridge, but a comparative assay of their work does not leave a common residue in the shape of a balanced inspiration. The phrase is a contradiction in terms. Dream and reality can not be weighed in the same scale. Mr. Mégroz's chapters however are very interesting and suggestive. Perhaps we will not go so far with the critic as to say that Walter de la Mare is of the same rank as Shelley and Yeats; but it is to be admitted that whereas Keats, Shelley and Yeats wrote poetry of very unequal merits, Walter de la Mare has been continuously brilliant. His fame rests upon work of continued and sustained excellence.

Mr. Mégroz adds a chapter on the poet's style and content and regards him in the rich display of his picturesque elfland as the lineal descendent of the pre-Raphaelites. Mr. Mégroz has accomplished his work with commendable industry and in the present study of Walter de la Mare he has produced a work of high literary merit. We are especially pleased to commend his work to the notice of lovers of modern poetry in the hope that they will appreciate the better the work of a leading English poet.

W.

China: Yesterday and To-day. By Professor E. T. Williams (Harrap & Co., 15/-).

The author of this book of reference has exceptional claims to be regarded as an authority on this interesting and little-known kingdom. Formerly Vice-Consul at Shanghai and American Charge d'affaires at Peking, he was an eye witness of the Boxer insurrection and the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty. He was in charge of the Division of far Eastern affairs till recently, when he reverted to his first enthusiasms as Agassiz Professor of Oriental Languages and Literature at the University of California.

The Oriental scholar is responsible for over half the book, which forms an encyclopædia book of reference on the origins of the race and the religious cults and social arrangements of to-day. Although somewhat paragraphic in style, this portion is of intense interest to the Asiatic scholar. One looks in vain for a reference to the popular belief that China has tried out and discarded all the inventions of modern science. The age of her civilisation is beyond doubt. The heights to which it is said to have risen seem to be mythical.

The next few chapters are written by the man of affairs and describe the impact of Western Civilisation. The almost bloodless coup d'état which led to the abdication of the Manchu dynasty marked the end of the haughty manner of dealing with "barbarian" envoys.

Then came the war, which left China to work out her struggle towards democracy for three years, although she was a nominal belligerent for some fifteen months. The interest now lies in the efforts of Japan to gain control of the Shantung railway. The secret treaties between Japan on the one part, and Great Britain, France and Russia on the other, leave a nasty taste in the mouth. As in the case of the Arabs of the Hedjaz, Great Britain had to pay a stiff price for Japanese assistance during the submarine crisis. And in both cases an aftermath of agreements and secret treaties has been left which makes the work of resettling the nations more difficult, and threatens to dot the world with a number of Alsace-Lorraines.

The author, as an American, is scrupulously fair in his account of British activities. Not a

word of reproach is uttered in recounting the difficulties that arose in fighting the opium traffic ; now diverted into Japanese channels. But one cannot read these latter pages without a feeling that Great Britain has picked up an ally in the Far East that may prove an embarrassment.

Professor Williams has an illuminating chapter on Oriental immigration, and the difficulties that followed the Burlingame agreement. He points out that the difference in treatment accorded to China and Japan simply rests on the latter's possession of armed forces. A discouraging but important thought in these days of pacific idealism, Oriental immigration is the probable cause of the next world crisis.

A lengthy appendix and bibliography round off this comprehensive book of reference.

H. E. H. T.

The Sanskrit Drama, in its Origin, Development, Theory and Practice. By A. B. Keith, D.C.L., D.Litt.—Clarendon Press, Oxford.

Review. By Dr. Ganganatha Jha, M.A.

It is a wonder to most of us how Dr. Keith can find time and energy to write so many books of the right kind. His latest achievement is a volume of nearly 400 pages, dealing with Indian Drama. It has been executed with Dr. Keith's usual thoroughness. He has examined all available information with a scrutiny free from bias. He has begun with the Vedic period and has succeeded in showing that the germ of the drama like the germ of every other branch of literature is to be found in the Vedas and Vedic rituals. He then carries us through Post-Vedic literature, making gleanings from the epics and other works assigned to that period. Drama in its real form is found to

appear only in the Buddhist period. It is refreshing to find that Dr. Keith has accepted after all the genuineness of the Bhasa-Dramas, and he has submitted them to a critical study worthy of himself. His comparison of Bhasa with Kalidasa is made on satisfactory lines, though an admirer of Kalidasa cannot help feeling that Dr. Keith is prejudiced in favour of the earlier writer. This prejudice however has not led the writer in any way to lessen his attention to the works of Kalidas, whose dramatic art he admires. Later on the Doctor works his way through the dramatists of the mediæval period till he comes to what he calls the period of the decline of the Sanskrit Drama. He has devoted one chapter to detailing the characteristics and achievements of the Sanskrit Drama ; more than 60 pages to dramatic theory where an instructive comparison is made between Aristotle and the Indian Theory of Poetics. The last chapter deals with dramatic practice wherein we find our knowledge carried very much farther than that obtainable in the earlier works of Wilson.

We are sorry to find however that certain typographical errors have crept into a book so neatly got up, and we may be permitted to point out a few cases of what we consider mistranslation. '*Bisam*' is not the *lotus* but its root (p. 109) ; '*Cailatanaya*' is not 'the lady of the mountain' but the 'daughter of the mountain' (p. 170). In the estimation of so many poets there will always be divergence of opinion. Hence there is no wonder if we find ourself unable to agree with the learned Doctor in his estimate of Bhavabhuti and some other dramatists. It is the virtue of poetry that it appeals to different natures in different ways.

The book is one which deserves a place in the hands of every Sanskrit scholar ; for our University students it is indispensable and for every serious student of Sanskrit literature a perusal of the book will prove not only interesting but highly instructive.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

DRAMA.

CONTEMPORARY BRITISH DRAMATISTS.

The Fifth of November by Howard Peacey. Volume Five.

The Dance of Life by Hermon Ould. Volume Six.

The Fanatics by Miles Malleson. Volume Seven.

The Three Barrows by Charles McEvoy. Volume Eight.

First Blood by Allan Monkhouse. Volume Nine.

Krishna Kumari by Edward Thompson. Volume Ten.

(Published by Messrs. Ernest Benn Limited, London, 1924) 5s. each volume cloth and 3s. 6d. each volume paper.

We have on a previous occasion welcomed the series of modern plays which the enterprising house of Benn Brothers have placed before an increasingly appreciative public. It is a welcome sign that the series has received commendable support and further volumes are in course of preparation. It also bespeaks of the essentially healthy feature in modern British Drama. The selection of plays has been made with a view to popularise the modern tendencies in dramatic art and it is pleasing to note that the essentially modern habit of intellectual snobbery and quizziness has been kept in the back-ground. We noticed the first four volumes in our issue of January, 1924, and have now before us further six volumes—each is singular and individual in conception and design, yet each one betokens the modern spirit and has an important relation with the human and social passions which sway peoples' minds to-day. We look forward with pleasure to further issues in this admirable series.

Mr. Howard Peacey has built his story of *The Fifth of November* round the personality of Roberts Catesby and Father Garnett acts as the villain of the piece. The author has almost ignored Guy Fawkes who is popularly connected with the Gunpowder Plot. The romantic interest in the drama is preserved by the keen analysis the play-wright has made of the thoughts and feelings which impelled the conspirators and their women. Mr. Peacey has no doubt seized the historical incident and carefully kept to the essential details of the plot; but he has not been content with mere dramatisation. It seems that he himself set out on a dangerous adventure with a desperate company and

wrote the chronicle of their exploits out of deep personal experience. The story as unfolded in the drama is a creative triumph for the author. The characters are well drawn and remain human; the language is lucid and simple and the final scene well conceived and finely written.

Whimsical is possibly the aptest description of Mr. Hermon Ould's *The Dance of Life*. A young man of twenty three born of idle and prosperous parents finds life boring and living too dull for him; his quest after the whys and wherefores of life embitters him. The honest intentions of his parents for his career carry no meaning to him. Olga Heath, erstwhile a lady's maid, in love with this young man provides the balance and later the justification for his existence. Young Beresford's search for the human light does not provide enough dramatic interest for the playwright. Neither do the intervention of dream-scenes improve the artificial make-up of the play. And yet the problem is an age-old one and Mr. Ould's treatment if not entirely original is at any rate novel and full of surprising twists and turns.

When Mr. Miles Malleson chose the *motif* of his play entitled *The Fanatics* he must have given tremendous thought to the manner and method of treatment. The fanatic is one who "lives by what he believes, which is difficult," but then "you have got to have something of a fanatic in you to do anything worth while these days. The thing is to keep one's fanaticism and to keep one's humanity." Fine idealism this but possibly too deep for the average mortal. We will appreciate better the essential truth in this statement if we ponder for a while on the social and individual problems which face mankind to-day. It is accordingly a double welcome we extend to Mr. Malleson's clever exposition of the sex problem. He has tackled the most insistent social question of the day in a manner at once bold and courageous, defiant of conventional standards and unaffected by social small-talk. If the dramatist preaches trial marriage and antenuptial intercourse he does so with a profound conviction that the church-made marriages of the day have resulted in the present possible mess of sex warfare and disintegration of family life. Love to a maid is an untried experience and happiness in love is the only test for tying up two people in wedlock for life. Mr. Malleson has not become the preacher at the expense of the dramatist; his play preserves the essential unity

of dramatic action. The diction is admirable and interest of the reader sustained to the very last line. We do not remember having read recently any play with such powerful appeal to reason and courageous treatment of a grave social problem as is given in *The Fanatics*.

The Three Barrows like the *Fanatics* deals with the love problem, but if the atmosphere in the two plays is different, the final effect is entirely depressing in contrast to the joyous climax of Mr. Malleeson's play. Mr. McEvoy devotes special efforts to elaborate the effects of environments on a man's most intense and vital feelings; he portrays with success the mentality which effaces the noblest urge at the call of luxury and social convention. Victor Mieux remains the invertebrate, supine lover of a heroic soul. His struggle appears feeble even at the opening of the play. This weakness explains why the reading appears verbose and painfully long. There is a dramatic unity of a sort in the plan of the book, but the final effect is not pleasant. We may not ignore however the realism which touches many of the scenes. The dramatist has taken the average product of present day social conventions and portrayed him in his miserable dependence upon surroundings. Pity describes our feelings as we close the book.

Allan Monkhouse possesses the gift of realism to a remarkable degree. In *The Conquering Hero*, the second volume of this series he laid bare ruthlessly the anguish of the soldier's soul. In *First Blood* he reveals with almost barbaric bluntness the tragic consequences of industrial warfare. A strike of cotton operatives provides him the plot for his play. A peaceful countryside is suddenly divided into warring factions and the incidents of the strike present the basic class instincts of love and hatred in mortal conflict. The dramatist feels the realities of the struggle acutely and portrays faithfully the sufferings which industrial warfare entails. It is but a fitting close that the two persons who viewed the struggle from a humane point of view end their lives under tragic circumstances. A play intensely human and modern.

Krishna Kumari is the dramatised version of an historical incident related in Tod's "Annals of Rajputana." Mr. Thompson is well known for his sympathetic studies of Indian customs and traditions. He has sought to frame for us in the heroic self sacrifice of Krishna Kumari, the symbol of life that is unerringly given for love of country and neighbour. The youthful princess of Mewar is sought after by two

powerful princes and the beautiful Mewar countryside is devastated in turn by the rival suitors. Mr. Thompson has related with poignancy the final resolve of Krishna Kumari to drink of the poisoned cup. Inevitably the dialogues are lengthy, unsuitable for stage elocution, but the play is good reading. We are not quite sure whether the author has correctly reproduced the incidents leading up to the British Ambassador's intervention. Close historical accuracy may not however be looked for in a play which is meant to carry a modern appeal.

BRITISH DRAMA LEAGUE LIBRARY.

Ayuli by Laurence Binyon. Volume 5.

The Prince by Gwen John. Volume 6.

The Lilies of the Field by J. Hastings Turner. Volume 8.

(Published by Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1924) 3s. 6d. each volume.

"No real renaissance of drama can take place without a new impulse towards the writing of plays"—this is from the prospectus of the British Drama League, which is doing creditable work in creating enthusiasm for the dramatic art. We have on a previous occasion commented with appreciation on the first four plays of the series. The welcome which the first volumes received have encouraged the publishers to place further volumes before the public. We extend a cordial welcome to the enterprise particularly as it is meant to help those playwrights who have unsuccessfully knocked at the doors of commercial publishers.

Ayuli is a delicate phantasy of beautiful imagery. Mr. Laurence Binyon, a poet of rare charm, has not attempted to dramatise one sensational incident, as is the usual practice with playwrights. This explains the charge of a lack of harmony in his interesting little tale. *Ayuli*, the beloved of the Son of Heaven, is the embodiment of all that is noble and pure in Beauty. Love is her joy, as it turned out to be her cross. A traitorous conspiracy raises its head against *Ayuli* and the King who is charged with having forgotten "the merchant's welfare in a woman." *Ayuli* learns of the rebels' demand of her head and wonders:

"Oh, why, why?"

Because I loved so much, and had such Joy?

Is sorrow part of the world, as wonderful

As Joy was?.. . . ."

Mr. Binyon has expressed Love's sacrifice in exquisite language clothed with beauty and charm. It is

mistaken to find fault with the idealism of the King; he is not the central figure of the play, but only a proud follower of Beauty, who reckons no cost and learns no obstacle in his pursuit of Joy.

In *The Prince* Miss Gwen John has attempted to sketch in eight short scenes the many-sided facets of Queen Elizabeth's personality. The interpretation does not quite succeed for although the play gives us knowledge of what Queen Bess thought on occasions, we do not come any nearer the woman and the queen. Miss John feels she has contributed toward unfolding the mystery which enshrouded the Queen's relations with the Earl of Essex. The controversy is by no means settled and Miss John's elucidation does not help in understanding the conflict of passions which determined Queen Elizabeth's attitude towards her courtiers. Perhaps the form adopted by Miss John has been unfortunate, for we certainly expect better workmanship and dramatic skill from Miss John.

Mr. Turner's *The Lilies of the Field* is one of the brightest and merriest comedies we have read for some time. The gaiety and fun which bubble over almost every line are skilfully interwoven with serious comment on modern manners. Mr. Turner's art is here seen at its highest and most accomplished stage. More deft hands have written gayer comedies; more imaginative brains have evolved cunning *motifs*; but we have seldom come across such a bright instance of a typically apt modern comedy. There is fun in plenty, there is humour, there is wit and brilliance. The crepe-de-chene delicacy of touch enlightens and vivifies the characters. If Betty in a crinoline, despite being an anachronism, successfully outwits her twin cinderella-like sister, the vicar in the supreme self confidence of a happy nonentity presents a delightful comedy in conjugal manners. We congratulate Mr. Turner on his excellent dramatic work and will look forward to his future publications. It is gratifying to note that the *Lilies of the Field* has had a successful run at the Ambassador's theatre in London.

The Monument by E. H. W. Meyerstein (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1924) 2s. 6d.

This is a tragic verse-study in swindling. The widow and daughter of an artist, reduced to penury, suggest the scheme of a monument to be raised to the memory of the dead genius. The game is obvious from the beginning. Mr. Meyerstein has not introduced any *entre-scenes* to lighten the hypocrisy of the act. The

deception is preserved till the end when nemesis overtakes the two scheming women. A gruesome realistic story, rather diffuse and long-worded.

Pundalik by Harindranath Chattopadhyaya (The Shama'a Publishing House, Madras, 1924) Re. 1/-.

Mr. Chattopadhyaya continues in *Pundalik* the dramatisation of Hindu mythological legends. He tells us here how the sacred Pandarpur came to be founded as a place of pilgrimage. The sceptic Pundalik insults his old parents and sneers at God's worship. A period of spiritual chaos follows, until the soul of Pundalik sees the light. The spiritual conflict is very beautifully rendered by the poet. Mr. Chattopadhyaya's verse has gained strength and power and his muse remains as delicate and charmingly elusive as ever.

The Famous Tragedy of the Queen of Cornwall by Thomas Hardy (Macmillan & Co., London, 1923) 6s.

Thomas Hardy's new play for mummers reveals the master in the fulness and maturity of his powers. Hardy is not accepted as a true poet by many discriminating critics but few deny his genius for capturing the real dramatic incidents. The present play has been adapted for performance requiring no theatre or scenery. The triumph of the dramatist lies in successfully presenting this old Cornish legend in an atmosphere reminiscent of Love's golden age. The great story of Tristram and Iseult has seldom been related in a more beautiful language—with a restrained simplicity and charm characteristic of Hardy's best.

Plays and Controversies by W. B. Yeats (Macmillan & Co., London, 1923) 10s. 6d.

In *Plays and Controversies* Mr. Yeats has reprinted his valuable notes on the Irish Dramatic Movement together with six of his plays. The essay is a constructive plea for the renaissance of the Irish Drama and reveals the struggles of the great Irish poet in the cause of dramatic art. It will remain as much a historical document of great interest as a cogent plea for a National Theatre. The dramatic pieces represent Yeats in his characteristic dreamland, charming and elusive, mystifying the reader and the critic alike. At the end of the book appears an open letter to Lady Gregory, written in 1919, which sums up the history of the Irish Theatre and Mr. Yeats' hopes for it in the future.

INDIAN PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY.

Indian Logic and Atomism. By A. Berriedale Keith (Clarendon Press, Oxford) 1924.

Dr. Keith is a very versatile scholar. Among living Western Orientalists there is perhaps no one who has made such a thorough study of so many branches of Sanskrit literature. In his *Vedic Index*; in his *Sankhya System*; in his *Karma Mimansa*—he had already shown his complete mastery over the intricate subjects with which he was dealing, and also a gift of lucid exposition which is all too rare in scholars whose days are past amongst ponderous dusty tomes. Prof. Keith succeeds in enabling the layman to thoroughly understand subjects which he had originally given up as too abstruse and difficult. But he is not only a Sanskritist; but also a recognised authority on constitutional law and history. The volume under notice deals with the Nyaya and Vaisheshika Systems of Hindu Philosophy, and if the learned author can manage to give us two more volumes dealing with Vedanta and Sankhya, we shall then have a very valuable series of books dealing with all the well-known six systems of Hindoo thought. We have just received a copy of Dr. Keith's latest work *The Origin of the Sanskrit Drama*. Of that we shall publish a detailed review in a subsequent issue.

As the author truly points out, the Nyaya and Vaisheshika, the Indian systems of logic and realism, have attracted hardly a tithe of the interest due to them as able and earnest efforts to solve the problems of knowledge and being on the basis of reasoned argument. The systems are indeed orthodox, and admit the authority of the sacred scriptures, but they attack the problems of existence with human means, and scripture serves for all practical purposes but to lend sanctity to results which are achieved not only without its aid, but often in very dubious harmony with its tenets. There are many good works dealing with the other systems, but of Nyaya the only general expositions in English are the Sadho Lal Lectures of Dr. Jha and the well-known work of Prof. Jacobi, and on Vaiceseka, the recent work of L. Suali is the most exhaustive. Dr. Keith handsomely acknowledges his debt to the works of both these scholars, as also of several others. But it is no disparagement of the works of these distinguished scholars to say that for the general reader who wants to get a clear non-detailed knowledge of Nyaya and Vaicesika, Dr. Keith's book is the most suitable. That this book is quite exhaustive will be clear from a glance at the chapter-headings: The origin and development of the systems, the Syncretism of the Schools, Knowledge

and Error; Perception; Inference and Comparison; Logical Errors; The Nature and Authority of Speech; the Dialectical Categories; Ontology; the Philosophy of Nature; the Philosophy of Spirit; the Existence and Nature of God. The author is at places frankly critical, as for instance, in dealing with the Naiyayika's philosophy of spirit. His remarks are frequently of great value; in dealing with the Nyaya-Vaicesika, Vedanta and Sankhya views on the existence and nature of God, he says: "All three agree in denying any real value to human experience and endeavour, and stand in fundamental contrast with the tendency of recent thought, whether theistic or atheistic, to view the process of the universe as real and to insist on the fact, not of the independence and self-sufficiency of the individual, but of the necessity of the communion of selves as the basis of their reality." There are several points on which it is difficult to agree with Dr. Keith; this brief notice, however, is not the place for discussing them. The absence of a full bibliography may be noticed; the numerous footnotes are helpful, but a bibliography should be added in a subsequent edition. We think it a matter for congratulation that the services of such an able and accomplished scholar should be devoted to the cause of Sanskrit learning.

Theism in Medieval India. By J. E. Carpenter. (Williams and Norgate, 14 Henrietta Street, London) 1924.

The various Hibbert Lectures delivered and published from time to time constitute a very valuable library of philosophical literature. It is high praise to say that Dr. Carpenter's lectures entitled *Theism in Medieval India* are fully worthy to take their place beside the earlier volumes of the series. By reason alike of depth of knowledge, of a sympathetic outlook and a critical standard, the present volume will be warmly welcomed by the ever-growing body of readers interested in the subject. Dr. Carpenter has started his discussion by a consideration—thorough and full—of the interaction and mutual influence of Buddhism and Hinduism which present many problems of great subjects dealt with are Religious Philosophy in the great epic, the Trimurti; Philosophy and Religion in Shaivism; Religion and Philosophy in Vaishnavism, Hinduism and Islam. Though the last chapter is not quite so well-informed and comprehensive as the others, we confidently commend the book to the attention of the thoughtful scholars as an honest, unbiassed account of a subject which is full of interest and importance.

The Buddha and His Doctrine. By C. T. Strauss (William Rider and Son, Limited, 8 Paternoster Row, London) 1923.

The above is a popular account of the Buddha's life and doctrine in its original purity, drawn from the oldest accessible documents. The author refutes certain errors and prejudices which exist almost universally with regard to Buddhism and presents a clear, straightforward account of Gautama's teaching and philosophy. The author has wisely chosen to go straight to the original authorities, the Pali Tipitaka. The work appeared originally in "the international language Ido"; it has now been adopted from that into English. In five chapters of more or less interest—dealing with the Life of Buddha, the Doctrine, the Ethics, the Brotherhood and a Defence of Buddhism—we have a popular, but nonetheless trustworthy exposition of a system which is both a religion and a philosophy, inasmuch as it satisfies both the heart and the mind of vast sections of humanity.

The Teaching of the Upanishads. By Edward Carpenter (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 40 Museum Street, London) 1923.

Mr. Carpenter is a keen student of Indian philosophy and we have in the present little pamphlet the substance of two of his popular lectures on Rest and the Nature of the Self. He emphasises the importance of the former by saying that to some, in the present whirlpool of life and affairs, it may seem almost an absurdity to talk about Rest. For long enough now rest has seemed a thing far off and unattainable. With the posts knocking at our doors ten or twelve times a day, with telegrams arriving every hour, and the telephone bell constantly ringing; with motors rushing wildly about the streets, and aeroplanes whizzing overhead, with work speeded up in every direction, and the drive in the workshops becoming more intolerable every day; with the pace of the walkers and the pace of the talkers from hour to hour insanely increasing—what room, it may well be asked, is there for Rest? He insists with much force that modern nations must learn to rest even in the very midst of the hurry and scurry. This seems to him to be the teaching of some of the Upanishads—the value of rest, or repose, which latter is probably an apter word. On the nature of the self, Mr. Carpenter is rather disappointing in his conclusion that while we can and do become even more vividly conscious of our true self, the mental statement of it always does and probably always will lie beyond us. None the less his views are alike interesting and instructive.

Raja Yoga. By Swami Vivekananda (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Company, Limited, Carter Lane, London) 1923.

Swami Vivekananda did probably more than any other individual to popularise in the West the various systems of Yoga philosophy. Raja Yoga is one of the most highly developed forms of Vedanta. It teaches that desires and wants are in man, that the power of supply is also in him; and that wherever and whenever a desire, a want, a prayer has been fulfilled, it was out of this infinite magazine that the supply came and not from any supernatural being. It is needless to say anything of Swami Vivekananda's remarkable powers of exposition; it is masterly. But the translation of Patanjali's Sūtras is not always as correct as might be expected. Despite this, the book will receive a thoroughly well-deserved welcome from the students of Hindu philosophy. It is a valuable addition to philosophical literature.

Vedic Hymns. By E. J. Thomas, 1923. **Hindu Gods and Heroes.** By L. D. Barnett, 1922. ("Wisdom of the East" Series. John Murray, Albemarle Street, London).

The Wisdom of the East Series is a useful venture which deserves encouragement. The get-up and printing and paper are all such as might be expected from the firm of John Murray. The Editors, Messrs. Cranmer-Byng and Kapadia have succeeded in enlisting the active support and co-operation of competent scholars whose names are a sufficient guarantee that the books will be reliable and well-written. Dr. Thomas' *Vedic Hymns* brings together in a handy form all the more important Vedic hymns which shed a flood of light on the social and religious polity of early India. Dr. Burnett has undertaken in his *Hindu Gods and Heroes* a popular study in the history of the religion of India, dealing with the Vedic age, the age of the Brahmanas and the Epics and later. Both these are useful volumes which contain, within a short compass, much that will inspire and elevate. They fully sustain the high reputation of the previous volumes in this series.

Sind and Its Sufis. By J. P. Gulraj (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras) 1924.

The above is a volume in the well-known "Asian Library" which has already attained considerable popularity. The Sind thinkers and singers have so far been singularly neglected by the English-knowing public, and it is gratifying that Mr. M. M. Gidwani's excellent monograph on Shah Latif should now be

followed by Mr. Gulraj's really illuminating and instructive *Sind and its Sufis*. Lal Shahbaz is known to many outside Sind at least by name; in this volume we have a full account of his philosophy of life; we now learn the thoughts of other remarkable Sufis, Inayet, Shah Latif, and Sachal, some of whose poems have been translated into excellent English. This valuable book is a very welcome addition to our scanty knowledge of a neglected corner of the country's literature and philosophy. It is also a notable addition to the literature of Sufism.

Amourism. By R. S. Taki (Karnatak Press, Thakurdwars, Bombay) 1924.

On reading the manuscript of the above book the author's friends were of the opinion that it would be very useful to many people who were disgusted with the woeful results of the misunderstanding between nations and nations, rulers and ruled, masters and servants, kith and kin, and such other dualities they witnessed every day around them. They decided therefore to have the book published, nor can we be sorry for their decision, for inspite of the very unsatisfactory title, the book is a notable one. It is thoughtful and thought-provoking. But we should have preferred it to be more free from the numerous Sanskrit terms which are apt to confuse the reader who is ignorant of Sanskrit. This defect may be removed in a second edition.

Early History of Vaishnavism in South India. By S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar (Oxford University Press, Madras) 1924.

Among Indian historians of early India, Professor Krishnaswami Aiyangar deservedly holds an honoured position. In the volume before us he has undertaken a task which was first indicated by the publication, some years ago, of *Vaishnavism, Saivism, and Minor Religion* by that doyen among Orientalists—happily still with us—Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar. Prof. Aiyangar's *History* is a valuable contribution to the subject. He has strengthened his arguments by copious quotations from original sources, and his conclusions are generally well-seasoned and sound. It is a short study dealing excellently with a great subject, but the exposition of the subject is thoroughly sound and interesting.

A Study in Hindu Social Polity By Chandra Chakraberty (58 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta) 1923.

The above book is divided into seven chapters—

dealing with the Physical Geography of India; Ethnic elements in Hindi nationality; Hindu myths; Hindi languages; Hindi scripts; Caste and Social Organisation. It may be regarded as a helpful supplement to the late Mr. R. C. Dutt's *Civilisation in Ancient India*. Several new important data have been included; and a very useful list is appended to show the close connection between Sanskrit and the Greek, Latin, Teutonic, Slav and Celtic languages. We would suggest the change of the word "Hindi" as it definitely indicates now the North Indian Vernacular. We hope too that the get up of the book will be improved in a subsequent edition. The book merits appreciation as an excellent, popular study.

The Hindu Religious Year. By M. M. Underhill (Association Press, 5 Russell Street, Calcutta).

The Religious Life of India series has received a recent addition in the shape of Mr. Underhill's excellent book on the Hindu Religious Year. There are, at least, two recent books on Hindu festivals,—those by Gnpte and Mukerji—but Mr. Underhill's work is better arranged than the former and fuller than the latter. It deals with Eras and other divisions of time, auspicious and inauspicious seasons; solar and seasonal festivals; lunar and planetary festivals; Vishnu and Siva festivals; and festivals arising from animistic sources. We have no doubt that all Hindus and those non-Hindus who are interested in Hindu observances will welcome this publication, which is equally useful for study and reference.

Vaisnava Lyrics. By J. A. Chapman (Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, London) 1923.

The early Vaishnava Lyrics of Mithila and Bengal have recently attracted considerable attentions, thanks mainly to the publications of Rabindranath Tagore and A. K. Coomaraswamy. Mr. Chapman, the gifted Librarian of the Calcutta Imperial Library, has put together in this slender volume a number of the exquisite poems of Vidyapati, Chandidas, Govindadas and others. The best feature of the present book is the excellent introduction which shows that the writer has a fine appreciation of the Lyrics, indeed he is himself at places inclined to break into lyric. The translations are very free but they fully bring out the fragrant charm of the originals. The printing and format are all that can be desired. Our only grievance is that Mr. Chapman has not given us more

of his beautiful translations. We hope he will add to them in a second edition of the book.

The Wisdom of the Aryans by Allan Bennett (Ananda M) (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., London, 1923) 2s. 6d.

This little volume is of interest chiefly because it is written by an English Buddhist who spent 14 years in a Buddhist monastery and imbibed the divine teachings at the fountain-source, so to say. Mr. Bennett does not subscribe to the doctrines for which Buddha lived and died without critical appreciation, but he is fully convinced that the salvation of the riddle of egotism *in extremis* as at present confronts the West lies in "the direction of that conquest of individualism which constitutes the central feature of the Buddha's teaching." Perhaps the author is too bold in claiming that Buddhism alone is competent to bring about the cure of the present *malaise*. But he has undoubtedly put in a strong plea for the recognition of the essential values in the supreme ethical code of Buddha. The seven lectures included in this volume traverse the important principles of Buddhistic teachings and their statement is clearly and lucidly put. Mr. Bennett is very interesting in his exposition of the doctrines of Nirvana and Re-birth. Very instructive and informative the book is well worth a perusal.

Buddhism in the Modern World by K. J. Saunders (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London, 1923) 2s.

Mr. Saunders' book is different in conception and design to the volume noticed immediately above. The Christian Missionary in the zeal of his crusade omits to estimate the forces which bind the unchristian to forms of belief which appear, in his opinion, devoid of cognate reasoning. Mr. Saunders is an enthusiastic Christian but he is large-hearted. He believes that the triumph of Christian principles can be secured only through understanding the other man's point of view. He spent over ten years in the Buddhistic world and has collected his impressions in this little book. He saw the pagodas and the monks, a Buddhist festival or a funeral—and the theme provided him to construct the moral influences which consciously or unconsciously moulded the conduct. The result is a lively sketch-book, and if the exposition of modern Buddhism is not quite complete or correct or even on few occasions not just, it is full of interesting reading.

INDIAN HISTORICAL BIOGRAPHIES.

THREE LIVES OF SHIVAJI.

1. **The Life of Shivaji Maharaj.** By N. S. Takakhav. (Manoranjan Press, Bombay).

2. **Siva Chhatrapati.** By Surendranath Sen (Calcutta University Press).

3. **Sivaji.** By S. V. Raddi (Vadhavkar's Banglow, Thana).

"*Kafir jahannum ba raft*" was, it is said, the exclamation of Aurangzeb when the news was communicated to him that the 'little mountain rat' that had for so many years plagued him was at last dead. He had borne, it seemed, a charmed life. Accidents, that would have been fatal, left him unscathed; disaster and misfortune only made him more resolute and determined. The Mughal Emperor might have had in him a powerful ally; but in his unwisdom he preferred to let him remain a dangerous foe, who gave him no rest and allowed him no peace while he lived. A long-suffering community, groaning under the yoke of a foreign tyranny, hailed him as the saviour of Hindu India, and for a while it appeared as though the dream of a Hindu Empire was at last to be realised. But, as so frequently happens, Shivaji had weak, nerveless successors, bent more on the pleasures of the senses than on the duties of administration, and the dynasty that promised so fair withered and remains now but a name. But the memory of Shivaji and his deeds of glory serves still as an inspiration, and it is in the fitness of things that the modern Indian Renaissance should witness a revival in his honour, and we have now before us three biographies of him, which resemble each other only distantly.

Mr. Takakhav's *Shivaji Maharaj* is an adaptation from the original Marathi work of Mr. K. A. Keluskar. It is a striking tribute to the greatness of Shivaji's life and work; it differs in certain important respects from the conclusions of Professor Jadunath Sarkar's *Shivaji and his Times*. It gives, for the first time, in English a complete account of the career of Shivaji; it clears Shivaji from the charge of murdering Afzul Khan; it examines the relations between Shivaji and Swami Ramdas; and it gives a new explanation of Shivaji's so-called plundering expeditions. These features of the biography indicate how full of interest it is, and what laborious research must have been necessary for its preparation. A measure of partiality for his hero may surely be excused in a Maratha writer, but on the whole his work is very fair-minded and just. It will be, for the present, the standard biography of Shivaji, in spite of its limitations.

Mr. Surendranath Sen's *Shiva Chhatrapati* is a

translation of *Sabhasad Bakhar*, with extracts from *Chitnis* and *Sivadigvijaya*. It is the first of a series intended for such students of Maratha history as are ignorant of Marathi. Of the importance of the Bakhar chronicles for a study of the rise and growth of Mahratta power there can be no doubt; their historical accuracy is not always unimpeachable. But all interested in this subject will feel deeply grateful to Mr. Sen and the Calcutta University for making their study possible and easy.

Shivaji by Mr. Raddi is an attempt "to write the life of the national hero of Maharashtra as to show to the world that he was the real maker of Maharashtra." The author bases his work mainly on the Bakhar of Sabhasad Krishnaji Anant, written in 1694, but he acknowledges his indebtedness also to the works of Kincaid and Sarkar. It is a useful publication, well deserving every encouragement. But it can not be treated in the same category as the works of Mr. Takakhav or Professor Sarkar.

The Life and Teaching of Tukaram. By the late J. Nelson Fraser, and the Rev. J. F. Edwards (Christian Literature Society for India, Madras).

In the well-weighed words of the late-lamented Sir Narayan Chandavarkar's foreword, the present book is a valuable addition to the English literature on Tukaram, inasmuch as it goes exhaustively into the life and teachings of the saint and analyses with care the different stages of his religious faith and the spell he has held over the mind and heart of Maharashtra. It is a valuable book, packed with information and teeming with points of great interest. Not only are Tukaram's *Abhangs* translated and analysed but their interpretations are carefully discussed. A full account of his life is given, and the many illustrations add to the usefulness of a very useful volume, which deserves wide circulation.

Sankaracharya the Great and his Successors in Kanchi. By N. Venkataraman (Ganesh & Co., Madras) 1923.

The recent advent of priests into Indian politics and the incidents at Tarakeshwara are bound to revive an interest in the Mahants and Swamis. The present book by Mr. Venkataraman is therefore doubly interesting; interesting in itself, and interesting because of contemporary events. The first Shankaracharya was not merely a priest: his services to the

cause of Hinduism, both religion and philosophy, were incalculable. He not only put a stop to the proselytising activities of Buddhism, but actually succeeded in exterminating it from the land of its birth. Sankara and Ramanuja are the twin stars of Hindu orthodoxy. Mr. Venkataraman has done well to give us an account in English not only of the great Sankara, but of his successors in Kanchi also. It is a book which should be carefully studied by all interested in Hinduism, and in current religious problems of India.

Sri Harsha of Kanauj. By K. M. Panikkar (D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Hornby Road, Bombay).

Prof. Panikkar is among the more promising scholars of the younger generation. He is a thoughtful writer, and brings much study to bear upon the subject which he discusses. In the present volume he has studied the history of India in the first half of the 7th century A. D. with special reference to the life and work of Sri Harsha of Kanauj. He has divided his monograph into six parts dealing with the Political condition of India in the 6th century; the Political History of the Reign of Harsha; Harsha the King; the Social condition of India in Harsha's time; and Harsha the Poet. There is evidence throughout of considerable research and historic sense. It is a valuable little book which fills a wide gap in Indian historical literature, and it deserves appreciation for the scholarship and research of its author.

Sher Shah. By Kalikaranjan Qanungo (Kar, Majumdar & Co., 1 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta).

Mr. Qanungo is a lecturer in History at the Lucknow University. He is one of those Indian historians who have gathered inspiration from the remarkable works of Prof. Jadunath Sarkar. Following in his footsteps, he has produced a critical study of the life and reign of Sher Shah, who had almost succeeded in wresting the Indian Empire entirely from the hands of the Mughals. His reign has been neglected because of the contrast with that of Akbar who followed him. But in statecraft and science of Kingship, Sher Shah's achievements were brilliant. It is in the fitness of things, therefore, that Mr. Qanungo should have attempted the history of his reign. He has eminently succeeded in reconstructing his life-story on a fresh, original and exhaustive basis, and for a long time to come his work must remain our authority on the subject.

Mahadji Sindia. By M. W. Burway (Published by the Author, Special Branch, Foreign Office, Indore).

Devi Ahilyabai Holkar. By M. W. Burway.

Mr. Burway is an earnest, unostentatious worker in the cause of Indian history. We have in earlier issues of the *Hindustan Review* referred in terms of appreciation to his *Marathas and Moghals*, and *Life of Raja Sir Dinkar Rao*. He has now followed these up with the biographies of Mahadaji Sindia and Ahilyabai, the greatest of the Sindias and Holkars respectively. As a general and statesman Mahadaji can challenge comparison with the greatest of the Western heroes, while Ahilyabai belongs to the small band of heroines whose examples redeem Hindu womanhood from decay and serve as a beacon. Both the biographies are well-written and will amply repay perusal. We wish Mr. Burway all success in his patriotic labours, which deserve appreciation and recognition.

Hammira. By Har Bilas Sarda (Scottish Mission Industries Co., Ltd., Ajmer).

Mr. Har Bilas Sarda's name must be familiar to our readers, as we have in the past noticed in our pages several of his important publications. In the present monograph he has written the life of the last great Chauhan ruler. It is an inspiring life which Mr. Sarda describes. The nobility, the faithfulness to his plighted word, the bravery of Hammira have been often sung in Sanskrit and Hindi verse; his is really a household name. Mr. Sarda has done well to familiarise the English-knowing public with the shining achievements and noble character of this mediaeval Rajput monarch.

Schwartz of Tanjore. By Jesse Page (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London).

The above is a volume of the Ecclesiastic Biographies Series. The author says: "The pages of history praise the great achievements of Clive, Warren Hastings, and Cornwallis as the fathers of our Indian rule, but surely Schwartz is also entitled to a niche of honour as one who laid the foundation of that reign of the Kingdom of God which thousands of faithful missionaries are promoting throughout the Indian Empire to-day." The book is illustrated and well got-up, and it will prove interesting to all who care to know how the early Christian Missionaries worked in this country. Incidentally, Indian life as it was then is also described, and the contrast between that sketched out in the book and that witnessed to-day is remarkably brought into relief.

ESSAYS.

Last Essays. By (the late) Maurice Hewlett (William Heinemann Ltd., London) 1924.

A melancholy interest attaches to the above volume, as it has been published since the premature death of Mr. Hewlett. It is not necessary here to say anything of the high standard of his essays; among contemporary writers his place is high; whether the whirligig of time will preserve that place for him is a question to which for obvious reasons no answer can be given yet. But there is so much of freshness both in Mr. Hewlett's style, and in his treatment of his themes that it will be long before his essays are forgotten. The variety of his interests will be apparent at a glance over some of the titles of his essays selected at random—*The Solitary Reaper*, *The Curtains*, *Suicide of the Novel*, *The Iberian's House*, *Merrie England*, *Couleur de Rose*, *Mr. Pepys his Apple-Cart*, *One of Mr. Lamb's Creditors*. It may truthfully be said that whatever his theme Mr. Hewlett wrote with great skill and charm. There is humour too, plenty of it; but not of the forced, boisterous variety with which we are daily inundated. The last essay concludes with these sentences perhaps the last written by the author, noble in their simplicity and recalling the restraint of the Greeks: "How often has the good soul whose end I am awaiting now stood at her cottage door to mark the lingering of the light? May her passing be as gentle as this day's has been!" Noble words, nobly written are they.

Essays. By W. B. Yeats (Macmillan and Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London) 1924.

When the Nobel Prize for Literature was awarded last year to William Butler Yeats, many people asked what he had written, and it is true that he is not in any sense a popular poet, as Kipling or Masfield or Thomas Hardy or even Æ or some others are. But to the real lover of English poetry, Mr. Yeats' name has long been known and his poems have lingered in the memory for many a day. In his Dedication of this volume of essays he says to Mr. Lennox Robinson:—"My friends and I loved symbols, popular beliefs and old scraps of verse that made Ireland romantic to herself." The same remarks apply to his essays which will not win popularity. Nor need that be regretted; it is at best but a doubtful gain. This collection brings Mr. Yeats' essays down to 1917 and contains also those already published in book form under the titles *The Cutting of an Agate* and *Per Amica Silentia Lunae*. All the pieces bear the impress of original

thinking, they are not like gramophone records; they are "the Master's Voice" itself. Here is a passage from the essay on "Art and Ideas": "We are becoming interested in expression in its first phase of energy, when all the arts play like children about the one chimney and turbulent innocence can yet amuse those brisk and active men who have paid us so little attention of recent years. Shall we be rid of the pride of intellect, of sedentary meditation, of emotion that leaves us when the book is closed or the picture seen no more; and live amid the thoughts that can go with us by steam-boat and railway as once upon horse-back or camel-back, rediscovering, by our re-integration of the mind, our more profound Pre-Raphaelitism, the old abounding, nonchalant reverie?" The book is full of stirring, powerful pieces such as this, and to all that look to literature for more than ephemeral excitement or momentary delight, the *Essays* are bound to make a strong appeal. Yeats is not yet widely-read in India. His *Essays* should help to make his more known.

Some Modern Authors. By S. P. B. Mais (Grant Richards Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London) 1923.

Yet another collection of studies of modern authors. Mr. Mais is a prolific writer, and he pays the inevitable price of prolific writing—unequalness. That he is capable of high-class literary effort must be quite clear to all who have read his *English Course for Everybody* and *Oh! to be in England*; but he is not unfrequently slipshod and careless. In the present volume we have a collection of his critical reviews of the works of more than forty authors, including such distinguished names as Galsworthy, Hugh Walpole, Lytton Strachey, Walter Raleigh, Edmund Gosse, Thomas Hardy, Barrie, and such comparatively insignificant ones as Machen, Maugham, McFee, O'Neill, Bramah. But Mr. Mais possesses the gift of making all his subjects interesting, and we have found hardly one dull page in the whole book. He is generally content to let his author speak for himself—which is perhaps after all the most satisfactory form of interpretation. For acquaintance with the leading contemporary writers we know of no book to be placed on the same level with *Some Modern Authors*.

Essays in European and Oriental Literature. By Lafcadio Hearn (William Heinemann, Ltd., London) 1923.

The West prides itself on its intellectual balance and reserve, but ever and anon, we find new idols

springing up, and shining awhile, and disappearing like the spangles of a rocket. Cults abound. It is to-day Francis Thompson; then Stephen Phillips; Rupert Brooke and Flecker, now it is Lafcadio Hearn. This is hero-worship with a vengeance. The O of Giatto might have been perfect; not everybody is a Giatto. . . We have before us the *Essays in European and Oriental Literature* believed to have been written by Lafcadio Hearn while on the staff of an American newspaper, *The Times-Democrat*, during 1882-1887. All that we can say is that they are not remarkable in any way and hardly distinguishable from shoals of literary articles in other newspapers. Even assuming that they were all written by Hearn—and this is not quite certain—it is no kindness to his memory to hunt up articles written against time, anonymously, and not intended for publication in this form. We are not blind to the merits of Hearn; we consider his *Interpretations of Literature* to be a great book. But we certainly deprecate the tendency to land to the seventh heaven every scrap or fragment which he wrote for the press. Most of the essays in the present book are slight and commonplace. There is no sparkling wit, no striking freshness of outlook, except when Hearn treats of Japanese literature, and there he is at his best, as in this passage on Japanese Poetry: "And the desire of the Japanese bride for a last look at her husband's face, that she might carry a perfect memory of him into the world of shadows, is surely beautiful as the old Greek Epitaph in which the beloved dead is be-ought not to quaff the waters of Lethe, lest she forget her love. These little Japanese verses are like new thoughts spoken aloud at long intervals, breaking a happy and dreamful silence between friends—utterances unfinished yet perfect—words which unlock secret chambers of feeling,—tendernesses half evolved, only that they may be in turn dreamfully fondled to fullest development by the fancy which they caressingly create." We wish we had more passages like this, but alas, they are all too few, and the general impression of the book is one of disappointment.

Aspects of Literature. By J. Middleton Murry (W. Collins & Co., Ltd., 48 Pall Mall, London S. W.) 1923.

"Compulsion," wrote Mr. Middleton Murry in an earlier work, "has produced far more good literary work than the unembarrassed pursuit of an artistic ideal has ever done." If compulsion be the inevitable cause of good literature, and if 'chill penury' does not indeed freeze 'noble rage'; we may be thankful for compulsion. To say that *Aspects of Literature*

contains some excellent essays is only to assert that Mr. Murry's hand has not lost its cunning and that the early promise is being fulfilled. The pieces on "The Function of Criticism," "The Present condition of English Poetry," and "Poetry and Criticism" show what a clear grasp the author has of the principles of literary criticism; while in the essays entitled "The Religion of Rousseau," "The Poetry of Thomas Hardy," "Samuel Butler," we find a new theory of criticism formulated, and a new standard of values suggested. The book provokes thought and is indeed a challenge which may be expressed in the author's own words: "The function of true criticism is to establish a definite hierarchy among the great artists of the past, as well as to test the production of the present; by the combination of these activities it asserts the organic unity of all art. It cannot honestly be said that our present criticism is adequate to either task." Of Mr. Murry's own position in the "definite hierarchy" of critics we are in no doubt: it is a high one amongst contemporary critics. His book deserves attention as a thoughtful contribution to modern criticism.

Literary Portraits. By Charles Whibley (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London) 1923.

Political Portraits. By Charles Whibley (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London) 1923.

The volume entitled *Literary Portraits* appeared first in 1904 and has now been reprinted with some changes. The subjects dealt with are of varied interest, including as they do Rabelais, Montaigne, the Library of an Old Scholar, Robert Burton, Casanova. These are all subjects at the very mention of which students of literature will smack their lips in anticipation of delicious fare, and they will not be disappointed, for Mr. Whibley wields an exceedingly facile pen, and he possesses also the supreme skill of going straight to the root of the subject.

In the *Political Portraits*, the figure of Disraeli looms large, occupying no fewer than 120 pages of the book. Here Mr. Whibley has "let himself go," and his partisanship has at places got the better of his judgment. He has not one grudging good word to put in for Gladstone. But it must be admitted that there is a subtle charm in his style, which is vivid and picturesque and lucid. Bolingbroke, Castlereagh, Rousseau, Napoleon are the subjects of some of the other sketches. Mr. Whibley has presented to the reader a fine gallery of political portraits, in which the faces are not always attractive, the expression on a few of them being actually repelling, but in all of which there is strength and brilliance and fixity of

purpose. On the whole, his gallery of political portraits is attractive.

Literature in a Changing Age. By Professor Ashley H. Thorndike (The Macmillan Company, New York) 1923.

Professor Thorndike's name ought to be familiar to all students of English Literature as the Editor of the excellent "Tudor Shakespeare" and the author of "Shakespeare's Theatre." In the present volume his theme is that literature is a form of human activity that is continuous but ever changing, and he proceeds to consider how it has been changed by the vast developments of industry, democracy and science, what has been the effect of the increase in the reading public and in the production of reading matter, and what the purposes and functions of literature are in the modern civilisation. It is a book to set one thinking and we welcome it as an endeavour to seriously discuss a question of great interest.

Suggestions. By E. E. Kellett (Cambridge University Press, 1923) 7s. 6d.

A volume of literary essays of high merit and skilful craftsmanship. *Suggestions* derives its critical inspiration from classical readings. Mr. Kellett has devoted his labours to immortal figures like Shakespeare and Shelley. Exactly half the number of essays contained in this book is devoted to Shakespearean criticism. On this time-worn and venerable topic Mr. Kellett has brought to bear a forceful and active mind with the result that his study is refreshing in outlook and abounding in instructive analyses. The first essay on Shakespeare's Amazons is a delightful piece of work. Two essays are devoted to Shelley as an imaginative poet of rare gifts and as an exponent of a profound philosophy of Love. Macaulay, Dryden and Chaucer occupy Mr. Kellett's attention for a little while and he rounds off his little book with a neat epilogue on the art of the literary detective, i.e., the art of locating the source of inspiration of a writer. No genius is sacrosanct to Mr. Kellett, and Milton comes in for a good deal of illustrative work. We may adapt the method of the last chapter in *Suggestions* to Mr. Kellett's own work and yet conclude that he has written a well-informed and skilful critique, alike able and instructive.

Yea and Nay (Brentano's Limited, London, 1923) 6s.

Last year an admirable series of lectures and counter-lectures was arranged to be delivered at the

London School of Economics in aid of the Hospitals. Many prominent literary men lent their name and voice to the programme. Messrs. Brentano's are to be congratulated for having collected the lecture-notes and presented in *Yea and Nay* a symposium which for brightness, wit and skilful repartee will attract the attention of literary people. We find here Mr. H. G. Wells discoursing on the ideal method of the teaching of history; the whimsical Miss Sitwell, authoritative and doctrinaire, ventilating her notions on modern poetry; Mr. Cochran justifies the commercial theatre and the handsome Miss Rebecca West backs her wits against the graceful apologia of Miss Sheila Kaye Smith—a spectacle only to be compared with G. K. C. roaring at the evils of modern journalism and the mild Mr. McCurdy attempting to soothe the shaken nerves. A delightful book is *Yea and Nay*, a pleasant reading and full of suggestive criticism.

Windfalls. By Alpha of the Plough (J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., London, 1924) 2s.

To their admirable "Wayfarers Library" of useful volumes on light literature Messrs. J. M. Dent & Sons have added the collection of sketches by this well-known essayist of the *Daily Mail*. These originally appeared in book form in 1920 and delighted numerous admirers of Alpha's literary skill. The neat little essays range over numerous topics and are written with consummate art and delightful lucidity. Alpha's work always provides a pleasant reading and his contributions to the daily press deserved a permanent form. The present collection will while away cheerfully many an idle hour.

MODERN EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN HISTORY

A Short History of the British Commonwealth. By Ramsay Muir, Vol. II (George Philip & Son, Ltd., London) 1923.

We noticed last year in terms of appreciation Professor Ramsay Muir's first volume of *A Short History of the British Commonwealth*. We welcome now the second and concluding volume. It was an ambitious task which Professor Ramsay Muir set out to perform, and it will be generally conceded that the undertaking has been a successful one. He is the first to write the history of the British Commonwealth on a comprehensive scale; the task demanded that the writer should see things steadily and see them whole; a gift of broad generalisation, a co-ordinating mind, a sense of discrimination, large

powers of interpretation and suggestion were called for, and by a combination of all these, the talented author has produced what may well be called an authoritative and reliable work. That the undertaking was no light one will be seen from the list of the six main heads into which the present volume is divided: The Disruption of the Commonwealth and the Birth of New Forces and Ideas (1760-1793); Revolution and war: the growth of the Second Empire (1789-1815); National and Imperial Reconstruction and the Triumph of Industrialism (1815-1852); The Era of British complacency and the Adolescence of the Daughter Nations (1852-1880); The Age of Imperialism and the Rivalry of World-Powers (1880-1904); An Epilogue: the Ordeal of the Commonwealth (1905-1919). This volume consists of more than 800 pages, and the narrative is always illuminating, always sustained; old, well-known events revive; incidents are presented in fresh lights, and the whole book is of enthralling interest. There are a few minor details where it is possible to differ from the view expressed by the author; to mention one small inaccuracy—"honest John" became Viscount Morley, but not "Sir John Morley," as the index refers to him. But this and other similar minor inaccuracies do not matter much; in a first edition they are perhaps inevitable. We are confident that the specialist as well as the general reader will read the book, and profit by it, and enjoy it, for it is both interesting and instructive.

Spain Since 1815 By Marques De Lema (Cambridge University Press) 1923.

His excellency the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs delivered a lecture on Spain at Cambridge in 1921. This is the full text of that lecture. Within about seventy pages the lecturer was able to compress the most salient features of modern Spanish history. It is a subject on which much has not been written in English. The present volume will serve as a useful and helpful *resume* of the modern history of Spain.

An Outline of Modern History. By Edward Mead Earle. (The Macmillan Company, New York, U.S.A.) 1923.

This little book compiled by Mr. Earle, who is a lecturer in History at the Columbia University, is intended to be a companion to Prof. J. H. Hayes' *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*. It is a syllabus which attempts to serve as a guide to the study of modern history, and to furnish to teachers a useful plan for collegiate courses in history, without

infringing upon the individual's ideas of the relative importance of different parts of the work. We have no doubt that the book will serve the purpose for which it has been written. It will be found by students equally useful for study and reference.

A Survey of Modern History. By H. W. Hodges (Blackie & Son Limited, 50 Old Bailey, London) 1923.

Mr. Hodges has written a helpful text-book which will be welcomed by all students of Modern History. He is quite right in saying that "modern history has of late been made much faster than it can be written," and that simplification and condensation are for that reason difficult. But the author has succeeded in producing an accurate and trustworthy manual which will be warmly welcomed by all students. An excellent feature of the book is a number of coloured maps showing the political condition of the countries from time to time.

Modern and Contemporary European Civilisation By H. G. Plum, G. G. Benjamin, and B. L. Pierce. (J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, U.S.A.) 1923.

The authors of this book deserve the grateful thanks of all students of history for having produced a volume of surpassing interest, written on entirely fresh and new lines. It is designed to meet the need of an outline of the nineteenth century history that should bear a direct relation to the great war and its outcome. The authors take a synthetic view of history and have attempted so to arrange the materials of their book that students have no difficulty in recognising the factors and motives of the great struggle going back all the way through the nineteenth century. The seven parts into which the book is divided deal with The Treaty of Versailles; The Failure of European Diplomacy; The Near Eastern Question; Nationality and Democracy, Commerce and the World-War; The State and Industrial Democracy; The United States and the War. The utility of the book has been further enhanced by nine maps and twenty-two illustrations, and fairly comprehensive bibliographies at the end of each chapter. It is an excellent conspectus of western civilization as affected by the great war.

Europe and Beyond. By J. A. R. Marriott, M.P. (Methuen & Co., Ltd., Essex Street, London) 1923.

Mr. Marriott needs no introduction to students of history and politics. His *Remaking of Modern Europe* and *English Political Institutions* are recognised

authorities, and it is a pleasure to have another book by him. The present volume is a continuation (1870-1920) of his earlier work which came down to 1871. Mr. Marriott insists that the last half-century has not yet fallen into perspective, and that the time for writing its history has not, therefore, yet arrived. But there is evident, all through the present survey, a desire to be fair, to hold the scales even, not to let prejudice triumph, and the result is a volume of supreme interest, and of great value. The bibliographies suffixed to each chapter will be found particularly useful both by teachers and by the general readers. The book thoroughly maintains Mr. Marriott's well-deserved reputation for accuracy of statement and lucidity of style, and can be safely commended to students.

A Short History of the Near East. By W. S. Davis (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London) 1923.

"The Near East" has frequently attracted the attention of historians; it is near and remote in aspirations, thoughts and ideals. It has therefore been difficult for writers of "western isles" to fully appreciate its history and the significations thereof. But Professor Davis of the Minneosta University is particularly qualified to be the historian of the Near East as his father was at one time instructor in the American College at Constantinople, and he himself is keenly interested in "the long story of the Levant." He has succeeded therefore in catching and imparting the unique secret of the near eastern problem in this volume which relates succinctly its history from the founding of Constantinople in 330 A. D. to the Græco-Turkish crisis of 1922. A volume covering such a long period naturally falls into three parts—the Christian Constantinople; Early Islam and the Saracenic Kalifates; and the Intrusion of the Turanian Turks into nearer Asia and next into Europe, and then their retreat and practical expulsion from Europe. All these periods are fully dealt with by Prof. Davis in a masterly manner; interest is sustained throughout, and even the reader that has no particular interest in the subject is glad to go through its fascinating pages. Excellent maps, tables and other appurtenances for reference enhance the value of the book both for purposes of study and reference.

History and Progress. By Hilda D. Oakeley (George Allen and Unwin Limited, 40 Museum Street, London) 1923.

Professor Oakeley has here collected together a number of essays and addresses which she has written

during the past twenty years. Two or three of these relate to problems suggested by the war; the others deal with such subjects as Philosophy and Education; Poetry and Freedom; The Idea of a general will; Sir Alfred Lyall and Indian Problems. The guiding idea of the book is the search for the true relation between thought and practice. The essays are thoughtful and thought-provoking, though there is at times a tendency to be too sure of the writer's own point of view. On the whole, however, it is a volume which will be read with pleasure and profit by the many who are interested in the momentous problems discussed by the author. The book deserves serious consideration.

The Greatest Story in the World. By Horace G. Hutchinson (John Murray, Albemarle Street, London) 1923.

The title of Mr. Hutchinson's book gives no idea at all of its subject, which is really an outline of the most important facts in the history of mankind up to the date of the firm establishment of the Roman Empire and the final destruction of Jerusalem. It is, thus, an attempt to present in a form which will appeal to young readers, the story of the beginnings of Western History. The numerous illustrations make the narrative all the more interesting. We commend the book as a useful and handy manual, containing the results of the latest researches and investigations, and describing the story in a manner which, while attempting to interest the general reader, makes it equally helpful to the professed student of history. *The Greatest Story in the world* is thus a highly instructive sketch of ancient European history.

Three Centuries of American Democracy. By William MacDonald (John Lane, the Bodley Head Limited, London) 1923.

Dr. MacDonald wrote some years ago for the *Home University Library* a useful little volume entitled "From Jefferson to Lincoln." By reason of the obvious limitations then imposed, the volume was rather scrappy. The author has now given us, in a book of more than 300 pages, the main facts and the formative influences in the growth of the United States of America as a democratic nation. He has arranged his subject very carefully, dividing it into eleven chapters of almost uniform length. The Centuries of Beginnings; Framing a National Constitution; Democracy and Nationality; The Triumph of Nationality; Politics and the American Mind—are among the more important and interesting of the

chapters. There is a comprehensive bibliography of about ten pages and a full index. Prof. MacDonald is an optimist and he concludes his book on a note almost of triumph: "It is the priceless possession of the American nation that it is still young, that it still has material battles to fight and conquests of mind to gain, and that in a world which has not yet found peace its spirit ranges generous, buoyant, and free." The book is altogether a highly instructive production and is of absorbing interest. It is, to our knowledge, the best short history of the United States of America.

The Control of American Foreign Relations. By Quincy Wright, Ph.D. (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1922).

In the present state of international relations it remains a debateable point whether a super-national authority ought to override the national laws in order to achieve international harmony and uniformity. The emergence of the League of Nations has brought about the importance of the subject to the forefront and it is being felt acutely by all the governments that in their attempt to reconcile the national with international laws several constitutional drawbacks intervene and prevent the carrying out of their honest intentions. *The Control of American Foreign Relations* is a typically American production on the subject in its exhaustive treatment and its ample and lucid illustrations. Prof. Wright wrote the volume originally for a prize essay which he secured. He feels that while the foreign office has its responsibilities defined by international law, its powers are defined by the law of the constitution. There is accordingly a lack of co-ordination between powers and responsibilities as indeed is amply evidenced by the discussions in the American Senate and the Congress over the Versailles Treaty. Prof. Wright has dealt with the subject with industrious scholarship. He consulted all the available documents and references including legal decisions on the subject. The result is a comprehensive and authoritative work. In regard to future lines of development the author is cautious and believes in the gradual expansion of the law of the constitution and its approach towards international sanctions. It is a book of great erudition and industry and useful particularly to the advanced student of constitutional law and history.

The Ottoman Empire and its successors 1801-1922. By William Miller, M.A. (Cambridge University Press, 1923) 12s. 6d.

We welcome the second edition of this well-known work on Turkey. The text has been considerably

enlarged and revised and the chronicle carried forward to the year 1922, thus including a survey of the fateful years of the Armageddon which have meant so much to New Turkey and its long line of Othman rulers. The history of the eclipse of the old Empire and the rise of Young Turkey is still to be impartially written. Mr. Miller's sketch is short and superficial. He is naturally jubilant over the end of the Turkey-in-Europe but he may be pardoned his bias in view of the concise and admirable history he has written of the Ottoman Empire during the 19th century.

The Study of American History. By (the late) Viscount Bryce, O. M. (Cambridge University Press, Fetter Lane, London) 1923.

By common consent, Lord Bryce was acknowledged to be the most encyclopædic of contemporary scholars. In the modern age of specialisation, a claim such as Bacon's "I take all knowledge as my province" is of course impossible; but within inevitable limits, Lord Bryce may be said to have known most things worth knowing. It was Mr. A. G. Gardiner who once said that, if cast on a desert island, the one companion of his choice would be Lord Bryce, for he would supply both the bread and the butter of conversation. *The Holy Roman Empire, the American Commonwealth, and Modern Democracies*, will remain abiding monuments of an intellect of rare richness and depth, of a political acumen seldom at fault, and of a scholarship that was versatile without being shallow, and attractive without being pedantic. The volume before us contains the full text of the inaugural lecture which Viscount Bryce delivered at the Mansion House with the Earl Balfour in the chair. The Watson Chair was founded by a gift of £20,000 from Sir W. George Watson, to the Anglo-American Society, on the occasion of the return of the Prince of Wales from his American tour. Lord Balfour in introducing Lord Bryce to the audience well remarked that Lord Bryce approached questions dealing with America with the special advantage that he knew the subject not merely from books, not merely from the sources which historians ordinarily drew upon in order to complete their picture of the past: he had in addition to that qualification, which he possessed in the fullest measure, the practical experience which residence in the United States had given him. Of the lecture itself it need only be said that it was worthy of the subject and worthy of the lecturer. It is closely packed with the results of Lord Bryce's keen observation and vast and varied experience; it is a valuable introduction to the study of American history. We commend it alike to students and scholars.

A Concise History of Europe. By A. H. Forbes (Herbert Russell, Temple Chambers, London) 1924.

Mr. A. H. Forbes' *Concise History of Europe* is a new edition—revised and enlarged—of the book which appeared first in 1906. The author's aim is to present an account of the main stream of history, of which English history is but a tributary. In a short compass, the book meets a real want and is bound to be of great use to the young student, for whom it mainly caters.

English History. By Arthur Hassall (Duckworth & Co., Henrietta Street, London) 1923.

This account of English History from 499 to 1914 is as satisfactory and complete as a booklet of sixty-four pages can be. It is a concise and bold statement of events. It may be of use for handy reference.

INDIAN HISTORY.

The Commentary of Father Monserrate. Translated by J. S. Hoyland, and S. N. Banerjee (Oxford University Press, Madras) 1923.

A notable book has been rendered available to the student of Indian history. Father Monserrate belonged to the first Jesuit Mission to the Court of Akbar, and he wrote a Latin Commentary on the Mission. The original was published some years ago in the Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, under the editorship of Father Hosten. It was realised then by historians how important this commentary was in helping them to understand certain details of Akbar's administration and in presenting an independent narrative of the Moghul Court. Prof. Hoyland of Nagpur and Professor Banerjee of Patiala have rendered a very useful service to history, the former by translating, and the latter by annotating this commentary. It is full of interesting and valuable information and quaint remarks and observations and it will be of great use to future historians of the period. It is replete with intensely interesting details about Akbar.

A Short History of India. By E. B. Havell (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London) 1924.

Mr. Havell, the distinguished authority on Indian Art, appears in this book in a new role, that of an historian. We have no hesitation in saying that there are few books which, within such a narrow compass, provide so much well arranged information about

India as does Mr. Havell's *History*. It is, as he is careful to impress, not a propaganda volume; he lets facts speak for themselves. We can confidently recommend it as a fair and reliable guide which ought now to replace the worthless stuff on which young boys are fed in schools. It is marked alike with sympathy and knowledge and is thus an almost ideal text-book. Mr. Havell's works on Indian Art and history—for he is the author of a bigger book on Indian history—constitute a notable achievement of which he may well be proud, and India is under obligation to him for his sympathetic interpretation of her past.

Kings of the East. By Khan Bahadur Maulvi Mohammad Fasihuddin. (Zulqarnain Press, Budaun) 1923.

As District Officer of Jaunpur Maulvi Fasihuddin had many favourable opportunities of writing the present brochure which is a useful contribution to the literature on that district. The author has shown commendable enthusiasm in following up his earlier volume on the Sharqi Monuments. He has in the book before us given a systematic explanation of the singularities of Jaunpur architecture and a thorough account of the culture of the Sharqi Kings. We are confident the book will be warmly received by the public. It is a useful acquisition to the literature of Indian history, and deserves appreciation.

The Dravidian Element in Indian Culture. By Dr. Gilbert Slater (Ernest Benn Limited, 8 Bouverie Street, London) 1924.

Dr. Slater's contribution to Indian history is a very notable contribution. The many-sidedness of a modern scholar's interests cannot be better illustrated than by their works dealing with subjects other than those in which they have specialised. Dr. Gilbert Slater is, as our readers know, an eminent economist, but the book before us shows that his stay in India has not been fruitless in extra-economic directions. *The Dravidian Element* is a very important book. If its conclusions—which are, indeed, startling in their originality and revolutionary in their character—are eventually accepted by the scholars, many of our long-cherished notions and theories will have to be discarded. Dr. Slater's thesis is that the Aryans brought into India little but their language and they merely assimilated the culture which they found here. The spiritual hierarchy, the caste system, the doctrines of Karma and reincarnation—all these, which are believed to be the chief features of Hindu Culture, are maintained by Dr. Slater to be Dravidian in origin

rather than Aryan. In a short notice like this we cannot follow the author through all the details of his argument, nor can we examine it critically. We can only point to his startling theory and await the verdict of competent authorities on it. It will in any event remain an instance of hard thinking, clear analysis and much sound scholarship, which are bound to command a hearing, whatever the verdict on them.

South India and her Mohammadan Invaders. By S. Krishnasawami Aiyangar (Oxford University Press) 1923.

Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture. By S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar (Calcutta University Press) 1923.

Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar is a recognised authority on South Indian history. In the first book before us he has investigated the condition of South India on the eve of the Muhammadan invasions—in the form of six lectures delivered to the Madras University. The first of these traces the decadence of the Chola Kingdom; the second deals with the revival of the Pandya power. The first invasions of the Deccan by Alauddin and Malik Kafur form the subject of the third; the others are concerned with the invasions of South India under the Khiljis, the Tughlak invasions, and Muhammadan Kingdoms in the Deccan. There are several helpful appendices, which enhance the value of the book.

In the *Indian Culture*, Professor Aiyangar has collected together his lectures delivered before the Calcutta University. The subjects dealt with are of far reaching importance and include such interesting discussions as Brahmanism in the Tamil land, the School of Bhakti, the history of the Pallavas, Shaivism, the Vijaynagar Empire, and many others equally interesting. Dr. Aiyangar's works deserve to be widely known, they acquaint us with so much fresh material, they are so carefully planned, their arguments are so ably put forward that we have no hesitation in including him in the foremost ranks of Indian historians. The two works under consideration fully sustain the author's deservedly high reputation for scholarship, critical acumen and spirit of research, and deserve warm acknowledgment.

A History of the Maratha People Vol. II. By C. A. Kincaid and D. B. Parasnis (Oxford University Press) 1923.

The first volume of the new *History of the Maratha People* was noticed in terms of the highest apprecia-

tion in this *Review*. This is the second volume of the *History*, which has now been brought down from the death of Shivaji to the death of Shahu. Of the merits of the *History* it is now needless to say anything; it has already become a classic. The present volume fully upholds the reputation of the earlier one for scholarship, research, and historical accuracy. When completed it will be the one standard history of the Mahrattas in English and will probably supersede Grant-Duff's.

Panhala. By Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis. (Lakshmi Art Printing Works, Byculla, Bombay) 1923.

Rao Bahadur Parasnis is a recognised authority on Maratha history and it is always a pleasure to read his books. He has, in the present beautifully printed and illustrated brochure, given an account of Panhala, the hill fort which has been described as "the most complete both by nature and art" of all the forts in India. The ten fine illustrations add to the attractiveness of the book. The booklet—coming as it does from the pen of the joint author of *A History of the Maratha People* noticed above—may well be regarded as a useful supplement to that very valuable book.

Letters Written to India During the Indian Mutiny. By Fred. Roberts (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London) 1924.

Lord Roberts died, in old age, after returning from France where he had the supreme satisfaction of seeing his beloved Indian soldiers in action. He never lost his faith in the Indian Army and he was probably the best beloved of Indian Commanders-in-chief. As is well-known he published many years ago a volume entitled *Forty-one Years in India*. In the letters now published we have the opinions, not matured and modified by age and knowledge and experience, but fresh and free, of a young subaltern who brought and won renown during the Sepoy rising of 1857. The letters are marked by a simplicity and straightforwardness which make them eminently readable. They should find numerous readers alike by reason of the fame of the writer and the intrinsic merits of the letters themselves. The maps and portraits enhance the utility of the volume.

RECENT LEGAL LITERATURE

Three Criminal Law Reformers. By C. Phillipson, M.A., LL.D., Litt.D. (J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd, London) 1923.

Dr. Coleman Phillipson, Professor of Law in the University of Adelaide, is well-known as the author

of a number of important law books, the co-author of that standard biographical work—in the literature of law—called *Great Jurists of the World*, and the editor of Wheaton's *International Law*. His latest contribution to legal literature is *Three Criminal Law Reformers: Beccaria, Bentham and Romilly*. These three names represent the greatest law reformers of modern times, in their assault on the folly, injustice and cruelty of the then existing criminal jurisprudence, in their trenchant criticism of outworn codes, obscurantist traditions, blind superstitions, dogmatic technicalities, oppressive fictions, and useless relics of the past, in their proposal of rational substitutes, in their pointing the way to the light they were intimately united. The epoch dealt with represents in many respects a turning-point in European history, and is of the utmost importance in the development of modern civilization. There is no need to explain the method of arrangement and of exposition adopted in this book. A reference to the analytical contents and a glance at the book itself, will perhaps indicate it satisfactorily. It may, however, be said that the author has brought to bear upon the subject a rich and rare scholarship and a spirit of fairness which are alike praiseworthy. Beccaria's famous work (in Italian) called the *Dei Delitti e delle Pene*, issued in 1764, Bentham's numerous works, and Romilly's Speeches in Parliament, are all handled in a masterly way and their effect on modern civilization analysed. The book is thus a notable contribution to the literature of criminal jurisprudence and merits attention.

The Art of Cross-Examination. By Francis L. Wellman. Third edition. (The Macmillan Company, New York, U. S. A.) 1923.

Mr. Francis Wellman is one of the leaders of the New York Bar. But in the course of his extensive practice he managed to write and publish two well-known books on Advocacy, called *The Art of Cross-Examination* and *Day in Court*. The former was first issued in 1903 and at once took its rank as the standard work on the subject. Some years later it passed through a second edition, and now appears for the third time in a thoroughly revised and considerably enlarged form. The success of the two earlier editions and the continued demand for the book have induced the author to prepare the new edition. Mr. Wellman has thoroughly overhauled and enriched his material with many added examples of skill in cross-examination as practised by the leading lawyers of America and Great Britain, including such successful present-day advocates as John Stanchfield, De Lancey

Nicoll, Max Steuer, Samuel Untermyer, Martin Littleton, and Herbert Smyth. The cases and illustrations are all real, and most of them have heretofore been unknown to the profession or the public. In its present form Mr. Wellman's *Art of Cross-Examination* will continue to hold its own against all competitors, as the most comprehensive work on the most important branch of the Art of Advocacy.

The Law of Benami. By Radharomon Mookerjee, B.L. Second edition. (R. Cambray & Co., 9 Hastings Street, Calcutta) 1923.

On its first appearance, several years back, Mr. Radharomon Mookerjee's *Law of Benami* justly came to be regarded as a most useful work on the subject and the demand for it has naturally persisted in the Indian legal world since that time. We are, therefore, glad that the author has been able to bring out a thoroughly recast and completely revised edition of his work, fully abreast of the latest case-law on the subject it deals with. So far as we are aware, the book under notice is the only one of its class in the domain of Anglo-Indian law. But that is not its only recommendation. Its merits are great as a systematic digest and exposition of the law relating to Benami transactions, and its second edition is well deserving of continued support and appreciation at the hands of the Bench and the Bar alike.

The Workmen's Compensation Act. By A. G. Clow, I.C.S. Second edition. (Pioneer Press, Allahabad) 1924.

It is but some months back since we noticed in terms of appreciation the first edition of Mr. Clow's *Workmen's Compensation Act*, and we have now before us the second edition—duly enlarged, overhauled and revised. The earlier edition was justly acknowledged as a very useful guide to the new Act; the second which (as noted above) has been judiciously enriched with a large amount of new material, including the rules recently issued by the Government of India, will be found invaluable as a sound exposition of the law on the subject.

A Digest of Indian Constitutional Law. By T. C. K. Kurup, M.A., LL.D. Barrister-at-Law. (Butterworth & Co., India, Ltd., 6 Hastings Street, Calcutta) 1924.

Mr. Kurup has projected an ambitious work, called the *Law and History of the Indian Constitution*. By

way of chips from his workshop he has put together "this modest booklet," made up of the notes taken by him for his larger work. Nonetheless his *Digest of Indian Constitutional Law* is a useful compendium of the subject, covering as it does the whole ground from the origin of the East India Company in 1600 down to date.

The Story of our Inns of Court. By the Rt. Hon. Sir Plunket Barton, Charles Benham and Francis Watt (G. T. Foulis & Co., Ltd., 91 Great Russell Street, London) 1924.

The Inns of Court in London constitute the most famous legal university in the British Commonwealth and have been the nursery of a large number of men eminent as lawyers, judges, statesmen, politicians, publicists and public men. Many of our leading public men in India have been members of the English Bar—from W. C. Bonnerjee (the President of the first session of the Indian National Congress) to Mr. Gandhi (the President-elect of the forthcoming session at Belgaum next December). In the circumstances the co-operative work put together by Sir Plunket Barton and Messrs. Benham and Watt—called *The Story of our Inns of Court*—is bound to appeal to a large section of the reading public throughout the British Empire. The book is beautifully got up, its format and mechanical execution are excellent; while its letterpress is well-written and the many illustrations with which the text is embellished add materially to its attractions. We can not think of a better gift from one barrister to another than the *Story of our Inns of Court*.

Famous Crimes and Criminals By C. L. McCluer Stevens (Stanley Paul & Co., Ltd., London, 1924) 12s. 6d.

The story of the Old Bailey provides more thrills than many an adventurous exploit which form the *motif* of successful works of fiction. The European Old Baileys have been ransacked by Mr. Stevens for the nerve-gripping tales which form the contents of *Famous Crimes and Criminals*. Human ingenuity displays its most cunning tricks where crime is concerned and the thirty eight tales in this volume relate the inside story of sensational crimes. Intensely thrilling as these life dramas are, point is given to the moral by the many realistic and human touches in the stories. Mr. Stevens has a simple and lucid style and his book deserves to be read by lawyers and students of criminology.

Unsolved Murder Mysteries By Charles E. Pearce (Stanley Paul & Co., Ltd., London, 1924) 16s.

We have on several occasions noticed with appreciation Mr. Pearce's works on biography and legal anecdotes. In the present volume he presents a number of murder cases which have baffled the acutest minds at the Scotland Yard. Mainly English cases are recorded; a few American tragedies are related which possess unusual interest for the detective and the criminal lawyer. This collection of gruesome tales to the annals of criminology deserves the serious attention of the psychologists, for the motives that swayed the criminals remain incomprehensible. Human intelligence confesses defeat, yet the tragedies were the outcome of human passion and devilry. The arrangement of the book is admirable and the treatment lucid and clear. Lawyers and students of psychology should welcome this interesting work.

BOOKS OF REFERENCE.

Official Year-Book of the Union of South Africa. No. 6. Edited by C. W. Cousins, Director of Census. (Superintendent, Government Printing and Stationery Office, Pretoria; South Africa). 1924.

In noticing the last edition (No. 5) of the *Official Year-Book of the Union of South Africa*, we commended it as a most valuable compendium of statistical data relating to the South African Commonwealth and as a model book of reference. The new issue (No. 6, dealing mainly with the year 1923) gives, for purposes of collation and comparison, the figures for the years 1910 to 1922. The book supplies information—mostly of a statistical character—on history and description of the various states and colonies, constitution and government, population, vital statistics, public health and hospitals, education, labour and industrial conditions, prices and cost of living, social condition, administration of justice, police and protection, electorate, native affairs, land survey, tenure and occupation, irrigation and water conservation, agriculture and fisheries, mines, manufacturing industries, commerce, harbours and shipping, railways and land transportation, posts, telegraphs and telephones, finance and local government. These are but the major headings—each of them being sub-divided into many minor ones. The contents list condensed above would enable the reader to appreciate better the comprehensive scope of the book, than any description of it. Statistics were defined by an irate politician as “d—d lies,” and so perhaps they are as often as not. But the work of administration in these days of storm and stress cannot be carried on without

the aid of statistics and in its application to the South African Commonwealth, the *Official Year-Book*, issued annually by the Government of that country, is a monument of industry and public spirit. We wish there were an equally instructive and interesting work of reference dealing, every year, with India. The edition under notice is distinguished from its predecessors by various changes, necessitated mainly by the increased scope of the valuable information condensed and rendered accessible. Separate chapters are now assigned to the treatment of forests, fisheries, currency, banking and general finance; the chapter on “Native Affairs” has been rewritten and rearranged and various other features of interest and utility have been introduced. Altogether the *Official Year-Book of the Union of South Africa* is a work of reference of which the government of that dominion may well be proud. It reflects the highest credit on the editor, on the organization of the statistical department, as also on the resources of the Government Press at Pretoria.

The Madras Year-Book 1924. (Superintendent, Government Press, Madras) 1924.

We cordially welcome the second annual edition of the *Madras Year-Book*, which has been edited by the Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai, C.I.E., I.S.O. The Diwan Bahadur is a distinguished official in the Southern Presidency and is, at present, President of the Provincial Legislative Council. But besides being a very capable administrator, he also justly enjoys the reputation of possessing scholarship of a high order as evidenced by his well-known works on Indian Astronomy. And although the *Madras Year-Book* purports to be nothing more than “an official, commercial and general directory of the Madras presidency,” nevertheless in the hands of its cultured and scholarly editor it has become an exceedingly useful and very valuable book of reference dealing with things South Indian. The work is a bulky volume of 1,271 pages, full of valuable, accurate and up-to-date information about a variety of topics, and containing memoranda and succinctly written notes of permanent value. There is, besides, a map of 21 sections, and a useful name and subject index. All the information found in the ordinary Directory is found in the *Year-Book*, and the Government at work is described in various chapters. The Who's Who is as full as it need be, the alphabetical list of principal residents in Madras ought to be useful, and the data collected under almanac and astronomical phenomena are specially detailed and comprehensive. We congratulate the

Dewan Bahadur who, in addition to the strenuous duties of his office, has found time to edit this meritorious compilation and bring it fully up-to-date. The sections relating to the departmental activities of government, the growth of industries and the workings of provincial finance have been revised and enlarged, and new sections have been added on the output of legislation during the term of the Reformed Legislature, a description of the health resorts and sanatoria of Southern India, analytical statistics of the last general election and accounts of Service Associations. It is thus a most excellent work of reference and should be found invaluable in South India.

Reader's Digest of Books. By Hellen Rex Keller. (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 40 Museum Street, London, W.C.I.) 1923.

The Reader's Digest of Books hails from America, its author being Instructor in Library Economy at Columbia University. Its object is to sketch the contents of the famous books of all times, all ages and in all civilized languages. It is a typical American work, designed equally for purposes of study and reference. Arranged in alphabetical order, the *Reader's Digest* is a highly useful and comprehensive work summarising concisely the plots of over four hundred of the world's best books. It covers a very wide range. For instance, on page 3 the first book dealt with is "Adam—a dramatic work of the twelfth century by an unknown author," while the last book mentioned on that page is "Admirable Crichton, The," by Sir J. M. Barrie. As a reference book it should prove invaluable, but as stated above it may be utilized equally as a text-book for the study of literature. Though works on Art and Science have found place in it, the vast bulk of the books dealt with belong to that branch of knowledge which may rightly be designated as "the literature of inspiration"—as opposed to "the literature of information." The characterizations are exceedingly well-written. Though a number of purely American works are included—with which we are not familiar—the vast bulk of those dealt with are such as are called classics, and the book as a handy companion will be found a most serviceable introduction to Literature.

Journalism: A Bibliography. Compiled by Carl L. Cannon. (The New York Public Library, New York, U.S.A.) 1924.

Mr. Carl Cannon's most useful work—called *Journalism: A Bibliography*—is a production on

which we unhesitatingly congratulate the compiler, as also the authorities of the great public library of the commercial capital of America. To begin with, it is a pioneer work in its field, it being (to our knowledge) the first serious bibliography of journalism, in the English language. For all that it is fairly exhaustive—though we gather that it records only those books, pamphlets and periodicals (containing articles on journalism), which are to be found in the New York Public Library. It is, howsoever, so comprehensive that it may be taken to be well-nigh replete with all books and articles in the press, on the subject. Arranged in alphabetical order—for facility of reference—it deals with works on journalism in the widest sense, with all its various aspects and ramifications, and no branch of the subject (howsoever seemingly remote) has been regarded by the compiler as beyond the scope of the book. The result is a marvellously accurate and useful work of reference—well-arranged, systematic, and comprehensive to the point of being almost exhaustive. It should be found indispensable in every journalist's library. If a next edition be called for, it would be well to separate the books from the articles.

"The Queen" Book of Travel 1924-25. Edited by M. Hornsby, F.R.G.S. (The Field Press, Ltd., Windsor House, Bream's Buildings, London, E. C. 4).

"The Queen" Newspaper Book of Travel 1924-25—which is now in its seventeenth year of publication—is an admirable compendium of information brought together by Mr. Hornsby, the Travel Editor of that famous journal for women. During the process of annual revision and enlargement, it has been improved from year to year, till at last it has attained a perfection for accuracy and usefulness, which is remarkable and for which it deserves commendation. The scope of the book covers practically the whole of Europe, and parts of America and Africa are also dealt with. The famous cities and towns of each country, as also its health-resorts, spas, and other interesting places, are described (in alphabetical order) and detailed practical information is furnished for the benefit of the serious tourist, health-seeker, sportsman, globe-trotter and others *et hoc genus omne*. No one planning a tour can do without it. Its handy size, neat get-up, seventeen well-drawn maps and eighty-six excellent illustrations, render it a highly useful companion. In the next edition Darlington's guide-books should be included in the otherwise valuable bibliography appended to the book. This is the only criticism we have to offer.

Pictorial Map of London. (G. W. Bacon & Co., Ltd., 7-9 Norwich Street, Fetter Lane, London, E. C. 4) 1924.

The firm of Bacons justly enjoys a high reputation for the production of maps and its *Wembley Exhibition Edition Pictorial Map of London* is a wonderfully good effort in cartography. It shows at a glance the principal places of interest and the shopping centres in London. Furnished with a comprehensive index, a sightseer's guide and a route-map to the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley, it is a most useful map-guide to the various scenes and sights of the metropolis of the commonwealth.

The Anglo-American Year-book 1924. (American Chambers of Commerce, Aldwych House, Aldwych, W. C. 2, London) 1924.

We welcome the thirteenth annual edition, for the current year, of the *Anglo-American Year-book*—the previous issues of which have been noticed in terms of appreciation in the *Hindustan Review*. The joint editors—Messrs. H. R. Amory and B. M. Gardner—have done their work of selection, omission and alteration judiciously, with the result that this annual publication is now a most useful reference book and deserves wide appreciation, alike for its excellent arrangement and up-to-date information on matters of interest both to the British and the Americans. The information about British trade and commerce—though primarily designed for Americans—will be found no less useful by merchants and tradesmen in India, interested in the subject. Altogether a capital work of reference.

Cathedrals. (General Manager, Great Western Railway. Paddington Station, London) 1924.

The General Manager of the Great Western Railway has done well to publish a beautifully illustrated work called *Cathedrals*, giving descriptive sketches, interspersed with historical information, of twenty-two of the great cathedrals of England and Wales, which can be easily visited from stations on the railway he administers. Apart from the well-written letterpress, the superb illustrations make this book something more than a railway guide—a thing of beauty and a joy for ever. The General Manager's venture deserves wide appreciation.

Philip's British Empire Atlas. (George Philip & Son, Ltd., 32 Fleet Street, London, E. C. 4) 1924.

Philip's British Empire Atlas is an exceedingly useful reference book in its class and deserves large circulation. It includes thirty-two pages of well-drawn maps and diagrams in colour, accompanied by full descriptive notes and an index of over four thousand names. The letter-press and illustrations are alike commendable and the atlas is a marvel of cheapness and excellence at half a crown.

The Traveller's Handbook to Palastine, Syria and Mesopotamia (Iraq). New edition revised by H. C. Luke, M.A. (Thomas Cook & Son, Ludgate Circus, London) 1924.

In the *Hindustan Review* of January last, in the course of a review of Messrs. Cook's *Handbook of Constantinople and Asia Minor*, we expressed in terms of appreciation our view of the series of guide-books issued by the premier firm catering for the needs and requirements of travellers all the world over—namely, Messrs. Thomas Cook & Son, Ltd. They have recently issued a new edition of their *Traveller's Handbook for Palestine, Syria and Iraq* (Mesopotamia). Revised by Mr. Harry Luke—Assistant Governor of Jerusalem—and enriched with an appendix, on the historical interest of the scenes, sights and monuments of Palestine, from the pen of Professor Garstang—Director of British School of Archeology located at Jerusalem and of the department of antiquities in Palestine—the book is compact, accurate, up-to-date and replete with information—practical, descriptive, historical, and archeological. The well-drawn maps showing railways, roads and topographical details enhance the value of the letter-press, and Cook's may safely be declared to be at present the best guide in English to Palestine, Syria and Mesopotamia or Iraq.

Guide to Rhodesia. Second edition. (General Manager of Biera, Mashonaland and Rhodesia Railways, Bulways, South Rhodesia, Africa) 1924.

The first edition of *Guide to Rhodesia* was issued in 1914, when Southern Rhodesia was a protectorate of the Crown (under the administration of the British South Africa Company); the second edition, revised and brought up-to-date, appears after it has attained the status of a colony with powers of self-government. The book is a fairly exhaustive sketch of South Rhodesia—its topography, history, climatology, health condition, natural resources, and prospects for investors, farmers, tourists, and sportsmen. It

contains a wealth of information, equally interesting and trustworthy, about the scenes and sights, the social and economic conditions of the latest British colony. The letter-press is well-written, the maps are well-drawn and the very large number of photographic reproductions well-executed. Altogether this *Guide to Rhodesia* is an example of highest skill in bringing together a large mass of information and presenting it in a way which is admirable.

A Bibliography of Religion: Mainly Avestan and Vedic. By J. E. Saklatwalla. (Alan Press, Bombay) 1923.

Bibliography as a science or art is yet practically unknown in India, and it is, therefore, that we all the more cordially welcome Mr. J. E. Saklatwalla's very useful work—which presents alphabetically a clear conspectus of literature dealing with Avestan and Vedic studies. It is comprehensive and well-arranged and will be found serviceable.

FICTION.

The Temptress. By Vicente Blasco Ibanez (Thornton Butterworth, Ltd., London, 1924) 7s. 6d.

It is not difficult to place a work like *The Temptress* even if the name of its famous author is suppressed. It is a fascinating book, fascinating in the originality of its plot, charming in characterisation, charmingly elusive in the language, which even in translation retains the haunting sense of its startling candour. Ibanez has received the highest meed for his beautiful works. His story of the *Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* is known all the world over. In *The Temptress* he presents a characteristic study of the vampire type of woman. The type is known in every land, and Ibanez with the sure touch of a master has delineated just those traits of such a life as are common knowledge. The vampire is usually charming in body, engaging in manners and with an obstinate will gains her object against all obstacles. Elena, of *The Temptress* occupies the stage throughout the narrative. We condemn her; we begin to hate her after some time and yet we are unable to get away from her: this is the charm of the vampire. The plot of Ibanez's story is laid in the virgin lands of Patagonia where struggle against nature is severe enough to keep men away from petty tyrannies and trifling conflict of passions. Into the desert lands sweeps in Elena and amongst the rugged men of Patagonian wilds she casts an evil charm with such effect that in the end she

leaves behind a "legend of how a woman had come to that desert community from the old world, a woman who, beautiful and possessed of a fatal charm, had brought ruin and death to all those who had fallen under her spell." *The Temptress* is a delightful novel with a purpose which never intrudes. Ibanez has shown here what he can do with a study on modern problems. Altogether a capital work of fiction with interest sustained to the very end.

Two Women: Clare Margaret. By Two Anonymous Writers (A. M. Philpot, Ltd., London, 1924) 7s. 6d.

Messrs. Philpot offered in 1923 £250 Advance royalties for the best true autobiographical life-story. This is the winning book and contains a study of the life of two young women from points of views which can hardly be called normal. Indeed the publishers themselves define Clare and Margaret as the sub-normal and the super-normal woman. We admit that the sketches are very cleverly written and reveal the souls of two contrasted types of women. But are these life-stories true and from life? If so the world must be full of strange incidents and stranger characters. Wilbur, half man half beast; Margie, the devotee at the shrine of passion; Clare, the cool-headed and reasoning maid ending up in sentimental impulse; Mrs. Graham, the inexplicable:—all these characters move and give life to the interesting pages of this book. We wish these authors were to write up a comment on modern life as it is. Clare's tale is full of adventurous turns which keep our attention rivetted to the heroine's personal career. Margaret is a study in eroticism; yet it ruthlessly tears the veil from the heart of a maid and reveals it cleft by contrary instincts no doubt, but governed by the larger, all-embracing entity which is commonly known as passion. Cleverly written studies, powerful and interesting.

Silbermann. By Jacques de Lacretelle (Ernest Benn Limited, London, 1923) 6s.

An English version of the famous book which won the *Prix Femina-Vie Heureuse*, translated by Brian Lunn. M. Lacretelle has suddenly leaped into well-deserved fame by his first well-known book. It is a powerful psychological study in racial conflict. Three little school boys, a Jew, a Catholic and a Protestant, each one highly sensitive and intellectual, determine in their school life the course of the bigger racial question. It is essentially a drama of conscience, as the publishers claim, and the drama is very powerfully unfolded. The hatred of the Jews forms the daily psychology of the average Christian in the West, and this much maligned race has developed an almost

uncanny sensitiveness. M. Lacretelle deserves congratulations for this highly penetrative study, without heat or anger, unprejudiced and impartial, and yet making a powerful appeal for toleration which is an attribute of the gods.

Deirdre. By James Stephens (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London, 1923) 7s. 6d.

In this beautiful tale Mr. Stephens has presented to us an episode of an old Irish tale of Kings. Dierdre, the Troubler, was born in a night of destiny. The King Conachur told of the prophetic evil which the young babe was to bring in the world sought to keep her closely watched until she grew up. Lust overcame discretion and passion and sons of Uisneac wrought the destruction of the great kingdom. Irishmen will love the old Irish atmosphere which the author has successfully preserved in his narrative. The conflict of primal passions is finely expressed in Mr. Stephens' best style. It is a very readable tale and Irish legendary heroism sustains interest in the narrative.

The Rescue. By Joseph Conrad (J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., London, 1924) 2s.

This fine old romance of the Southern seas by that master of the craft, Joseph Conrad, whose loss the literary world mourns to-day, has been printed in the popular "Wayfarers Library". This tale of the sea will carry now its indelible charm and its inscrutable message to thousands of households and boys who love the sea will feel eternally grateful to Conrad for having depicted in Capt. Lingard the man after their own heart. The old sea dog, Jorgenson, is a characteristic picture. *The Rescue* deserves to be widely read for its bold action, its love of the deep seas, its powerful appeal and heroic exploits. Now that it is available in a cheap edition we hope more people will get acquainted with Conrad, and *The Rescue* will not be a bad introduction.

Never the Twain shall meet. By Peter B. Kyne (Hodder & Stoughton Ltd., London, 1924) 7s. 6d.

Mr. Kyne has skilfully planned the contents of this tale of the Polynesian Seas. European traders have for centuries traded in these islands and human passions have proved too overwhelming for racial insularity. Half breeds are usually looked down upon with contumely, but they have no control over their births, nor over the choice of parents. It appeared but unreasonable that the sins of the fathers should be visited

upon the children. Yet such fate was in store for Tamea, the fairest flower that grew in Riva. Her fault was her birth. When Love was given to her she possessed not the power to retain her hold: the racial differences count for more than love or passion—this is the burden of Mr. Kyne's tale. We remain unconvinced, for the author has failed to advance any cogent reasons for incompatibility. However the plot is well conceived and neatly executed. The narrative has charm and certain dignity about it, and despite its tragic ending the story is not depressing.

East and West: The Confessions of a Princess. By—? Jarrolds Publishers, Ltd., 1924) 7s. 6d.

This is supposed to represent the history of the Irish girl who married a Burmese Prince. Point is given to the tale by the evident desire to paint the moral, yet we are not quite sure if it has the desired effect. Mindoon, the Prince from Burma, has no illusions about him; he is frankly oriental in his habits and ideas. He makes no secret of his belief in the right of man to love more than one woman at a time. The Irish girl on the other hand is brought up to observe the gospel of monogamy, and yet breaks her conjugal vows at the first temptation. Where does the blame rest? And the cruel part of it was the confession made by the princess's mother that Mindoon was her lover before he became her daughter's husband! Perhaps the nasty feeling left behind such revelations should not blind us to the *motif* of the story, which is well told and with a purpose.

Estelle. By Max and Alex Fischer (A. M. Philpot Ltd., London, 1923) 5s.

A collection of short stories from the pen of two famous French authors. The stories sparkle with bright wit and humour and are touched by that delightful irony which is the soul of short stories. The French have undoubtedly perfected the art of short story writing and in Fischers we find a clever and skilful representation. The cryptic statement of expenses headed "Estelle" is eloquent, and sums up the plots of over 90% of the modern works of fiction. *Estelle* forms a pleasant reading.

The Call of the Canyon. By Zane Grey (Hodder & Stoughton Ltd., London, 1924) 7s. 6d.

Zane Grey has achieved an almost uncanny success with his novels of the pioneer country. If it is not Arizona, it is some corner of the wild West where the

scene of his absorbing tale is usually laid. In the *Call of the Canyon* the scene shifts a little, but the pioneering and the wild, piercing breeze is still there. His plots are cleverly designed and in this the latest story the author has put in his best work. The tale grips you from the first and keeps you enthralled until the very last page. Carley Burch is a very loveable personality, with all her human weaknesses and her struggles to win through to perfect love.

Lossie of the Mill. By E. Everett-Green (Stanley Paul & Co., Ltd., London, 1924).

This is very pretty tale of love and adventure. Mr. Everett-Green has not attempted to depart from the orthodox type of the story which is laid in an industrial town. The son of the boss falls in love with a mill-hand who has had a good breeding but through reduced circumstances is forced to work in the mill. The author has followed the conventional route in the matter of impediments to the course of their love. The strange apparition however causes a tremor as you read the story. *Lossie* is a pleasant tale with plenty of incidents and thrills.

Silver Star-Dust. By Cecil Adair (Stanley Paul & Co., Ltd., London, 1924) 2s.

This is the love story of Cosmo and Estelle, both children of the stars, whose first encounter was under the star-light and their contact ever after was infused with that tenderness which sensitive souls only can inspire. Cecil Adair has written innumerable novels, but in *Silver Star-Dust* he has framed a story without much plot or incident. It is a rhapsody of love and keeps the readers' interest by the many-sided facets of love's anguish, its struggles and final triumph.

The Golden Temptress. By Headon Hill (Herbert Jenkins Ltd., London, 1924) 3s. 6d.

A story full of thrills and hair-breadth escapes. A millionaire is pursued by a desperate gang; through the agency and active help of a beautiful foster-daughter who has been imposed upon the old man the conspirators hope to bring about the old Man's death through fright. He employs an adventurous young man on his last beans for protection, and from this moment the tale runs on with thrilling rapidity. It is well written and cleverly planned. A story full of absorbing interest and a pleasing end.

Innocence. By Cecil H. Bullivant (Jarrolds Publishers Ltd., London, 1924) 7s. 6d.

Ragged Romance. By A. Safroni-Middleton (Jarrolds Publishers, Ltd., London, 1924) 7s. 6d.

Both pleasing stories, but entirely different in design and conception. *Innocence* is the tale of the artists' studio and the love of an innocent model who believed trustingly and found out too late that love could be mistaken for passion. The ending is happy as through the vale of tears and sufferings Loraine attains to the love of a strong and good man. The tale is well told in a pleasing style and the narrative never lags.

Ragged Romance is a wonderful romance, tragic no doubt, but tragedy of a great type. The author, a musician and a violinist of no mean achievement was lured by the call of the mysterious Pacific islands. His travels and studies have built this beautiful tale of a Maori maiden and the fierce charm of the land of Sun Flowers. The narration is charming, clothed in a poetic language. Mr. Middleton met R. L. Stevenson during his sojourns in Samoa and has introduced him as a character in this book, giving a very vivid picture of the famous author.

Sentimental Education. By Gustave Flaubert (Brentano's Ltd., London, 1923) 5s.

All lovers of French literature and of Flaubert in particular will extend a hearty welcome to this admirable translation which the publishers have issued in their "World Fiction Library". The 'story of a young man' will always carry a special charm which the genius of Flaubert invested in the tale; and it is sure of commanding an audience among any country and at all times.

The House in Charles Street Anonymous (Brentano's London, 1924) 7s. 6d.

A tale of the war time and the intriguing question of the German spies in England. An American girl views the struggle with a detachment not possible for a combatant, and with all her sympathies for the Allies she is helpful in laying bare many a plot wherewith information leaked out.

Beckoning Trails. By Clarence F. Mulford (Hodder & Stoughton Limited, London, 1924) 7s. 6d.

An absorbing tale of the pioneering community and Red Indians, well executed and planned. The characters are powerfully drawn.

The Justice of the Duke. By Rafael Sabatani (Stanley Paul & Co., Ltd., London, 1924) 3s. 6d.

A historical romance of old Italy and the magnificence of the Dukes Cesaire Borgia. An interesting romance.

Cambria's Fair Daughter. By Edith Nepean (Stanley Paul & Co., Ltd., London, 1923) 3s. 6d

A charming love tale, very enjoyable reading and a novel of great power and interest.

Bleke The Butler. By William Le Queux (Jarrolds Publishers Ltd., London, 1924).

Another thrilling book of adventures from the pen of the most prolific writer of the day. Bleke reveals the family secrets in an inimitable manner. His life story is of thrilling interest.

STANDARD FICTION.

How many people read standard fiction in preference to what is called current fiction? And this not because the former is easier of access. We have, from time to time, brought to the notice of our readers the various series of cheap reprints of British and continental fiction and need not re-enumerate them here. But we may draw attention to the excellent translations of Tolstoy's works into English that are being rendered accessible in the famous "World's Classics" series (issued by the Oxford University Press) which we have already characterized in terms of appreciation, on several occasions. These are by Mr. Aylmer Maude—one of the great authorities on Tolstoy—and may be justly regarded as the standard translations of that famous Russian novelist. No less than eight great works of Tolstoy (including fiction, short story, plays, essays and letters) have already appeared in English, in this series, in eleven volumes, and a ninth one (in the twelfth volume in this collection) is soon to follow. Amongst the fiction already available are three of Tolstoy's masterpieces—*Resurrection*, in one volume, *Anna Karenina* in two volumes, and *War and Peace* in three. We hope the "World's Classics" will have soon offered us a complete English translation of the works of Tolstoy.

Many of the masterpieces in fiction of the same author are also to be had in very good English versions in Messrs. Thomas Nelson and Sons' reprints of standard works—a series which we have repeatedly commended to our readers, alike for its excellence and cheapness. The latest additions to Messrs. Nelson's

series are Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina*, in two volumes, and Alexandre Dumas' *The Queen's Necklace*, Sir Walter Scott's *The Pirate* and Nathaniel Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter*. The convenient size of the books in both these series, their neat printing, their mechanical execution, and their cheap price, render them most attractive and should secure for them a very large circulation in circles where good literature is appreciated.

RECENT ANTHOLOGIES.

The Golden Book of Modern English Poetry 1870-1920. Selected and arranged by Thomas Caldwell, with an Introduction by Lord Dunsany. Second, revised edition. (J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., London) 1923.

An Anthology of English Verse. Edited by John Drinkwater. (William Collins Sons & Co., Ltd., 48 Pall Mall, London, W.) 1924.

A Book of Verse for Boys. Edited (with occasional notes) by C. H. Warren (Grant Richards Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London) 1924.

A Whiff of Old Times. Collected by John Wishart (John Wright & Sons, Ltd., Bristol, England) 1924.

Thoughts of the Great. First series. Collected by G. S. Arundale (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras) 1924.

We are living in an age of compilation—anthologies, selections, collections, reprints *et hoc genus omne*. But that is because knowledge is now sought to be taken in tabloids and it is useless to grumble against Fate. Of the five anthologies noted above, the three topmost ones are collections of verse and the last two of prose and verse. Mr. Caldwell's *Golden Book of Modern English Poetry* is—in its revised form—the best collection of English verse written during the last half a century and may justly claim to be representative of all that is finest and most inspiring in contemporary English poetry. It has already taken its rank amongst the standard anthologies of English poetical literature. Mr. John Drinkwater's collection—*An Anthology of English Verse*—covers the whole field of English poetry from Chaucer downwards. Selected by one of the foremost men of letters, the collection is judiciously made and offers infinite riches within a small compass. It deserves a large circulation. Mr. Henry Warren's *A Book of Verse for Boys* is an anthology of poems that those for whom it is intended may reasonably be expected to appreciate. Modern poetry has been largely drawn upon and the collection should appeal to boys. Dr. Wishart's *A Whiff of Old Times* comprises one hundred extracts

from scientific literature (prior to 1850) put together mainly for the benefit of medical practitioners. But there is much in the collection to appeal to the general reader. Mr. Arundale's *Thoughts of the Great* (first series) covers a much larger ground—the extracts ranging from the works of authors of all ages and countries. They are truly representative of some of the best and greatest thought and the collection is inspiring to a degree. We earnestly hope Mr. Arundale will be encouraged to issue a second series of his *Thoughts of the Great*, for which, he says, he has got ample materials in his note-book.

REPRINTS AND TRANSLATIONS.

The Golden Ass of Lucius Apuleius: In the translation of William Adlington. Edited by F. J. Harvey Darton (The Navarre Society, Ltd., London) 1924.

Sir Richard Fanshawe's Translation of the Fourth Book of Virgil's Aeneid. Edited by A. L. Irvine. (Basil Blackwell, Broad Street, Oxford) 1924.

Goethe's Faust. (First part). Translated by John Todhunter. (Basil Blackwell, Broad Street, Oxford) 1924.

Rabindranath Tagore's **The Curse at Farewell.** Translated by Edward Thompson. (George Harrap & Co., Ltd., 39—41 Parker Street, Kingsway, London, W. C. 2) 1924.

Selections from Borrow. Edited by H. S. Milford. (Oxford University Press Depot, 1 Garstin Place, Calcutta) 1924.

Adventures in Criticism. By Sir A. Quiller-Couch. (Cambridge University Press Depot, Amen Corner, London) 1924.

The Martyrdom of Man. By (the late) Winwood Reade. (Watts & Co., John-on's Court, Fleet Street, London) 1924.

Buddhist Psychology. By Mrs. Rhys Davids. Second edition, with supplementary chapters. (Luzac & Co., 46 Great Russell Street, London, E. C.) 1924.

The Philosophy of the Upanishads. By S. Radha Krishnan. (George Allen & Unwin, 40 Museum Street, London, W. C. 1) 1924.

The Golden Ass of Lucius Apuleius is a well-known Latin classic and its translation into English by Adlington, issued in 1566, is itself justly regarded as a classic in Elizabethan literature. We, therefore, welcome the elegant and well-got-up edition of it edited, for the Navarre Society, by Mr. F. J. Harvey Darton, with an excellent Introduction and with illustrations and decorations by Mr. Philip Hagreen. It

should find a place in the library of a man of letters. The next book in our list is also a classic—both in its original and translation. Sir Richard Fanshawe was Milton's successor as "Latin Secretary" and his rendering of the fourth book of Virgil's *Aeneid* appeared in 1648. Curiously it has not been reprinted since the seventeenth century. The work of one who was both a scholar and a poet, it fully deserved a reprint, and its text now rendered available by Mr. A. L. Irvine, elucidated by the editor's critical remarks, should secure for it a wide appreciation. Of the two other translations in our list, one is that of the first part of Goethe's *Faust* and the other of a work of Tagore's. The late Dr. Todhunter is already well-known as a translator from the German through his graceful renderings of the lyrics of Heine. In the present volume, which will rank as the best modern translation of Goethe's masterpiece, the felicity of his earlier achievement is repeated. It is a verse translation, retaining the metres of the original, and uniting a scholarly fidelity with a distinction of phrasing which brings us a step nearer perfection. An illuminating Introduction from the pen of Professor J. G. Robertson enhances the value and usefulness of Dr. Todhunter's translation. Rabindranath Tagore's dramatic poem called *The Curse at Farewell* is well rendered into English by Mr. Edward Thompson, lecturer in Bengalee in the University of Oxford. Mr. Thompson's Introduction gives much useful information about the works of Tagore.

The next batch of books in our list are reprints of standard works—either in whole or in part. As a sample of the latter class we have the *Selections from Borrow*, judiciously put together with notes by Mr. H. S. Milford as a volume of the "Clarendon Series of English Literature". Its usefulness is appreciably increased by the reprint of three essays on Borrow written by Richard Ford, Leslie Stephen and George Saintsbury. There can be no better introductory textbook to the study of Borrow than Mr. Milford's well-chosen selection. Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch's *Adventures in Criticism* is a reprint, in a choice pocket edition, of a collection of essays originally published in 1896. A few omissions and alterations have been made, but the text is substantially that of the eightennineties or thereabouts and naturally possesses the buoyancy of youth. The volume is published in the new handy series of Sir Arthur's works, in which the reprints are very welcome. The late Mr. Winwood Reade's *Martyrdom of Man* is a classic in the historical literature of the Victorian era. Readers of Mr. H. G. Wells's famous historical masterpiece—*The Outline of History*—will recall his testimony to Reade's book. He says:—"Remarkably few sketches of universal history

by one single author have been written. One book that has influenced me very strongly is Winwood Reade's *Martyrdom of Man*. This 'dates' as people say, now-a-days, and it has a fine gloom of its own; but it is still an extraordinarily inspiring presentation of human history as one consistent process." We agree, and the reprint, in handy size, enriched with an illuminative introduction by Mr. F. Legge is thus doubly welcome. It deserves a very wide appreciation by English-knowing Indians. The last two books in our list deal with Buddhism and Hinduism. Mrs. Rhys Davids' *Buddhist Psychology* (first issued in 1914) is justly regarded as a standard work on the subject. The second edition, which has just seen the light, has four supplementary chapters and an epilogue, which are very important and increase substantially the value of the book. In its present form Mrs. Rhys Davids' *Buddhist Psychology* will continue to be the sole standard treatise on the subject it deals with. Professor Radhakrishnan's *Philosophy of the Upanishads* is a verbatim reprint from his *Indian Philosophy* of the chapters dealing with the Upanishads. The reprint should cater for the needs of students of the earliest philosophy of India.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE: MISCELLANEOUS. LITERATURE.

The Voice of Ireland (John Heywood, Ltd., Manchester) is a bulky, weighty, composite work—edited by Mr. William Fitz-gerald and contributed by the foremost leaders of Irish public opinion, both at home and abroad. It is a survey of the Irish race and nation from all angles and is intended as a memorial of "freedom's day" marked by the establishment of the Irish Free State. Except for its being inconvenient to handle owing to its big size and heavy weight (it is many pounds), it is a splendid example of collaborative work. The writers are eminent men in various spheres of activities and many walks of life and several of them have taken an active and prominent part in the settlement of the Irish problem. The letter-press coming from the pen of such qualified writers—mostly experts and specialists—is consequently trustworthy and instructive, and the value of the text is substantially increased by reason of the many excellent reproductions of photographs with which the book is embellished. Thus Mr. Fitz-gerald's compilation is a notable instance of co-operative work of high order and great merit and should command a large circulation amongst admirers of "Ould Ireland" and her children.

Mr. Eric Parker—"Shooting editor of *The Field*," a description which will startle the average Indian editor—has written a very good book called **Elements of Shooting** (The Field Press, Windsor House, Bream's Buildings, London, E. C.-4). In its scope and treatment this book differs from other books on shooting. The author writes as an older companion might talk to a young shot or a beginner, not only of the actual practice of shooting, but of the habits and natural history of the game birds and beasts of Great Britain. Distinguishing features of the book are the coloured illustrations reproduced from the author's sketches, which are designed to show the beginner what he would naturally learn on the grouse moor or the stubbles, e.g., how to tell young and old grouse in August, the difference between cock and hen partridges, and so on. In its practical advice, and with its original method of illustration, the book is typically the gift of experience to the tyro. On the whole, a capital work.

The London of Charles Dickens by Mr. E. Beresford Chancellor (Grant Richards, Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London) will appeal not only to the lover of Dickens, but also to the admirer of London. The author who has written about a dozen good books about the topography and various aspects of London, published some time back the *London of Thackeray*, which justly received wide appreciation. So in his *London of Charles Dickens*, he has presented an account of the haunts of his characters and the topographical setting of his novels. Needless to say, the task undertaken by Mr. Chancellor is exceedingly well performed and the book affords most interesting reading and makes a useful companion to the novels of Dickens. The twenty-one very excellent photographic reproductions enhance the attractions of his very good book.

Women Peace-Makers. By Hebe Spaul (George Harrap & Co., 39-41 Parker Street, Kingsway, London, W. C. 2) is a work of much interest at the present time. This little book gives an account of seven women who have done valuable work for the *League of Nations*—Froken Forchhammer—Dame Rachael Crowdy—Froken Jeppe—Fru Kjelsberg—Madame Curie—Mrs. Coombe Tennant and Dame Edith Lyttelton. The sketches are well-written and the portraits reproduced from photographs add to the interest of the book, which should appeal alike to the social reformer and the believer in peace-making.

Social Life in Ancient Egypt from the pen of that great Egyptologist, Dr. W. M. Flinders Petrie (Constable & Co., Ltd., London) is a most excellent exposition of the social condition of the ancient Egyptian based on the latest researches. It deals with the frame-work of society, administration, rights and wrongs, private life, supplies and commerce and constructions and defence. Thus within the compass of some two hundred pages, Dr. Petrie covers a large ground and his little book is replete with sound and trustworthy information on a subject of very great interest. We are glad to learn that the book under notice is to be followed by another by the same author called *Religious Life in Egypt*. We look forward with interest to its publication.

American Journalism in its methods and principles has become so divergent from British that a text-book of the subject—called **The Principles of Journalism**—by Mr. Casper Yost should be welcomed (D. Appleton & Co., New York and London). This book, written by one of the leaders of American journalism, purposes to explain those fundamental principles which underlie the practice of the highest type of modern American journalism. Mr. Yost carefully examines the standards by which his profession should be governed, and its aims and ideals. From his own mature experience and his conception of general experience he assembles material from which to derive concrete expression of the primary principles of the profession. He first discusses the origins and purposes of the newspaper, then defines the characteristics of a successful one, investigates the news element and its handling, describes the editorial expression of a newspaper's personality and the responsibility and policy of the editors. The "Freedom of the Press" occupies a chapter. The final chapter deals with the ethics of journalism. Thus in this book are formulated and defined the fundamental principles of journalism. The work is the result of the author's conviction that there is a growing need for such a statement and definition. Journalism has taken its place among the great professions and there has come the realization that there is a call for a larger consideration of journalism as a whole, for thought about it as a profession, for understanding of what are the standards by which it should be governed, of what are its obligations in relation to the public, and what its aims and ideals. This book brings such understanding, in so far as American Journalism is concerned. It deserves careful consideration by Journalists in other countries, who may desire to grasp the essential principles of Journalism as it obtains in the United States.

The World's Living Religions. By Dr. R. E. Hume (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, U. S. A.) is a volume of Messrs. Scribner's "Life and Religion" series and it purports to be an historical sketch of the subject. The book aims to lay a foundation on the basis of which a thoughtful reader can reach a real understanding of the essential differences between the extant religions of the world and an adequate knowledge of their origin, literature, history, and values. Dr. Hume has thoroughly mastered the subject, and sought to write dispassionately and with a discerning appreciation of each religion. He has stated clearly the essential facts about each, basing these statements in every case upon the original declarations in its sacred scriptures. He has aimed also to formulate the elements of strength and of weakness in each religion, not excepting Christianity, in such a way that an adherent of the faith thus described would admit its fairness. This is a unique and interesting feature of the book. The author has spared no pains to present in this volume not only the basic facts but also conclusions which grow out of a rich and varied experience interpreted with the aid of unflagging research and painstaking study and teaching. It is not too much to say that the result is a volume of unusual range and value, and it deserves a wide appreciation alike for the catholicity of its author's views, his impartiality in dealing with controversial topics and his rich and rare scholarship. It is about the best text-book of Comparative Religion.

The twenty-third volume of "The Pocket University" (Doubleday, Page & Co., New York, U. S. A.) is called **The Guide to Reading**. It includes three instructive essays: on "Books for Study and Reading" by Dr. Lyman Abbott, "The Purpose of Reading" by Mr. John Macy—author of *Guide to Reading*—and "How to get the Best out of Books"—by Mr. Richard Le Gallienne. These are followed by "The Daily Guide to Reading" by Asa Don Dickinson, which is the especial feature of this course of studies. The books suggested are both British and American. On the whole this *Guide to Reading* is both instructive and stimulating, and makes a useful manual.

Dr. Richard Moulton—who has just passed away—was the greatest exponent of studying the Bible as literature first and foremost, quite irrespective of its theological value. In pursuance of this object he issued in twenty-one separate volumes the text of the Bible arranged on the plan advocated by him called the "Modern Reader's Bible" and the entire text is now also available in one volume. This he followed up by the publication of his **How to Read the Bible**

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(The Macmillan Company, New York, U.S.A.) which offers within a short compass what he called "the Bible at a single view" as a conspectus of literature. The book is highly instructive and should appeal both to the student of comparative literature and the general reader.

"The Harrap Library"—issued by Messrs. George Harrap & Co. of Parker Street, Kingsway, London—is a series which deserves large circulation. Besides containing many choice reprints of the classics, it comprises some excellent anthologies. Those issued so far are the *Poetry of Earth*, *Golden Book of English Sonnets*, *Essays of To-day*, *Short Stories of To-day* and the latest called *One-Act Plays of To-day*. The last, selected by Mr. J. W. Marriott, which claims to be the first anthology of its kind, consists of eleven short plays by eminent modern British and Irish playwrights—ten of which are in prose. The collection includes plays ranging from light comedy to fantasy and from farce to tragedy. Mr. Marriott's anthology of contemporary one-act plays is useful and interesting.

Professor H. Stanley Jevons has issued (through Mr. Ram Narain Lal of Katra, Allahabad) his book called *The Student's Friend*, which is full of instructive advice on studying carefully with a view to passing examinations not only with credit but with advantage to the examinees. The author insists that "it is in no sense a guide to cramming." We endorse this claim. It deals lucidly and systematically with the various topics with which an examinee is concerned and imparts to him sound and wholesome advice which he would do well to read, mark, learn and inwardly digest.

The Bangalore Printing and Publishing Company, Ltd. (Bangalore) are responsible for *Mysore Illustrated*, which comprises a series of excellent and well-executed photographic reproductions of the views of the scenes and sights in the Mysore State. The architectural Glories of Mysore deserve to be better known—His Highness the Maharaja's new palace is the greatest and most successful effort of Modern Indian art—and this compilation will tend to do so, as it itself is an artistic production.

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